

**TOURISM AND POVERTY ALLEVIATION:
A CASE STUDY OF SAPA, VIETNAM**

A thesis
submitted in fulfilment
of the requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Management
at the
University of Canterbury

by
V. Dao Truong

Supervisors: Prof. C. Michael Hall
Dr. Tony Garry

DEPARTMENT OF MANAGEMENT, MARKETING AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP

UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY, NEW ZEALAND

2014

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I would like to offer my most sincere thanks to my senior supervisor, Prof. C. Michael Hall, whose perceptive guidance and constructive comments were invaluable. Thanks are also for the long time you kept me waiting that made me more patient. To Dr. Tony Garry, my second supervisor, thank you for your great sense of responsibility and insightful feedback.

I would also like to extend my gratitude to Irene Joseph, the departmental administrator, for your perfect administrative support; to Zuliyanti Ainul for being a great company throughout the PhD journey; and to the University of Canterbury for providing a full scholarship, without which this thesis could not have been possible.

I am grateful to Tuan Anh (National Economics University, Hanoi) for invaluable support. I am also thankful to Pham Huong (Phuong Dong University, Hanoi) for providing some useful material for this thesis; to Kieu Thuy, my old student, for retrieving important statistical data; and to the wonderful residents and key informants in Sapa and Hanoi, without whom my interviews and questionnaire survey could not have been completed.

Finally, and most importantly, my thanks go to my Mum, whose love is the strongest driver for my every effort. Both Mum and I know that this thesis is also in memory of Dad, who always considered education a top priority.

ABSTRACT

This research examines the interrelationships between tourism, poverty alleviation, and social marketing. It argues that tourism growth is necessary but insufficient by itself to alleviate poverty. Although tourism has often been connected with poverty under the rubric of pro-poor tourism (PPT), limited research has investigated this from the poor's perspective. Little is also known of various poverty causes, including poor people's behaviours in affecting poverty. Although tourism may contribute to alleviating poverty, negative poverty-related behaviours (e.g. depletion of natural resources) are still found in some host destinations. Where behaviour change is considered significant for tourism to help alleviate poverty, social marketing may be important given its potential in motivating voluntary behaviour change. This is particularly necessary for a developing country such as Vietnam, where tourism is encouraged for poverty alleviation. The district of Sapa, Vietnam is chosen as a case study area, which has substantial levels of poverty although tourism has developed for years. This research seeks to answer four main questions: What are the barriers to poverty alleviation identified by PPT projects in Vietnam? What are the roles of social marketing in PPT projects in Vietnam? What are the barriers to poverty alleviation identified by PPT projects as perceived by local people and key informants in Sapa? What are the roles of tourism as a means of poverty alleviation as perceived by the locals in Sapa?

This research was designed in two stages. The first involved a content analysis of tourism-related projects in Vietnam, where a systematic search for project documents was conducted. Forty-five projects were found and then analysed against a set of six social marketing benchmark criteria. Twenty-one projects were judged to meet all the criteria, most of which were implemented in national parks (NPs) and nature reserves (NRs) that are home to important resources for tourism. Typical project objectives included preventing or mitigating local people's dependence on natural resources and promoting tourism as an alternative livelihood. The most popular competing factors identified were local people's poor perception of conservation needs and traditional dependence on natural resources, stakeholder conflicts, and weak policy implementation. This stage suggested that social marketing might help tourism contribute to natural resource conservation and poverty alleviation. The second stage utilised both qualitative and quantitative methods. Interviews were conducted with 47 poor people and key informants in Sapa. A survey was then administered with 187 local people. It identified that

local people perceive poverty as a lack of rice and/or income and attribute it to internal and/or external causes. Tourism holds important potential for poverty alleviation in Sapa. However, this potential is substantially reduced by barriers to business development, employment, and thus benefit distribution within the sector. It is also worsened by the exclusion of poor people from development plans, decision-making processes, and project design and implementation. The non-poor and tour operators are perceived as the main beneficiaries of tourism. Local women often follow tourists to sell handicrafts, resulting in discomfort for tourists and conflicts among community members. More local people consider tourism a contributor to poverty alleviation and wish to participate in tourism. The most critical barriers preventing participation include insufficient knowledge, skills, work experience, funds, and poor foreign language proficiency. Limited capital and farming land is the most important obstacle to poverty alleviation overall.

This research suggests that to maintain the long-term viability of tourism in Sapa, social marketing can be used to promote behaviour change in handicraft sellers and forest resource dependents. To this end, alternative livelihoods other than tourism are required. There is a need to put in place a policy framework that entitles poor people to more land in the forest so that they can grow more rice and medicinal fruit and protect their own forestland. Social marketing can also promote changes in the self-interested practices of tourism businesses and relevant forest policies. In addition, an appropriate intervention framework should be established to reduce household sizes and thus mitigate land use pressures. From a local perspective, this research helps planners, managers, and policy-makers in Sapa as well as other similar destinations in Vietnam and elsewhere understand more clearly the barriers to poverty alleviation and the obstacles to poor people's participation in tourism. It also generates greater awareness among academics and the public in Vietnam regarding the potential of social marketing for alleviating poverty through tourism. On a broader scale, this research enriches and deepens tourism scholars and practitioners' understanding of the various ways social marketing can help alleviate poverty and protect natural resources. Furthermore, given the centrality of poverty alleviation to the sustainable development agenda, the findings of this research contribute to wider social scientific debate, practical development discourse and, as such, to Vietnam's society as a whole. This research concludes that only by valuing the perspectives of poor people can meaningful approaches to alleviating poverty through tourism become clearer and more likely to succeed.

Deputy Vice-Chancellor's Office
Postgraduate Office



Co-Authorship Form

This form is to accompany the submission of any thesis that contains research reported in co-authored work that has been published, accepted for publication, or submitted for publication. A copy of this form should be included for each co-authored work that is included in the thesis. Completed forms should be included at the front (after the thesis abstract) of each copy of the thesis submitted for examination and library deposit.

Please indicate the chapter/section/pages of this thesis that are extracted from co-authored work and provide details of the publication or submission from the extract comes:

Truong, V.D. & Hall, C.M. (2013). Social marketing and tourism: What is the evidence? Social Marketing Quarterly, 19(2), 110-135.

This publication was based on Chapter Seven of the thesis. It also incorporated section 4.4 of Chapter Four in this thesis.

Please detail the nature and extent (%) of contribution by the candidate:

The student undertook the content analysis in relation to paper, wrote the initial draft and conceptualised the paper in discussion with the supervisor. (80-85%)

Certification by Co-authors:

If there is more than one co-author then a single co-author can sign on behalf of all

The undersigned certifies that:

- The above statement correctly reflects the nature and extent of the PhD candidate's contribution to this co-authored work
- In cases where the candidate was the lead author of the co-authored work he or she wrote the text

Name:

Signature:

Date:

19/2/2013

Prof. C. Michael Hall

Deputy Vice-Chancellor's Office
Postgraduate Office



Co-Authorship Form

This form is to accompany the submission of any thesis that contains research reported in co-authored work that has been published, accepted for publication, or submitted for publication. A copy of this form should be included for each co-authored work that is included in the thesis. Completed forms should be included at the front (after the thesis abstract) of each copy of the thesis submitted for examination and library deposit.

Please indicate the chapter/section/pages of this thesis that are extracted from co-authored work and provide details of the publication or submission from the extract comes:

Truong, V.D., Hall, C.M., and Garry, T. (2014). Tourism and poverty alleviation: Perceptions and experiences of poor people in Sapa, Vietnam. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, DOI: 10.1080/09669582.2013.871019.

This publication was based on Chapter Nine of the thesis. It drew on the research methods chosen in Chapter Six and incorporated the conclusion made in Chapter Twelve in this thesis.

Please detail the nature and extent (%) of contribution by the candidate:

The candidate undertook the fieldwork on which the paper was based and wrote the first draft of the paper. The paper was conceptualised in discussion with the senior supervisor with further minor improvements to conceptualisations, methodology and findings from the assistant supervisor (75-80%)

Certification by Co-authors:

If there is more than one co-author then a single co-author can sign on behalf of all

The undersigned certifies that:

- The above statement correctly reflects the nature and extent of the PhD candidate's contribution to this co-authored work
- In cases where the candidate was the lead author of the co-authored work he or she wrote the text

Name: Tony Garry Signature: Tony Garry Date: 7th Feb 2014

Prof. C. Michael Hall
Prof. C. Michael Hall

19/2/2013

Deputy Vice-Chancellor's Office
Postgraduate Office



Co-Authorship Form

This form is to accompany the submission of any thesis that contains research reported in co-authored work that has been published, accepted for publication, or submitted for publication. A copy of this form should be included for each co-authored work that is included in the thesis. Completed forms should be included at the front (after the thesis abstract) of each copy of the thesis submitted for examination and library deposit.

Please indicate the chapter/section/pages of this thesis that are extracted from co-authored work and provide details of the publication or submission from the extract comes:

Truong, V.D. & Hall, C.M. (2014). Promoting behaviour change for sustainable tourism: In social marketing we trust? In S. Gössling, D. Scott, & C.M. Hall (Eds.). The Routledge Handbook of Tourism and Sustainability. London: Routledge (In press).

This publication was based on Sections 3.2 and 3.3 in Chapter Three, Section 4.4 in Chapter Four, and Section 12.5 in Chapter Twelve in this thesis.

Please detail the nature and extent (%) of contribution by the candidate:
The candidate wrote the first draft and jointly conceptualised the chapter. (80-85%)

Certification by Co-authors:

If there is more than one co-author then a single co-author can sign on behalf of all

The undersigned certifies that:

- The above statement correctly reflects the nature and extent of the PhD candidate's contribution to this co-authored work
- In cases where the candidate was the lead author of the co-authored work he or she wrote the text

Name: Signature: Date: 19/2/2013

Prof. C. Michael Hall

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	i
ABSTRACT.....	ii
CO-AUTHORSHIP FORMS.....	iv
LIST OF TABLES.....	xiii
LIST OF FIGURES	xv
PAPERS PUBLISHED FROM THIS RESEARCH.....	xvi
OTHER PAPERS PUBLISHED DURING THE AUTHOR’S PhD TENURE	xvii
ABBREVIATIONS	xviii
APPLIED EXCHANGE RATE.....	xx

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. Background to the Research.....	1
1.2. Problem Statements.....	3
1.3. Research Objectives	5
1.4. Significance of the Research	5
1.5. Thesis Outline.....	6
1.6. Chapter Summary.....	7

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW: TOURISM AND POVERTY ALLEVIATION	8
2.1. Introduction	8
2.2. Understanding Poverty	8
2.3. Tourism for Poverty Alleviation: A Critique	15

2.3.1. <i>Mass tourism: Passport to poverty alleviation?</i>	17
2.3.2. <i>Alternative tourism: A new name for an old product?</i>	18
2.3.3. <i>Sustainable tourism or sustainability for the industry?</i>	20
2.3.4. <i>Ecotourism: Poor people first priority?</i>	23
2.3.5. <i>PPT and the MDGs: Poverty reduced?</i>	26
2.3.6. <i>Major institutional actors in the PPT discourse</i>	34
2.4. Trickle-down Theory: Do tourism benefits trickle down to poor people?	37
2.5. Chapter Summary	40

CHAPTER THREE

LITERATURE REVIEW: SOCIAL MARKETING	41
3.1. Introduction	41
3.2. The Development of Social Marketing	41
3.3. Conceptual Underpinnings	47
3.3.1. <i>Voluntary behaviour change</i>	47
3.3.2. <i>An exchange</i>	48
3.3.3. <i>A long-term planning process</i>	49
3.3.4. <i>Audience research and segmentation</i>	50
3.3.5. <i>Not only individuals but also the general public</i>	52
3.3.6. <i>Competition</i>	53
3.4. Labelling and Evaluating Social Marketing Effectiveness	54
3.5. Ethical Criticisms of Social Marketing	56
3.6. Chapter Summary	58

CHAPTER FOUR

SOCIAL MARKETING, POVERTY ALLEVIATION, AND TOURISM..... 59

4.1. Introduction	59
4.2. Social Marketing for Community Development	60
4.3. Social Marketing in the Field of Poverty Alleviation	65
4.4. Social Marketing and Sustainable Tourism Development	70
4.5. Linking Social Marketing with Tourism for Poverty Alleviation	75
4.6. Chapter Summary	78

CHAPTER FIVE

TOURISM DEVELOPMENT AND THE POVERTY SITUATION IN VIETNAM..... 79

5.1. Introduction	79
5.2. Tourism Development: An Overview	80
5.3. Tourism Policy in Development.....	85
5.3.1. 1976-1990.....	87
5.3.2. 1991-present.....	88
5.4. Poverty in Vietnam.....	91
5.5. Tourism Policies and Poverty Alleviation: A Critique	95
5.6. Chapter Summary	101

CHAPTER SIX

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN 103

6.1. Introduction	103
6.2. Methodological Approach.....	103
6.3. Qualitative Methods	106
6.3.1. Participant observation.....	107

6.3.2. <i>Interviewing</i>	108
6.4. Quantitative Methods	109
6.5. The Case Study Location: A Case Study Approach.....	110
6.6. Research Design and Implementation.....	112
6.6.1. <i>Stage One: Content analysis of tourism projects in Vietnam</i>	112
6.6.2. <i>Stage Two: The case study of Sapa</i>	113
6.7. Ethical Considerations.....	119
6.8. The Researcher's Position in this Research	121
6.9. Chapter Summary.....	123

CHAPTER SEVEN

RESULTS – CONTENT ANALYSIS 124

7.1. Introduction	124
7.2. Social Marketing Analysis of Tourism-related Projects	124
7.2.1. <i>Search strategy</i>	127
7.2.2. <i>Social marketing benchmarks</i>	127
7.2.3. <i>Results and discussion</i>	128
7.3. Chapter Summary.....	147

CHAPTER EIGHT

SAPA - THE CASE STUDY AREA..... 148

8.1. Introduction	148
8.2. Overview of Sapa.....	148
8.3. Tourism Development.....	149
8.4. Poverty in Sapa.....	153
8.5. Tourism Policies and Poverty Alleviation.....	155
8.6. Chapter Summary.....	157

CHAPTER NINE

RESULTS – INTERVIEWS AND OBSERVATIONS..... 159

9.1. Introduction.....	159
9.2. Interviewee Selection.....	159
9.3. Interview Respondents' Profiles.....	160
9.4. What does Poverty Mean to Local People?	162
9.5. What are the Main Causes of Poverty in Sapa?	164
9.6. Tourism Development: Who Benefits?	167
9.7. Street Vendors.....	169
9.8. What are the Current Conflicts of Interest?	173
9.9. Tourism Development: A Tool of Poverty Alleviation?	176
9.10. What are the Main Barriers to Participation in Tourism?	177
9.11. The Way Ahead: Tourism or Other Alternatives?	180
9.12. Chapter Summary	181

CHAPTER TEN

RESULTS – QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY..... 183

10.1. Introduction	183
10.2. Response Rate	183
10.3. Survey Respondents' Characteristics	184
10.4. Local People's Living Conditions.....	186
10.5. Perception of the Importance of Tourism.....	189
10.6. Perceived Barriers to Participation in Tourism	190
10.7. Handicraft Sellers	194
10.8. Perception of Tourism as a Means of Poverty Alleviation	195
10.9. Perceived Barriers to Poverty Alleviation in Sapa	198

10.10. Discussion.....	200
10.11. Chapter Summary	202

CHAPTER ELEVEN

DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS.....	204
11.1. Introduction.....	204
11.2. Tourism and Poverty Alleviation.....	204
11.3. Tourism and Social Marketing.....	209
11.4. Tourism, Poverty Alleviation, and Social Marketing.....	211
11.5. Chapter Summary.....	218

CHAPTER TWELVE

CONCLUSION AND FUTURE RESEARCH.....	219
12.1. Introduction.....	219
12.2. Summary of Research Findings.....	219
12.3. Contributions of this Research.....	222
12.4. Limitations to the Research	226
12.5. Further Research	228
12.6. Concluding Remarks.....	230

REFERENCES	235
------------------	-----

APPENDICES	271
------------------	-----

FULL-LENGTH PAPERS PUBLISHED FROM THIS RESEARCH	291
---	-----

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
2.1. The development of the concept and measurement of poverty	9
2.2. Theoretical perspectives on the tourism-poverty relationship	16
2.3. The Millennium Development Goals	27
2.4. Changes in UNWTO's publications towards poverty alleviation	28
2.5. Definitions of PPT	30
3.1. Differences between social marketing and commercial marketing.....	43
3.2. Examples of social marketing programs	46
3.3. The social marketing mix	50
4.1. Differences between educational, marketing, and law based approaches.....	76
5.1. International arrivals to Vietnam 1960-1975	81
5.2. Tourist arrivals 1980-1989	82
5.3. International arrivals 1990-1999	83
5.4. Vietnam's tourism arrivals and receipts 2000-2013.....	84
5.5. The development of Vietnam's tourism policies	86
5.6. State investments in infrastructure for tourism development 2001-2009	90
5.7. FDI in tourism 2000-2011	91
5.8. Vietnam's poverty rates by region 2004-2011	93
5.9. Tourism development policies, strategies, and plans	96
6.1. Summary of research design	112
7.1. List of ICDPs	126
7.2. Social marketing benchmark criteria.....	128
7.3. Tourism-related projects: Description.....	130
7.4. Tourism-related projects: Social marketing characteristics	133

7.5. Project evaluation – Areas, methods, and results.....	142
8.1. Sapa’s economic structure 2000-2010	153
8.2. Sapa’s poorest communes 2010	154
8.3. Tourism-related policies and plans.....	156
9.1. Interview respondents’ profiles	161
10.1. Survey respondents’ characteristics	185
10.2. Local people’s self-assessment of living conditions	187
10.3. Five most important income sources	188
10.4. Perception of the importance of tourism.....	189
10.5. Main beneficiaries of tourism.....	190
10.6. Local people’s desire to participate in tourism	191
10.7. Difficulty in participating in tourism activities	191
10.8. Barriers to participation in tourism	192
10.9. Tourism jobs most desired by local people.....	193
10.10. Local people’s perception of tourism as a means of poverty alleviation.....	196
10.11. What are the barriers to poverty alleviation?.....	198
10.12. How can tourism contribute to poverty alleviation?.....	199
11.1. Summary of a proposed social marketing program for Sapa.....	213

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
4.1. Conceptual framework.....	77
5.1. Map of Vietnam	80
8.1. Sapa’s tourist arrivals 2000-2012	150
8.2. Sapa’s tourism map	152
9.1. Handicraft market in Ta Phin	172
10.1. Average monthly household income	186
11.1. Revised conceptual framework	217

PAPERS PUBLISHED FROM THIS RESEARCH

(Full texts are available at the end of this thesis)

- Truong, V.D. (2013). Tourism policy development in Vietnam: A pro-poor perspective. *Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events*, 5(1), 28-45. (Journal article based on Chapter Five).
- Truong, V.D. & Hall, C.M. (2013). Social marketing and tourism: What is the evidence? *Social Marketing Quarterly*, 19(2), 110-135. (Journal article based on Chapter Seven).
- Truong, V.D., Hall, C.M., & Garry, T. (2014). Tourism and poverty alleviation: Perceptions and experiences of poor people in Sapa, Vietnam. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, DOI: 10.1080/09669582.2013.871019. (Journal article based on Chapter Nine).
- Truong, V.D. (2014). Pro-poor tourism: Looking backward as we move forward. *Tourism Planning & Development*, 11(2), 228-242. (Journal article integrating Chapters Two, Four and Twelve).
- Truong, V.D. & Hall, C.M. (2014). Promoting behaviour change for sustainable tourism: In social marketing we trust? In S. Gössling, D. Scott, & C.M. Hall (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Tourism and Sustainability*. London: Routledge (**Forthcoming**). (Book chapter integrating Chapters Three, Four, and Twelve).
- Truong, V.D. (2014). Pro-poor tourism: Reflections on past research and directions for the future. In S. Gössling, D. Scott, & C.M. Hall (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Tourism and Sustainability*. London: Routledge (**Forthcoming**). (Book chapter integrating Chapters Two, Four and Twelve).
- Truong, V.D. (2014). Social marketing: A systematic review of research 1998-2012. *Social Marketing Quarterly*, 20(1), 15-34. (Journal article integrating Chapters Three, Four and Twelve).
- Truong, V.D. (2014). Vietnam, tourism. In J. Jafari & H. Xiao (Eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Tourism*. Springer (**Forthcoming**). (Encyclopaedia entry based on Chapter Five).

OTHER PAPERS PUBLISHED DURING THE AUTHOR'S PhD TENURE

Truong, V.D. (2014). The Community Tourism Training Exchange project in Sapa, Vietnam. In SNV/Ford Foundation, *Sustainable Tourism in the Developing World: A Guide for Destination Managers*. Netherlands: SNV/Ford Foundation (**Forthcoming**; Case study in book).

Truong, V.D. (2014). The internationalisation of social marketing research. *Journal of Social Marketing* (**Forthcoming**; Journal article).

Truong, V.D. (2014). Social marketing as the subject of doctoral dissertations. *Social Marketing Quarterly* (**Forthcoming**; Journal article).

ABBREVIATIONS

ADB	Asian Development Bank
CBSM	Community-based Social Marketing
CBT	Community-based Tourism
CPRGS	Comprehensive Poverty Reduction and Growth Strategy
CRES	Centre for Natural Resources and Environmental Studies
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DFID	Department for International Development
ESCAP	Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FFI	Fauna and Flora International
GEF	Global Environment Facility
GIZ	German International Cooperation
GMS	Greater Mekong Sub-region
GOV	Government of Vietnam
GSOV	General Statistics Office of Vietnam
ICDP	Integrated Conservation and Development Project
IIED	International Institute for the Environment and Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
LCPC	Lao Cai Provincial People's Committee
MARD	Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NP	National Park
NR	Nature Reserve
NSTD	National Strategy for Tourism Development
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
PA	Protected Area

PARC	Protected Areas Resource Conservation
PPT	Pro-poor Tourism
SEDS	National Socio-economic Development Strategy
SNV	Netherlands Development Organisation
SPC	Sapa District People's Committee
ST-EP	Sustainable Tourism – Eliminating Poverty
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organisation
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
US\$	United States Dollar
VNAT	Vietnam National Administration of Tourism
VND	Vietnamese Dong
WB	World Bank
WWF	World Wildlife Fund

APPLIED EXCHANGE RATE

US\$1 = VND21,000

(as published by the State Bank of Vietnam 17th June 2013)

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH

This research examines the interrelationships between tourism, poverty alleviation, and social marketing in Vietnam. Building upon the perceived contribution of tourism to economic growth (Akyeampong 2011; Rogerson 2006, 2012), it argues that growth is necessary but insufficient by itself to alleviate poverty (Bolwell & Weinz 2008; Bowden 2005; Butcher 2003; Chok et al. 2007; Dagdariven et al. 2002; George & Frey 2010; Lansing & de Vries 2007; Neto 2003; Wattanakuljarus & Coxhead 2008; Winters et al. 2013). Although the tourism sector in developing countries almost doubled its total tourist arrivals from 257 million in 2000 to 442 million in 2010 (United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) 2011b), it has not alleviated poverty on any broad scale (Donaldson 2007; Muganda et al. 2010; Pleumarom 2012; Scheyvens 2007). Research suggests that most tourism benefits have not gone to the poorest groups, but instead to the less poor and to tour operators (Nguyen et al. 2007; Pleumarom 2012; Rogers & Harman 2010; Scheyvens 2011; Stronza & Gordillo 2008; Suntikul et al. 2009).

At the 2000 Millennium Summit, the United Nations (UN) identified poverty alleviation as one of the most crucial tasks and adopted the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) where the first goal was to halve the number of people living on less than US\$1.25 a day by 2015. The UNWTO promptly embraced this challenge, adopting the pro-poor tourism (PPT) concept which was defined as tourism that “increases net benefits for the poor and ensures that tourism growth contributes to poverty reduction” (Ashley et al. 2001, p. viii). It then endorsed the Sustainable Tourism - Eliminating Poverty (ST-EP) Initiative and Foundation (UNWTO 2011a). In particular, the UNWTO considered 2007 a critical year where tourism was recognised as a key agent in poverty alleviation and a significant contributor to sustainable development (UNWTO 2007). On the one hand, this change demonstrates the UNWTO’s increased commitment to achieving the MDGs as a UN specialised agency. On the other, it indicates the UNWTO’s improved perception of the importance of poverty alleviation to sustainable tourism and sustainable development overall. The UNWTO has since placed poverty alleviation at the centre of the sustainable tourism agenda, as partly

evidenced by a greater pro-poor focus in its important publications (UNWTO 1999, 2002a, 2002b, 2004, 2005a, 2005c, 2006, 2011a).

In Vietnam, the traditional cultures, historical relics, scenic landscapes, and political stability have contributed to the country's increasing popularity as an international tourist destination (Huynh 2011; Vietnam National Administration of Tourism (VNAT) 2011a). Vietnam's tourism sector witnessed growing numbers of foreign tourists from 2.4 million in 2003 to 7.5 million in 2013 (General Statistics Office of Vietnam (GSOV) 2010; VNAT 2011b, 2014b). Total tourism receipts increased from VND (Vietnamese Dong) 17,400 billion (US\$828.5 million) in 2000 to VND200,000 billion (US\$9.5 billion) in 2013 (VNAT 2014c). In 2011, tourism contributed over 5% to GDP as compared to 1.8% in 1994 (VNAT 2011a). Tourism is among the five sectors that brought the largest amount of foreign currency into the country and accounted for 55% of total service export turnover (VNAT 2009a).

Vietnam has considered poverty alleviation an important task since the early 1990s. Indeed, Vietnam has been highly appreciated for its success in halving poverty between 1990 and 2000 (Government of Vietnam (GOV) 2003; UN Development Programme (UNDP) 2009). Although Vietnam is no longer a least developed country (Huxford 2010; UN 2012), 12.6% of its population still lives under the national poverty lines of VND600,000 (US\$28.6) and VND480,000 (US\$22.8) per person per month in urban and rural areas, respectively (GSOV 2011). Like other developing countries, Vietnam has seen tourism as an important tool of economic development and poverty alleviation. Vietnam's *Law on Tourism* states that tourism is encouraged "in remote and isolated areas and in areas with socio-economic difficulties where there are tourism potentials so as to make use of the labour force, goods and services in the spot, contributing to raising local people's intellectual level and to hunger elimination and poverty reduction" (GOV 2005a, p. 9).

This thesis will specifically examine tourism as a means of poverty alleviation in the Sapa district of Vietnam. Located in the north-western province of Lao Cai, Sapa is a well-known tourist destination in Vietnam, mainly for its temperate climate, beautiful landscapes, abundant flora and fauna, and traditional ethnic cultures (Nguyen V.T. 2010; Rogers & Harman 2010). Sapa's terraced fields, old carved stones and Hoang Lien Son NP have been proposed to be recognised as world heritages by the UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) (Vu & Sato 2010). Between 2000 and 2012, international tourists to Sapa increased from 18,400 to 125,000 while domestic tourists grew from 25,700 to 485,000 (Le 2010; Sapa District People's Committee (SPC) 2009; personal correspondence with

Sapa's Culture and Tourism Office, April 2013). Since 1993, tourism has been recognised as a spearhead sector and a contributor to poverty alleviation in Sapa (SPC 2009). More ethnic minority communes have been open to tourists and trekking routes built. However, poverty alleviation remains a challenge in Sapa given that over 26% of its population lives under national poverty lines (SPC 2009). The tourism and poverty situations in Sapa will be further discussed in Chapter Eight. Throughout this research, "Sapa" refers to the name of the district and "local" indicates the spatial scope of the entities mentioned, unless otherwise stated.

1.2. PROBLEM STATEMENTS

Given its widely perceived potential for economic growth, tourism has been chosen as one of the main tools available to eliminate poverty (e.g. PPT Partnership, Overseas Development Institute (ODI), Netherlands Development Organisation (SNV)), particularly in developing countries (Croes & Vanegas 2008; Pleumarom 2012; UNWTO 2011a; Winters et al. 2013). Tourism appears to have greater potential for poverty alleviation than other sectors for its particular characteristics (Ashley et al. 2001; Rogerson 2006, 2012). First, tourism is a diverse industry that provides scope for wide participation, including that of the informal sector. Second, the customer comes to the product, creating opportunities for linkages (e.g. souvenir selling). Third, tourism is dependent on resources, some of which may be owned by poor people. Fourth, tourism is labour-intensive and can generate employment for many people. Finally, compared to other sectors, a higher proportion of tourism benefits accrue to women (Ashley et al. 2001; see also Akyeampong 2011; Rogerson 2012).

As a developing country, Vietnam has attached great importance to tourism as a tool of economic development and poverty alleviation (GOV 2005a). Since the 1990s, increased numbers of research studies and development projects have been conducted in many tourist destinations countrywide. Vietnamese scholars have sought an appropriate model of tourism development, where economic benefits for poor people are often emphasised as a means of poverty alleviation (e.g. Dao 2010; Le 2007; Mai 2010; Pham 2008; Tran et al. 2010; Vu 2010). Meanwhile, foreign non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and development agencies have focused on awareness raising, capacity building, stakeholder partnership, and skills training (e.g. German International Cooperation (GIZ, formerly GTZ), SNV; see also Hummel & van der Dium 2012). Some of these projects have achieved improved living standards and/or increased awareness of local communities (Huynh 2011; Rogers & Harman

2010). However, reports suggest that most tourism benefits have accrued to richer groups and tour operators, instead of poor people (Dang 2009; DiGregorio et al. 1996; Grindley 1997; Nguyen et al. 2007; Nicholson 1997; Rogers & Harman 2010; Suntikul et al. 2010). Given enormous economic earnings generated, most small and medium tourism businesses have only concentrated on making the best use of tourism resources, both natural and cultural. These business owners rarely consider whether tourism earnings have anything to do with poor people at tourist destinations in particular or whether they alleviate the country's poverty in general (Nguyen 2002; Rogers & Harman 2010; Vu 2009). Although many of the locals have improved their awareness of and participated in tourism, they encounter various obstacles. Meanwhile, others are reluctant to change their lifestyle and hence continue to depend on natural resources for food and income (Dang 2009; Nguyen 2002; Nguyen 2006; Nguyen et al. 2007; Suntikul et al. 2010).

The limited contribution of PPT endeavours may be because measures that demonstrate the impact of tourism on poverty are missing (Goodwin 2006, 2009; Harrison 2008; Mitchell & Ashley 2010; Thomas 2013; Winters et al. 2013). However, there are also suggestions that tourism has not been significantly connected with poverty alleviation (Nguyen et al. 2007; Rogerson 2012; Snyman & Spenceley 2012), the evidence being that scant research attention has been given to the concerns and aspirations of poor people (Holden 2013; Holden et al. 2011; Muganda et al. 2010). Indeed, Pleumarom (2012) argues that PPT discourses and initiatives are of little value if the voices of poor people are not duly considered. In addition, little is known of the multi-dimensional nature and various causes of poverty in tourist destinations, although the centrality of poverty alleviation to the sustainable tourism agenda has been established in the extant literature as noted above. As Amsden (2012) states, poverty reduction measures are flawed largely because they do not address the causes of poverty. Research suggests that poverty is both multi-dimensional and complex. Poverty may be attributed to internal factors (e.g. poor people's behaviour) (Moore 2012; Niemela 2008; Sawhill 2003; Wagle 2008) and/or social and structural factors (Ajakaiye & Adeyeye 2001; Begovic et al. 2007). Therefore, investigating the root causes of poverty is a fundamental prerequisite to any poverty study (Akindola 2009; Pleumarom 2012). Where behaviour change is considered significant for enabling the tourism sector to help alleviate poverty effectively, social marketing would be important given its proven effectiveness in promoting voluntary behaviour change by utilising marketing principles and methods (Donovan 2011; Donovan & Henley 2010; Kotler & Lee 2009; Smith & Strand 2008).

Therefore, this research examines the interrelationships between tourism, poverty alleviation, and social marketing. The district of Sapa is chosen as a case study area. Although Sapa is a recognised tourist destination with a number of development projects implemented, poverty alleviation remains a critical task (Le 2010; Nguyen V.T. 2010; Rogers & Harman 2010; SPC 2009). This research seeks to answer four main questions: What are the barriers to poverty alleviation identified by PPT projects in Vietnam? What are the roles of social marketing in PPT projects in Vietnam? What are the barriers to poverty alleviation identified by PPT projects as perceived by local people and key informants in Sapa? What are the roles of tourism as a means of poverty alleviation as perceived by the locals in Sapa? This research should be important in adding both theoretical and practical knowledge to the adoption of social marketing in tourism to aid poverty alleviation. The findings of this research will also be significant in generating a greater understanding of tourism as a means of poverty alleviation, particularly in the context of Sapa being potentially included on the UNESCO's World Heritage list as mentioned above.

1.3. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

Taking Sapa as a case study area, this research investigates the interrelationships between tourism, poverty alleviation, and social marketing. In doing so, the research will seek to:

- (i) Examine the barriers to poverty alleviation identified by PPT projects in Vietnam;
- (ii) Analyse the roles of social marketing in PPT projects in Vietnam;
- (iii) Investigate the barriers to poverty alleviation via tourism in Sapa from the perspectives of local poor people and key informants; and
- (iv) Explore the perceptions and experiences of poor people and key informants in Sapa regarding tourism as a means of poverty alleviation.

1.4. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH

Substantial research has been conducted on tourism, poverty, and social marketing, most of which, however, is separate in terms of aims and objectives. There is also a dearth of critical research on PPT and social marketing as development tools in the Asian context. The findings of this research will thus add to the knowledge and understanding of the potential contribution

of social marketing to motivating voluntary behaviour change in poor people as well as other relevant stakeholders in Vietnam. This research should be significant in that it will:

- (i) Provide a clear identification of the interrelationships between tourism, poverty alleviation, and social marketing;
- (ii) Support and enrich theories and understanding of poverty alleviation via tourism development in the context of a developing country like Vietnam; and
- (iii) Generate greater awareness among academics and the public in Vietnam on the potential of adopting social marketing to improve tourism's contribution to poverty alleviation.

1.5. THESIS OUTLINE

Chapter One has provided an overview of this thesis. Chapter Two will discuss the tourism-poverty linkage as the first main area of interest in this research. Various poverty definitions, causes, and measures will be reviewed and different forms of tourism critiqued. In Chapter Three, the development of social marketing will be chronicled and its key theoretical underpinnings discussed. The chapter will then formulate criteria for labelling and evaluating social marketing interventions and conclude with a critique of social marketing ethics.

After the tourism, poverty, and social marketing literature has been reviewed, Chapter Four will establish the potential interrelationships between these bodies of knowledge. In doing so, it will highlight the roles of social marketing in community development, poverty alleviation, and sustainable tourism. A conceptual framework will then be developed to theoretically illustrate these interrelationships. To set a country background to the research, Chapter Five will review tourism development and the poverty situation in Vietnam. Vietnam's tourism policies will also be examined and their poverty component critiqued.

In Chapter Six, the methodological approach to this research will be discussed and the philosophical foundations of the research methods and design detailed. This chapter will also explain the selection of specific research methods and describe the data collection and analysis process. A two-stage design will be formulated. Chapter Seven will report and discuss findings of the first stage that involves a content analysis of Vietnam's tourism projects in the light of social marketing theory and practice. Project evaluation methods will also be noted and their effectiveness discussed.

Prior to examining the roles of tourism as a tool of poverty alleviation, Chapter Eight will provide an overview of the case study area of Sapa. Sapa's tourism and poverty situations will be reviewed and tourism policies critiqued. Then findings of the second research stage will be presented. In particular, Chapter Nine will report and discuss findings obtained from semi-structured interviews and participant observations conducted with poor people and key informants in Sapa. Chapter Ten will report and discuss findings gained from a questionnaire survey carried out with local poor people in Sapa.

The main findings of this thesis will be integrated and explored in more depth in Chapter Eleven. The conceptual framework guiding this research will also be revised to better illustrate the interrelationships between tourism, poverty alleviation, and social marketing. The last chapter will then summarise the main findings of this research and elaborate on the contributions this thesis makes to the study of social marketing, poverty, PPT, and tourism overall. Limitations to the thesis and thus implications for future research are discussed. Finally, the main conclusions of this research are highlighted.

1.6. CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has presented an introduction to the thesis. It has outlined the background to the study, identified the research gaps, and stated the objectives. The significance of this research has also been indicated and, finally, a chapter outline provided. The next chapter will discuss the tourism-poverty linkage as the first main area of interest in this study.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW - TOURISM AND POVERTY ALLEVIATION

2.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents one of the main areas of interest in this research: the tourism-poverty relationship. First, it chronicles the development of the poverty concept and analyses different poverty causes and measures. Next, the chapter critiques the pro-poor potential of various forms of tourism. Finally, it discusses the use of trickledown theory in tourism. This chapter indicates that poverty is a multi-dimensional and complex issue. Definitions of poverty have tended to evolve from a reductionist approach that limits poverty to income or several other needs to a more generalist approach that acknowledges its multi-dimensionality. The causes of poverty are explained from the perspectives of classical economics, liberal/neoliberal economics, and political economics. Given its complexity, understanding the nature, dimensions, and causes of poverty is central to any poverty study. This chapter also indicates that tourism research on poverty has mainly been driven by the neoliberal approach that advocates marketisation and private sector development. It is often assumed that tourism has some advantages for poverty alleviation given its potential in generating employment and income. Relatively limited attention has been given to the voice of poor people. In addition, the causes of poverty, including the behaviour of poor people in both positively and negatively affecting poverty, are generally ignored. This chapter suggests that where poor people's behaviour and poverty are interrelated, social marketing would be important given its potential in motivating voluntary behaviour change. This chapter will constitute part of a conceptual framework that will be presented in Chapter Four.

2.2. UNDERSTANDING POVERTY

To properly understand the poverty situation in any country, region or destination, it is necessary to define poverty clearly (Holden 2013; Jamieson et al. 2004). This would lay the basis for devising appropriate poverty reduction measures (Akindola 2009; Bourguignon & Chakravarty 2003). Throughout history, the conceptualisation of poverty has resulted in a lively debate among scholars (Ajakaiey & Adeyeye 2001; Misurelli & Heffernan 2010),

whose arguments often reflect their own ideological foundations (Feyerabend 2010). The development of the poverty concept is summarised in Table 2.1. It is noted that these concepts are sometimes used simultaneously and are not always replaced by each other.

Table 2.1. The development of the concept and measurement of poverty

Periods	The concept of poverty	The measurement of poverty
1960s	Economic	Per capita GDP
1970s	Basic needs including economic	Per capita GDP plus basic goods
1980s	Economic plus capabilities	Per capita GDP
1990s	Human development	UNDP Human development indices
2000s	Multi-dimensional	Millennium development goals
		Multi-dimensional poverty index

Source: Adapted from Sumner (2007)

The 1960s witnessed the dominance of economic terminology in poverty definitions (Sumner 2007). The measure of income per capita was used to determine people's living standards (Maxwell 1999). At the end of this decade, the notion of poverty expanded to include basic needs apart from income per capita. For example, Seers (1969) argued that poverty includes not only income and/or jobs but also the satisfaction of people's basic needs such as food, housing, and public goods. According to Seers (1969), per capita income in itself does not indicate a reduction in either poverty or unemployment. In some cases, the number of poor people may remain unchanged even when per capita income increases because income is not distributed equally. From this perspective, poverty will be alleviated when increased economic growth leads to decreased income gaps between groups of people. This period also saw an attitudinal change from the notion of economic growth being synonymous with development towards a greater emphasis on poverty, unemployment, and inequality as developmental measures (Seers 1969).

In the 1970s, poverty definitions were dominated by material aspects (Sumner 2004). Poverty was viewed as the inability to fulfil basic requirements to obtain a decent life and was mostly associated with economic deprivation (Ajakaiye & Adeyeye 2001; Akindola 2009; Laderchi et al. 2003; Wagle 2002). However, it continued to be defined from an individual perspective, that is, a condition where individuals lack money to purchase goods and services required for a minimally decent level of living (Baratz & Grigsby 1972).

The most extreme level of economic deprivation is absolute poverty. The World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) consider poor people to be those who earn less than US\$1 or US\$1.25 per day (Ajakaiye & Adeyeye 2001; Akindola 2009; Sachs 2005), implying that with such amounts, people can buy “enough” food to keep themselves alive and lead their lives. Given its convenience for measurement and comparison, this measure is still utilised now (UN 2012). However, it has been criticised as being “too crude, unrealistic and misleading” because other factors such as family size, socio-cultural and physical needs, prices, and locational differences are not considered (Wagle 2002, p. 162). If poverty is not a single matter of income (Ashley et al. 2001; Karnani 2007; Kotler et al. 2006), then income is neither an effective measure of human needs nor the only determinant of poverty (Akindola 2009; Bourguignon & Chakravarty 2003; Mestrum 2006; Mowforth et al. 2008; Novak 1995). The reason is that, in many cases, people may have sufficient income but may be poor in other aspects of life (e.g. environmental quality, illness, limited political freedom) (Akindola 2009; Flik & Praag 1991). Despite the increase in incomes per capita, the inequality between the poor and less poor groups has deepened since the mid-1960s (Kotler et al. 2006). Therefore, by focusing only on income, poverty measures cannot necessarily remedy all other problems caused by or associated with poverty.

Another approach to determining absolute poverty is through the basic needs of people, which date back to Seers’ (1969) argument as noted above. In this approach, poverty is a condition where basic human needs are not satisfied (Begovic et al. 2007), including food, clothes, and housing (Streeten 1984), or other material comforts that entitle people to choices (Cutler 1984). However, it is a challenge to determine what these basic needs should include to identify poor people. This is due to the differing interpretations of the notion of basic needs in different countries and cultures, the difficulties in identifying measures that can be used to evaluate the success in satisfying those needs (Begovic et al. 2007), and whether those needs refer to a long healthy life or just a basket of goods and services (Streeten 1984). Furthermore, the basic needs of people in any given society will increase as living conditions improve, so this type of poverty cannot be eliminated completely (Seers 1969).

Some scholars define poverty relatively through national poverty lines (Sachs 2005). People suffer from relative poverty when their earnings are proportionally less than the median income in a specific society or below the average national income (Sachs 2005; Wagle 2002), or they fail to keep up with the prevalent living standards in that society (Ajakaiye & Adeyeye 2001; Cutler 1984; Sen 1983). However, the use of relative poverty

has its own drawbacks. First, because the living standards are different from one society and/or jurisdiction to another, it is extremely difficult to make accurate cross-society comparisons (Cutler 1984). Second, the number of poor people will remain unchanged even if there is an increase or decrease in all incomes (Flik & Praag 1991). Third, there are people just slightly above a poverty line whose living conditions may be no different from those on or just below that line (Akindola 2009; Novak 1995). For these reasons, the use of a poverty line to define either absolute or relative poverty may result in discourse over where the line should be drawn and hence poverty may be partially and inadequately defined (Novak 1995). Poverty should therefore be viewed as an actual living condition and be described by more than one criterion, not solely by income (Baratz & Grigsby 1972; Bourguignon & Chakravarty 2003; Novak 1995).

In the 1980s, poverty definitions began to include notions of powerlessness, isolation, vulnerability, lack of voice and representation (Ajakaiye & Adeyeye 2001; Maxwell 1999). Poverty definitions were also broadened to embrace security and the impacts of shocks (e.g. flood, drought), livelihood and gender (Ajakaiye & Adeyeye 2001; Maxwell 1999). Sen (1983) argued that a person's capability to function in society best reflects his/her living standards. According to Sen (1983), what a person can actually do is not represented by the commodity he/she has in hand. However, this approach fails to explain why people with similar capabilities may suffer from different degrees of poverty (Wagle 2008). It is also unclear as to what constitutes capabilities and how to measure them properly (Laderchi et al. 2003).

The first *Human Development Report* considered human development more than “the formation of capabilities, such as improved health or knowledge” (UNDP 1990, p. 1). It also concerns the use of these capabilities because people will only be able to develop their full potential with a balanced formation and use of their capabilities (UNDP 1990). More comprehensive poverty definitions have since been introduced with a focus on capabilities, social exclusion, and participation (Laderchi et al. 2003). The poor include those who not only have a low capacity to satisfy basic needs (e.g. food, water, shelter), but also those who lack access to primary education, adequate sewage, sanitation systems, and healthcare services (Mensah & Amuquandoh 2010). The poor are often subject to gender and/or ethnic discrimination, and are seldom able to influence decisions that affect their lives. Thus, poverty is now perceived as a multi-dimensional phenomenon that embraces a range of issues (Blank 2003; Bourguignon & Chakravarty 2003; Holden 2013; Mestrum 2006; Misturelli & Heffernan 2010; Mitchell & Ashley 2010; Novak 1995; Sumner 2007; UNDP 2010).

The *Human Development Report 2010* introduced a new measure of poverty – the Multi-dimensional Poverty Index, which was defined as “a measure of serious deprivations in the dimensions of health, education and living standards that combines the number of deprived and the intensity of their deprivation” (UNDP 2010, p. 26). This index recognises that income and other aspects of poverty are equally important for human development. It demonstrates a significant change in the conceptualisation of poverty from a reductionist approach that limits poverty to income and/or a number of needs to a generalist approach that recognises poverty as a multi-dimensional phenomenon.

There are differing ways to explain the causes of poverty partly because of the various approaches to defining the concept. Two main perspectives on the causes of poverty can be found in the extant literature. The first perspective is rooted in classical economics, while the second perspective represents two approaches: liberal/neoliberal economics, and political economics (Blank 2003). Proponents of the classical economics perspective tend to blame poverty on poor people’s behaviours or social welfare programs, arguing that some people are poor because they maintain socially negative behaviours (Moore 2012; Sawhill 2003; Wagle 2002). For example, while the rich are working as hard as possible, the poor are doing just the reverse. Therefore, unless the poor change their behaviours, public policies are designed and monetary assistance used to motivate such changes, the gap between the poor and less poor groups will continue to widen (Sawhill 2003). This argument should not be construed as a rejection of assistance to the poor, but a suggestion to establish a firm linkage between physical assistance, policy establishment, and behaviour change.

Advocates of the second perspective, in contrast, tend to attribute poverty to external factors that are beyond poor people’s reasonable control. These include underdeveloped and inefficient national economies; and people’s lack of skills, resources, capabilities, or opportunities (liberal/neoliberal economics); capitalism (Marxist school); and social and political forces (political economics) (Blank 2003). Freeman (1998) claims that the poor are not the only ones to be blamed for their poverty. Some governments that fail to allocate goods and services efficiently can cause poverty. They may also fail to establish effective policies, good infrastructure, or technology (Ajakaiye & Adeyeye 2001). Poor people may lack opportunities (Freeman 1998) or resources (Begovic et al. 2007) to pull themselves out of poverty. In capitalist societies, poor people often have no choice but minimal wages or unemployment. From a Marxist or neo-Marxist perspective, the dynamics of capitalism necessitates that some are born to be poor and some are born to be rich. Therefore, although it creates wealth,

capitalist growth does not alleviate poverty, indeed in many ways it exacerbates poverty and income inequality between different groups of people (Freeman 1998).

The different ways of defining poverty and explaining its causes are extremely important because they affect the selection of poverty reduction measures. From the 1950s to the 1970s, there was an emphasis on the possible trade-offs between economic growth and income distribution. Research studies in the 1970s sought to alleviate poverty through redistributive mechanisms that would not affect economic growth (Dagdariven et al. 2002; Krishna 2003). From the economic growth perspective, poverty was presumably due to an underdeveloped economy. Increased economic growth was thus expected to trickle down to the poor (Carr 2008). However, Begovic et al. (2007) argue that the number of poor people does not necessarily depend on the rate of economic growth. A country may achieve an impressive economic growth rate and thus the income of poor people may increase accordingly, but their number may remain unchanged. Moreover, the “trickledown” mechanisms were not always specified clearly (Dagdariven et al. 2002). Some scholars, in contrast, argue that although it is unclear if growth will trickle down to benefit poor people or not, poverty strategies should still view growth as a major foundation (Ajakaiye & Adeyeye 2001; Krishna 2003). Economic growth is even considered by some as the only sustainable way of poverty alleviation (Begovic et al. 2007).

The redistributive approach to poverty alleviation was criticised on the ground that it was not always justified for all poor people. It might redistribute economic benefits to those fully capable of working and hence potentially discourage them from working hard and moving themselves out of poverty (Begovic et al. 2007; Seers 1969). However, the attitudes towards redistribution as a means of poverty alleviation do vary. For example, most people in the US believe that efforts and abilities determine the position of people in society. Hence, the poor are primarily responsible for their own condition. Europeans, in contrast, often attribute poverty to a number of socio-economic factors that are out of the poor’s control (Begovic et al. 2007). Therefore, they advocate governments’ long-term support to poor people (Begovic et al. 2007; Hill & Adrangi 1999). Such attitudinal differences are not only the result of different political standpoints, but also of prevailing value perceptions and development conditions in each country, region, or continent.

In the 1980s, poverty reduction moved beyond economic growth and income distribution (UNDP 2006). Instead, a capabilities approach was adopted because growth was believed to create choices for people to attain lives they value. The UNDP *Human Development Report*

developed several indicators of human development. The three, which are most widely known, are the Human Development Index, the Human Poverty Index, and the Gender-related Development Index (UNDP 1990). These indices are based on the measure of capabilities to identify poor and non-poor people. However, in some cases it may be difficult to determine which capabilities to measure and the ways to aggregate them appropriately.

Other poverty measures include population control and foreign aid assistance. Sachs (2005) states that developed countries should be more generous in offering aid to poor countries. This proposal is similar to that of the human rights approach, which considers poverty a violation of human rights. However, some interpret this as a “marketing ploy” (Begovic et al. 2007) which encourages people in developed countries to be more generous in helping those in poor countries. Others (e.g. Easterly 2006) oppose this approach, arguing that foreign aid would make poor countries more dependent and unable to solve their own problems. In addition, poverty measures include full-time employment, productivity, education, and family planning (Sawhill 2003). While various measures are proposed, it is argued that there is no common poverty solution in all contexts. Although poverty is a universal problem, its causes are different from one place to another (Suntikul et al. 2009). Nor are they the same for every individual (Akindola 2009). The real face of poverty may be a localised condition (Holden 2013; Kotler et al. 2006). Any poverty measures thus need to consider specific contextual characteristics (Carr 2008; Holden 2013; Krishna 2003).

The ways poverty is defined and explained affect the scale on which it is alleviated. Poverty can be alleviated at individual and household levels (Begovic et al. 2007). Poverty, implicitly understood here, is the core problem of individuals and families, not of countries overall. Poor countries are, therefore, associated with poor individuals and families. In addition, poverty can be tackled at national and international levels. For instance, Sachs (2005) claims that the key solution to poverty alleviation is the creation of a global network that connects local poor communities to the richer world. The poor are assumed ready to lift themselves out of poverty, while the rich are willing to help by providing funding. In this case, poverty is perceived as a universal problem and its causes are identical globally.

This section indicates that it is not easy to define and measure poverty properly as well as to determine appropriate poverty measures, although poverty is a universal issue. Throughout this research, poverty is defined as a deprivation of basic human needs, while still being recognised as a multi-dimensional issue. Both internal and external causes of poverty will be examined. Any potential poverty measures will thus seek to eliminate both internal and

external barriers. Where the term “rich” is used, it is primarily for the convenience of comparison rather than for definitional accuracy.

2.3. TOURISM FOR POVERTY ALLEVIATION: A CRITIQUE

Although the role of tourism in economic development has long been recognised (Ceballos-Lascurain 1988; De Kadt 1979), its contribution to poverty alleviation is a relatively recent (Holden et al. 2011; UNWTO 2011a) and controversial (Pleumarom 2012) topic in the tourism literature. The literature on the role of tourism has evolved from the expectation in the 1950s-1960s that tourism could contribute to modernisation and that tourism profits would trickle down to alleviate poverty; to the realisation in the 1970s that tourism did not bring about expected economic achievements but instead increased dependency, inefficiency and slower economic growth; to the increased awareness in the 1980s-1990s of the environmental impacts of tourism and the need to involve host communities in tourism development; and to the recognition in the 2000s of the relationship between tourism and poverty alleviation (Holden et al. 2011; Scheyvens 2007; Table 2.2). These development paradigms have influenced the evolution of different forms of tourism, from mass tourism to alternative tourism, sustainable tourism, and PPT. This section reviews the pro-poor capacity of these forms of tourism and discusses the criticisms that have been directed at them with respect to poverty alleviation.

Table 2.2. Theoretical perspectives on the tourism-poverty relationship

Liberal/Neoliberal	Critical	Alternative development
<p>1950s–1960s Tourism contributed to modernisation through economic development, employment and income generation. Benefits trickled down to poor people. International tourism became part of mass consumption.</p>		
<p>1970s onwards Foreign direct investments (FDI) were seen as a means to stimulate stagnating economies and investment in tourism added a possible dimension attracting foreign exchange.</p>	<p>1970s–1980s Tourism was associated with enclave development, dependence on foreign capital, growing socio-economic inequality, and high economic leakages. Tourism was found to undermine local cultures, social networks, and traditional livelihoods.</p>	<p>Late 1970s onwards Alternative forms of tourism that were small-scale, involved education of tourists and more local control over tourism, were advocated.</p>
<p>1980s onwards Tourism offered a way out of indebtedness, encouraged foreign investment and private sector development, and generated employment and foreign exchange earnings.</p>		<p>1980s onwards The “green agenda” of the 1980s leading to the 1992 UN Summit renewed the environmental emphasis including ecological and social sustainability. Ecotourism came to the fore.</p>
<p>Late 1990s onwards Tourism was promoted alongside free trade, democratisation, and anti-poverty agendas. Investment in tourism in less developed countries gave foreign companies a presence in major or growing markets. Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers identified tourism as an economic sector and a contributor to poverty reduction. Public–private partnerships were encouraged.</p>	<p>Late 1990s onwards Anti-globalisation lobby saw tourism as a way of advancing the forces of capitalism into remote places and cultures. Post-colonial writers commented on the allure of the “other” - poverty attracted tourists as poor places were associated with “authentic” experiences of culture and nature. Strong class differences between “hosts” and “guests” were noted.</p>	<p>Late 1990s onwards Tourism offered poor communities a way of diversifying their livelihoods. Communities could participate in tourism and be empowered through their experiences.</p>
<p>2000s Under the UN MDGs, various organisations such as the UNWTO designed action plans to make tourism an effective contributor to development.</p>	<p>2000s There are challenges in developing measures that demonstrate tourism’s contributions to poverty reduction. The notion of tokenistic involvement of communities is introduced.</p>	<p>2000s The main barriers to tourism and development emerge, which are connected to broader grievances about socio-economic development.</p>
<p>Tourism is central to economic development debates, with dilemmas concerning issues related to climate change.</p>	<p>The failure of numerous ventures is a symptom of a failing global development agenda, which has sometimes been worsened by a “poorism” mentality.</p>	<p>Capacity building emerges as one of the key actions required to enable tourism to contribute to community development and empowerment.</p>

Sources: Adapted from Holden et al. (2011); Scheyvens (2007)

2.3.1. Mass tourism: Passport to poverty alleviation?

Emerging with the establishment of the modern industrial society in the 19th century and blooming in developed countries, mass tourism was regarded as the panacea for economic problems in less developed countries and regions (Butcher 2003; Butler 1990). It mainly involves the movement of a large number of travellers, in collective accommodation and their awareness of belonging to a group (Fink 1970). It is the type of tourism where travellers purchase highly standardised and inflexible all-inclusive tour packages (Higgins-Desbiolles 2006a; Poon 1993). Individualised services and flexibility are not available because all-inclusive tour companies provide similar products and services to all customers. Mass tourism can thus be considered a variation of mass consumption that is characterised by standardised production and products (Butcher 2003). Mass tourism can also be defined as:

...the participation of large numbers of people in tourism, a general characteristic of developed countries in the twentieth century. In this sense the term is used in contrast to the limited participation of people in some specialist forms of tourist activity, such as yachting, or in contrast to the situation in developing countries or in countries with extreme inequalities of income and wealth or, indeed, to the limited extent of tourist activity everywhere until a few decades ago. Mass tourism is essentially a quantitative notion, based on the proportion of the population participating in tourism or on the volume of tourist activity (Burkart & Medlik 1974, p. 42).

These definitions bring to mind the typical image of mass tourism – being associated with a large number of people (Miller & Auyong 1996; Poon 1993), which actually indicates a large market (Marson 2011). Therefore, although it is reasonable to state that mass tourism is primarily a quantitative concept (Burkart & Medlik 1974), it also has a qualitative meaning. In this second context, mass tourism is characterised by its impacts on local infrastructure, environment, and culture (Miller & Auyong 1996; Mowforth & Munt 2003).

By attracting large numbers of travellers, tourism is expected to generate enormous economic benefits and bring a substantial amount of foreign currency to host communities (Nguyen 2002). De Kadt (1979) argued that tourism brings about jobs, backward linkages with agriculture and other sectors and provides opportunities, especially for young people and women. In addition, it helps improve the quality of life for poor people through funding basic facilities, education and training. However, De Kadt (1979) also stressed that growth is necessary but insufficient to alleviate poverty in a reasonable period and that the allocation of physical benefits to the poor and less poor groups in society requires due attention. Therefore, understanding tourism as a means of poverty alleviation is inseparable from understanding its

broad contributions to economic development. Other scholars claim that the growth of mass tourism has resulted in damaged socio-cultural environments, inequitable distribution of material profits, and new diseases in developing countries (Ceballos-Lascurain 1988; McLaren 2003; Mowforth & Munt 2003). Khan (1997) argues if mass tourism really contributes to economic development, why many tourist destinations in Asia, Africa and America are more dependent on foreign assistance. Mass tourism also results in extreme poverty, cultural destruction (Khan 1997; Lansing & de Vries 2007), crime, and prostitution in these countries (Poon 1993). In some cases, the social, cultural and environmental impacts of mass tourism even outweigh its economic benefits (Marson 2011).

Poon (1993) indicates that mass tourism consumption does not contribute to the development of local communities or environments, but advocates escape and novelty. She argues that mass tourists do not really care about their upcoming destinations and service quality. For them, travel is to escape from the everyday life and work (Poon 1993). They listen to tourist guides, follow pre-arranged attractions, and disregard the real life outside (Urry 2002). They are even described as being inconsiderate of and blind to the damages caused to host communities (Butcher 2003). In that way, mass tourism may be appropriately understood “as a result of a move towards modern free market economics, the use of capitalism and tourism as a political tool for development and as a feature of global production and consumption” (Marson 2011, p. 9). Nowadays, mass tourism is not only associated with the movement of people from one place to another, but also the shifts of local communities and their traditional cultures (Mowforth & Munt 2003). This process is dominated by a small number of multinational companies that control the marketplace, not the host communities (Mowforth & Munt 2003). Therefore, some argue that mass tourism tends to destroy, not protect, everything that it seeks, such as pristine beaches, untouched forests, and intact cultures, in order to satisfy the demands of the mass tourists and tour operators (Poon 1993; Urry 2002). Mass tourism may wash away identities (e.g. traditional cultures) that are vital to local people and communities (McLaren 2003). In some tourist destinations, it tends to create more problems than it has solved (Marson 2011). Consequently, tourism may be just an illusion or even a tragedy for those who only expect enormously positive benefits from it (Singh 2004; Urry 2002).

2.3.2. Alternative tourism: A new name for an old product?

Given the various impacts that mass tourism might have on host environments and communities, academics and practitioners sought a different form of tourism. “Alternative”

tourism was suggested as the answer (Cater 1993; Higgins-Desbiolles 2006a). It is the type of tourism which “is consistent with natural, social, and community values and which allows both hosts and guests to enjoy positive and worthwhile interaction and shared experiences” (Eadington & Smith 1992, p. 3). Holden (1984, p. 5) considered alternative tourism as a means that “promotes a just form of travel between members of different communities. It seeks to achieve mutual understanding, solidarity and equality amongst participants”. Deroi (1981) suggested five advantages of alternative tourism. First, it generates direct revenues for individuals and families. Second, it helps upgrade housing standards, prevent environmental deterioration and improve infrastructure. Third, it contributes to national income and mitigates social tension in host countries. Fourth, it promotes programmes that are suitable for cost-conscious segments or those who prefer close contacts with local people. Finally, it promotes international tourism for mutual understanding between countries. However, these advantages do not appear to be substantially different from those of other forms of tourism (including mass tourism) given that alternative tourism also creates problems although it may generate tremendous socio-economic benefits (Butler 1990).

Cater (1993) explains being small-scale, developed and owned by local people with low import leakages and high retained profits as the features of alternative tourism. However, Butler (1990) argues that alternative tourism cannot settle all problems caused by mass tourism and is not the alternative to all forms of tourism. It takes travellers to far, unexplored areas with the aim of enjoying the wild nature and learning about indigenous cultures. As such, alternative tourism often exposes vulnerable resources to more visitors and involves local people to a much greater degree (Butler 1990). Hence, its impacts on host communities could be worse than mass tourism because it intervenes into their living space at a deeper level (Butler 1990; Scheyvens 2002). At destinations that receive only few tourists, alternative tourism can generate more socio-cultural discomfort because local communities are not used to the presence of tourists who are curious about their cultures (Bramwell 2004). Scheyvens (2002, p. 11) questions if alternative tourism indicates a significant change in approach to tourism, or if it is “just a new name for an old product”. Therefore, without a sound understanding, the promotion of alternative tourism might be more harmful to local communities than mass tourism (Butler 1992). Alternative tourism may be similar to any form of tourism concerning environmental impacts (Burns & Holden 1995).

Griffin and Boele (1997) emphasise that alternative tourism *per se* is not realistic, and even not sustainable. Because it explores untouched destinations, it has the potential to spread mass

tourism. Its social and environmental impacts can be just as intense as mass tourism (Bramwell 2004). While small scale is advocated (Burns & Holden 1995; Cater 1993), it is difficult to decide what small scale is, not to mention that it may decrease revenues, reduce employment, and lower living standards of local communities (Butler 1990; Wheeler 1992). Although education and awareness raising is considered the attributes of alternative tourism (Higgins-Desbiolles 2006a), it is argued that the faith alternative tourism puts on the vision that tourists will change their behaviours via educational and awareness raising activities is not appropriate because it requires behaviour change in relevant stakeholders (Nguyen 2002). For other scholars, the term “alternative tourism” is very similar to, but conveys less accurate meanings than the term “sustainable tourism” (Eadington & Smith 1992; Leksakundilok 2004).

2.3.3. Sustainable tourism or sustainability for the industry?

Although tourism is recognised as an agent of development and change, it is questionable with respect to its impact on the natural environment and the living conditions of host communities. The notion of sustainable development was discussed at the 1972 UN Conference on the Human Environment. In 1980, this concept was expanded with the International Union for Conservation of Nature’s (IUCN) *World Conservation Strategy* to include both people’s rights and responsibilities for protecting the environment for future generations (Tosun 2001). After the World Commission on Environment and Development was established (1983), sustainable development was defined as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (UN 1987, p. 43). From this definition, the UNWTO defined sustainable tourism as tourism that “takes full account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment and host communities” (UNWTO 2005b, p. 12). The UNWTO also set out some objectives to ensure sustainable tourism. They include conserving tourism resources while still generating benefits for the society; minimising environmental, social and cultural damages in tourist destinations; maintaining and improving the overall environmental quality of tourist destinations; maintaining a high level of tourists’ satisfaction; and distributing tourism benefits to local communities (UNWTO 2002a, 2005b). As will be discussed later, sustainable tourism continues to be a focus of the UNWTO where enhancing the contributions of tourism to poverty alleviation is recognised as a means to achieve sustainable tourism development.

Sustainable tourism is expected to be an alternative approach to addressing the negative effects of tourism and maintaining its long-term viability (Liu 2003). Yet, the concept is not

clear (Butcher 2003; Butler 1998; Lansing & de Vries 2007; Oriade & Evans 2011; UNWTO 2011a; Wall 2005). If sustainable tourism attempts to meet the needs of the present generation, then these needs should be defined more clearly. Which needs are referred to specifically? How is it determined if these needs are satisfactorily met? (Wall 1997). In addition, sustainable tourism attempts not to compromise the potential for future generations to meet their needs. This target sounds meaningful. However, how can these needs be met, given that what is important today may not be so tomorrow? (McMinn 1997). Which experiences will be desired by the future tourists? (Wall 1997). Which needs or experiences should be prioritised? (Wall 2005). These questions suggest that the needs of both the present and future generations should be clarified in the concept of sustainable tourism.

Given its ambiguity, sustainable tourism is often interpreted very differently by stakeholders depending on their needs (Butcher 2003; Butler 1999; UNWTO 2011a). In a narrow sense, sustainable tourism is mainly connected with the economic sustainability of the tourism market that may decrease if the attractions are degraded (Fennell 2008; Leksakundilok 2004). A WB study indicates that sustainable tourism has brought significant economic benefits to host residents and thus contributed to their community development at large (Lansing & de Vries 2007). However, economic growth in itself is not sufficient for poverty alleviation (Chok et al. 2007; Wattanakuljarus & Coxhead 2008). This is because economic benefits may not be distributed equally as discussed earlier. In addition, economic growth is not the only measure of human well-being (Akindola 2009; Kotler et al. 2006; Mestrum 2006). Rather, it is just one of the major criteria of sustainable development (Brennan & Binney 2008). It is unclear to what extent sustainable tourism can improve the lives of poor people (Tosun 1998, 2001) or contribute to sustainable development (Wall 2005) when it is largely influenced by tour and transport operators. Ioannides (2008) even indicates that most sustainable tourism efforts have failed because the tourism sector itself is fragmented and driven by small and medium firms.

Concerning the scale of sustainable tourism, Murphy (1998) questions what is exactly the sustainable level of tourism development and how can this be measured? Not only is sustainable tourism ambiguous in meaning, but also in measure (Goodwin 2011), so little is known if tourism is becoming more or less sustainable. Rather, it is often used to promote NGOs and private tour companies (Goodwin 2011) which are marketed as “sustainable”, “clean and green” even before they are run (Butler 1998; Wall 2005). Therefore, it is plausible to claim that sustainable tourism is actually a “greenwashing” marketing “ploy” or

“gimmick” which makes people believe that engaging in its activities is both personally fulfilling and socially moral (Lansing & de Vries 2007; Wall 2005). This partly derives from the nature of tourism that is an industry, just like any other industries (Hall 2007; McMinn 1997). Thus, it does not always consider the benefits of local people (Fennell 2008). Changing this conventional practice is not easy because it requires perceptual changes in relevant parties (Lansing & de Vries 2007; Leksakundilok 2004). As a result, sustaining tourism or even sustainable tourism may be a good source of income for some people, not necessarily local (poor) residents in host destinations (Liu 2003; McMinn 1997).

Sustainable development *per se* aims to provide a good quality of life for society by meeting people’s basic needs (UNWTO 2005b). Sustainable tourism thus attempts to satisfy the needs of both the present and future tourists and host communities, which means the equitable sharing of tourism costs and benefits within and between generations. To achieve this aim, all relevant stakeholders including local people need to be involved equally in the early stages of the planning and decision-making processes to determine the type and scale of development (Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) 2005; Liu 2003). However, this is usually not feasible in practice because tourism is still controlled by those who are financially and politically advantaged (Oriade & Evans 2011). Local people are often not empowered to control decisions and processes that affect their lives. Even where they are involved in developing sustainable tourism, it is unclear regarding what exactly constitutes the so-called “involvement” or “participation” (Mitchell 2008). Their “involvement” in many circumstances is more “relational” than “participatory” (Liu 2003). It is thus important to consider the nature of their participation, as Mitchell (2008) suggests, in terms of typology, frequency, and equitability. If the rights and benefits of the present generation are not met, it is difficult to ensure those of the future generation. The target of intergenerational equity as a result cannot be achieved.

It is notable that sustainable tourism has developed in line with the principles of its parental concept of sustainable development. The three “pillars” of sustainable development include economic sustainability, social sustainability, and environmental sustainability (UNWTO 2005b). Therefore, sustainable tourism also centres on these pillars. However, environmental sustainability is often considered the focal point of sustainable tourism (Butcher 2003; Oriade & Evans 2011; UNWTO 2005b), meaning that sustainable tourism is synonymous with sustaining the resources on which tourism is developed and profits are produced. This again suggests that sustainable tourism is after all

developed for the benefits of the tourism industry that may then contribute to the economic growth of local communities (McMinn 1997).

2.3.4. Ecotourism: Poor people first priority?

In addition to sustainable tourism, ecotourism is also suggested as an alternative to mass tourism. It is thought to emerge in the 1980s and Ceballos-Lascurain is often considered the first person to coin the term (Butcher 2003; Orams 1995). However, its origin can be traced back to the 1960s with the work of Hetzer (1965), reflecting ecologists and environmentalists' increased concern about the importance of resource conservation (Bjork 2007; Fennell 2008; Orams 1995). According to Ceballos-Lascurain (1988, p. 25), ecotourism means "travelling to relatively undisturbed and uncontaminated areas with the specific objective of admiring, studying, and enjoying the scenery and its wild plants and animals, as well as any existing cultural features (both past and present) found in these areas". Meanwhile, Ziffer (1989, p. 6) defined ecotourism as:

...a form of tourism inspired primarily by the natural history of an area, including its indigenous cultures. The ecotourist visits relatively undeveloped areas in the spirit of appreciation, participation and sensitivity. The ecotourist practises a non-consumptive use of wildlife and natural resources and contributes to the visited area through labour or financial means aimed at directly benefiting the conservation of the site and the economic well-being of the local residents. The visit should strengthen the ecotourist's appreciation and dedication to conservation issues in general, and to the specific needs of the locale. Ecotourism also implies a managed approach by the host country or region which commits itself to establishing and maintaining the sites with the participation of local residents, marketing them appropriately, enforcing regulations, and using the proceeds of the enterprise to fund the area's land management as well as community development.

In the first definition, ecotourism is defined from the stance of tourists. The focal point here is the tourists who are involved in ecotourism have opportunities to immerse themselves in and improve their knowledge about the natural environment. In the second one, various dimensions of ecotourism are considered such as nature conservation, economic contribution and participation for local people, marketing, and policy. To date, there are two main categories of ecotourism definitions (Bjork 2007). The first is consisted of multi-dimensional and comprehensive definitions such as Ziffer's. The second includes shorter definitions that are often followed by a list of criteria and/or principles (Ashton 1991; Kusler 1991; Weaver 2001; Wood et al. 1991).

Ecotourism has been expected to protect vulnerable resources and threatened areas while bringing benefits to local people (Cater 1993; Khan 1997; Wood et al. 1991). However, in

ecotourism, monetary benefits are aimed at promoting environmental protection or advocating sustainable activities (Neto 2003; Ryel 1991; Stronza & Gordillo 2008). Benefits for local people are secondary only (Department for International Development (DFID) 1999). Even when benefits to the local economy are focused (Khan 1997), local people are far removed from the distribution chain (Ryel 1991). Therefore, local people often gain meagre benefits from ecotourism (Stronza & Gordillo 2008), which can only help them satisfy minimum life necessities (Butcher 2003). Most economic benefits appear to have accrued to tour operators (Stronza & Gordillo 2008), while the cost of nature conservation is borne out by local people (Larsen 2008). Scheyvens (1999) argues that when ecotourism is driven by business purposes, it is not surprising that local communities are excluded from benefit distribution. Tourism firms often show little commitment to benefiting local people whose natural and cultural resources are used for tourism development (Scheyvens 1999; Vu 2009). Some ecotourism campaigns may be good in plan, but they may turn out to be misleading and exploitative of the nature and culture (McLaren 2003).

It is observed that while ecotourists pay substantial cost for their trips, they spend most of it in their place of origin before they reach the ecotourism destinations (Wall 1997) which are normally located in isolated areas with minimum products and services. Therefore, the impact of ecotourism on the local economy may not be significant (Cater 1993; Wall 1997). It is even worse for the host communities who lack facilities to accommodate the increased number of tourists and effective policies to control its development. Meanwhile, the ecotourists consume enormous amounts of natural resources, just like any other tourists (McLaren 2003). Even when ecotourism generates economic income for local communities, it does not necessarily alleviate poverty (Neto 2003), not to mention that it may further promote development and destruction of wild areas (Cater 1993; McLaren 2003; Stronza & Gordillo 2008), break local socio-cultural environments and thus reduce local residents' quality of life (Wilkinson & Pratiwi 1995). Barkin (2003) argued that successful ecotourism must attach equal importance to environmental sustainability and basic needs for the locals. Conservation fails if the profits are not used to improve poor people's living conditions and reduce their dependence on natural resources. Liu and Var (1986) indicated that local people attached greater importance to environmental protection than the economic benefits of tourism, but they would not sacrifice their living standards for environmental conservation. That said, ecotourism is an attractive and necessary idea about resource conservation and income redistribution but lacks evidence to demonstrate that it delivers what it promises.

In addition, other forms of tourism are also suggested such as ethical tourism and community-based tourism (CBT). Although rooted in sustainable tourism, ethical tourism is defined in different ways by different scholars (Weeden 2002). According to Rimoldi (2005), ethical tourism comes from the British government's ethical trading initiative in 2000 which proved that people would volitionally spend a certain amount of money on products and services offered by enterprises that ensure their workers are entitled to good working environments and fair wages. Therefore, it can also be described as fair trade in tourism and tourism businesses have used it as part of their competitive advantages (Rimoldi 2005). For its close connection with sustainable tourism, ethical tourism embraces the three main principles of economic, social, and environmental equality (Weeden 2002). While it is advocated as a solution for the negative impacts of mass tourism (Weeden 2002), it could not be considered a credible alternative to mass tourism (Wheeller 1992). In fact, in striving to prevent negative impacts, ethical tourism also limits its potential to generate short-term economic benefits for host destinations (Butler 1992).

CBT is defined as tourism where "the local community has substantial control over, and involvement in its development and management, and a major proportion of the benefits remain within the community" (World Wildlife Fund (WWF) 2001, p. 2). Its origin can be traced back to the early work of Murphy (1985, 1988) who argued that tourism planning and development should integrate community values and desires. Indeed, the ideas of community control and profit distribution are the most widely accepted in CBT definitions (Mowforth et al. 2008; Trejos & Chiang 2009). However, it is difficult to realise those ideas (Schilcher 2007) since community control does not always lead to informed decision-making (Blackstock 2005). CBT in reality is invariably not collectively controlled by host communities, but instead by organised groups (Trejos & Chiang 2009). It is thus necessary to define "community" clearly and to whom it belongs. The beneficiaries of CBT also need to be specified (Richards & Hall 2000).

Small-scale CBT has been proven to empower local communities to control the development process and enjoy equitable benefits (Kibicho 2008). However, a community focus is not enough to alleviate poverty (Ashley et al. 2001). First, CBT in practice is adopted as a means to ensure the long-term profitability of the tourism sector, rather than empower local people (Blackstock 2005). Second, the benefits earned by CBT are smaller than the cost of facility investment (Mitchell & Ashley 2010). As a result, CBT tends to replace old problems with new ones, rather than solve them (Butcher 2003). Indeed, research suggests

that very few tourism benefits are provided to local communities in developing countries because they are not allowed to control the ways tourism is developed (Mowforth & Munt 2003). Instead, these communities are often removed from planning and decision-making processes (Mowforth & Munt 2003; Oriade & Evans 2011). In some cases, local community involvement in tourism is not only difficult, but also causes problems in distributing benefits, creating internal conflicts, jealousy, and unrealistic expectations (Simpson 2008). If this occurs, it is very likely that the poorest groups in host communities will be excluded from tourism. Tourism development, as a result, may deepen social inequalities and widen income gaps between different groups of people (Cleverdon & Kalisch 2000; Richards & Hall 2000). It is thus necessary that community attitude and behaviour change (e.g. conflicts, jealousy) be advocated alongside the enhancement of community involvement in tourism.

2.3.5. PPT and the MDGs: Poverty reduced?

Although tourism clearly affects the life of poor people, it appears that the above forms of tourism have not placed a strong focus on poverty alleviation. As noted in Chapter One, the UNWTO launched the ST-EP Initiative in 2003 in response to the MDGs (a summary of the MDGs is provided in Table 2.3). The UNWTO has since placed poverty alleviation at the centre of the tourism agenda as indicated by major changes in its recent publications (Table 2.4), where the MDGs were explicitly endorsed with poverty alleviation being the first goal.

Table 2.3. The Millennium Development Goals

Goal		Target
1. Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger	1A	Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people living on less than US\$1.5 a day*
	1B	Achieve decent employment for women, men, and young people
	1C	Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people who suffer from hunger
2. Achieve universal primary education	2A	By 2015, all children can complete a full course of primary schooling, girls and boys
3. Promote gender equality and empower women	3A	Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education preferably by 2005, and at all levels by 2015
4. Reduce child mortality rates	4A	Reduce by two-thirds, between 1990 and 2015, the under-five mortality rate
5. Improve maternal health	5A	Reduce by three quarters, between 1990 and 2015, the maternal mortality ratio
	5B	Achieve, by 2015, universal access to reproductive health
6. Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases	6A	Have halted by 2015 and begun to reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS
	6B	Achieve, by 2010, universal access to treatment for HIV/AIDS for all those who need it
	6C	Have halted by 2015 and begun to reverse the incidence of malaria and other major diseases
7. Ensure environmental sustainability	7A	Integrate sustainable development into country policies and programs; reverse loss of environmental resources
	7B	Reduce biodiversity loss, achieving, by 2010, a significant reduction in the rate of loss
	7C	Halve, by 2015, the proportion of the population without sustainable access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation
	7D	By 2020, to have achieved a significant achievement in the lives of at least 100 million slum-dwellers
8. Develop a global partnership for development	8A	Develop further an open, rule-based, predictable, non-discriminatory trading and financial system
	8B	Address the special needs of the least developed countries
	8C	Address the special needs of landlocked developing countries and small island developing States
	8D	Deal comprehensively with the debt problems of developing countries through national and international measures in order to make debt sustainable in the long-term
	8E	In cooperation with pharmaceutical companies, provide access to affordable, essential drugs in developing countries
	8F	In cooperation with the private sector, make available the benefits of new technologies, especially information and communications

Source: after Holden (2013); * This was adjusted from the original global poverty line of US\$1 a day (UN 2012)

Table 2.4. Changes in UNWTO's publications towards poverty alleviation

Publication	Poverty focus
Code of Ethics (1999)	Sustainable development and poverty alleviation is promoted together with minimised negative environmental and cultural impacts of tourism and maximised economic benefits.
Enhancing the Economic Benefits of Tourism for Local Communities and Poverty Alleviation (2002a)	CBT development is advocated to bring economic benefits to local communities. Most popular types of community participation are village tourism, ecotourism, arts and craft tourism, rural tourism, and agro-tourism.
Tourism and Poverty Alleviation (2002b)	UNWTO is committed to achieving the MDGs: MDG(1) reducing extreme poverty; and MDG(3) promoting gender equality and the awareness of the enormous benefits tourism can have for the poor.
Tourism and Poverty Alleviation - Recommendations for Actions (2004)	Seven poverty reduction mechanisms include job creation, goods and services supply, direct sale of products and services, establishment and running of tour businesses, tax and levy, voluntary support from businesses, and infrastructure investment.
Cultural Tourism and Poverty Alleviation (2005a)	A set of principles is identified for tourism/cultural tourism to contribute to alleviating poverty. They include mainstreaming, partnership, integration, equal distribution, local actions, retention, viability, empowerment, human rights, commitment, and monitoring.
Tourism, Microfinance and Poverty Alleviation (2005c)	Seven approaches to generating benefits for poor people are recommended. Tourism projects are recommended to reduce poverty. Microfinance is called for supporting small and medium sized enterprises.
Compilation of Good Practices in Poverty Alleviation through Tourism (2006)	The above seven mechanisms for poverty alleviation are repeated. Twenty-six case studies are presented and general conclusions drawn.
Manual on Tourism and Poverty Alleviation – Practical Steps for Destinations (2010)	Practical steps are outlined to shape and manage tourism destinations so that benefits are delivered to poor people. Seven mechanisms for poverty alleviation are proposed. A classic approach to project cycle is applied which includes analysis and planning, implementation and assessment.
Policy and Practice for Global Tourism (2011a)	UNWTO recognises that poverty alleviation requires, among other measures, the sector to raise the awareness of visitors and adopt social marketing to achieve behaviour change objectives.

Sources: UNWTO (1999, 2002a, 2002b, 2004, 2005a, 2005c, 2006, 2010, 2011a)

These changes reflect the shift in the UNWTO's stance as a UN specialised agency. As a UN agency, the tourism industry is equal to all other industries (Goodwin 2011). In return, tourism seeks to address developmental issues within the UN framework, especially the MDGs. Before its official UN membership (2003), the UNWTO focused on ecotourism and sustainable tourism. It also considered the aggregate impacts of tourism by systematising Tourism Satellite Accounts. Under the *Code of Ethics*, the objective of minimising the negative impacts of tourism seemed to prevail over poverty alleviation (UNWTO 1999). Since the publication of *Tourism and Poverty Alleviation*, the UNWTO has made poverty alleviation an explicitly central goal of sustainable tourism (UNWTO 2002b, 2005b, 2005c, 2006, 2010, 2011a). In addition, these changes also indicate the UNWTO's increased perception of the importance of poverty alleviation to sustainable tourism and sustainable development overall. Although sustainable tourism and sustainable development may be interpreted differently (Butcher 2003; Butler 1999; Goodwin 2011; Hunter 1997), it is acknowledged that sustainability can only be achieved when each component or dimension embraced is attained individually and jointly (Kirchgeorg & Winn 2006). By contrast, poverty is detrimental to economic viability, social equity, and environmental integrity because it contributes to widening income gaps, increasing social unrest, and causing rapid environmental degradation (Kirchgeorg & Winn 2006; Snyman & Spenceley 2012). Poverty is thus a barrier to sustainable tourism and the call to improve tourism's contributions to poverty alleviation appears to serve the goals of sustainable development (Holden 2013).

Under the MDGs, it is a challenge to demonstrate that tourism benefits alleviate poverty given a lack of empirical data (Blake et al. 2008; Chok et al. 2008; Croes & Vanegas 2008; Goodwin 2006, 2009; Mitchell & Ashley 2010; Muganda et al. 2010; Thomas 2013; Winters et al. 2013). Instead, the measures of visitor numbers, contribution to national GDP, employment creation, and foreign investments have often been used in tourism reports, which actually reflect the size of the industry, not its pro-poor effects. However, the MDGs are not defined by growth, but by specific impacts on poverty, for example to halve the proportions of people living on less than US\$1.25 per day (Table 2.3 above). Moreover, given the multi-dimensionality of poverty, the task facing the sector becomes more challenging. To alleviate poverty, the tourism sector cannot rely solely on such indicators as increased income or employment, but needs to embrace other aspects of poverty as well.

The UNWTO adopted the PPT concept which emerged as a result of a desk review conducted by Deloitte and Touche, the International Institute for Environment and

Development (IIED) and ODI (Ashley et al. 2001). By definition, PPT “increases net benefits for the poor and ensures that tourism growth contributes to poverty reduction. PPT is not a specific product or sector of tourism, but an approach. PPT strategies aim to unlock opportunities for the poor – whether for economic gain, other livelihood benefits, or participation in decision-making” (Ashley et al. 2001, p. viii). Other PPT definitions have also been suggested (Table 2.5).

Table 2.5. Definitions of PPT

Pro-poor tourism that generates net benefits for the poor and aims to unlock opportunities for economic gain, other livelihood benefits or engagement in decision-making for the poor (ESCAP 2003, p. 4).

Tourism is pro-poor if it provides: economic gain through the creation of full- or part-time employment or the development of SME opportunities through sales to tourism businesses or to tourists; other livelihood benefits such as access to potable water, roads which bring benefits to poor producers through, for example, improved access to markets, improved health or education; and opportunities and capacity for engagement in decision-making in order that the poor are able to improve their livelihoods by securing better access to tourists and tourism enterprises (Jamieson et al. 2004, p. 3).

Pro-poor tourism is about the removal of red tape and unfair advantage to foreign investors, expanding backward linkages between tourism business and the informal sector, addressing social and cultural impacts, and building a supporting tourism policy and process that allow for the participation of the least powerful stakeholders (Miller & Twining-Ward 2005, p. 32).

The definition suggested by Ashley et al. (2001) at the PPT Partnership has often been cited in the tourism literature. It can be considered an extension of the WB’s definition of pro-poor growth: growth is regarded as pro-poor if the poor benefit (Mitchell & Ashley 2010). However, the point here is to ensure these “net benefits” are positive over time because in practice tourism produces both positive and negative impacts on host communities. While economic and financial gains seem direct and visible, the non-economic effects are often indirect and long-lasting (Mitchell & Ashley 2010). They may include cultural destruction and/or social conflicts (Khan 1997; Lansing & de Vries 2007; Simpson 2008). By definition, any form of tourism can be pro-poor if it brings benefits to marginalised groups. However, it may result in such reasonable questions as can sex tourism be regarded as PPT if it demonstrates net incomes for the poor? Can those forms of tourism that employ children as a means to generate net benefits for their families be labelled PPT? What about environmental sustainability? Is socio-cultural sustainability considered? (Oriade & Evans 2011). Moreover, although the above PPT definitions place poor people at the centre of tourism development, their behaviours are generally ignored. They tend to assume that

poverty will be reduced when more opportunities are created and benefits generated for poor people. Meanwhile, research suggests that poverty may be due to poor people's attitudes and behaviours as discussed earlier (Moore 2012; Niemela 2008; Wagle 2008).

Although PPT attempts to distinguish itself from other forms of tourism by focusing on poor people, it may not target the poorest groups in host destinations who may be in greatest need (Harrison 2008) and in many cases difficult to reach (Torres & Momsen 2004). In addition, it is important to investigate if PPT establishes a boundary between residents of the host destinations and those who immigrate for employment. If PPT only focuses on the native residents as the intended beneficiaries, its pro-poor potential may be limited given that tourism attracts large numbers of non-locals who contribute to its development and thus should be considered the deserving beneficiaries of its benefits (Harrison 2008).

While employment is advocated in PPT (ESCAP 2005; Mitchell & Ashley 2010; Snyman & Spenceley 2012), it is argued that employment alone cannot alleviate poverty for two main reasons. First, tourism jobs are low paying which may result in a working poor class (Huynh 2011; Jamieson et al. 2004; Mowforth & Munt 2003; Tao & Wall 2009; Wattanakuljarus & Coxhead 2008). Poor people often lack the skills, knowledge, and capital required to produce quality products and establish businesses (Huynh 2011; Scheyvens 2002; Suntikul et al. 2009). Therefore, they often get casual and/or part-time jobs only (Ashley et al. 2001). Not only are they poorly paid, often their positions are also "menial" (Butcher 2003; Jamieson et al. 2004; McLaren 2003; Mowforth & Munt 2003). Generally, poor people have almost no opportunity to move up because most high-ranked positions are assigned to foreigners (McLaren 2003). Second, tourism jobs are seasonal in nature, resulting in increased numbers of people who are seasonally employed, underemployed, and unemployed (Jolliffe & Farnsworth 2003). Tourism jobs are thus associated with unstable incomes. These characteristics make tourism unattractive to young people, who do not like shift-based and weekend work (Vanhove 1981; see also Tosun 1998, 2001). In some cases, people accept tourism jobs just because they want to live in high amenity areas. Hence, providing amenities through tourism may lead to higher poverty levels and widened income gaps (Deller 2010). That said, tourism jobs are not a guarantee for poverty alleviation.

PPT also advocates maximising benefits for poor people. However, the allocation of benefits is not a direct concern (Chok et al. 2007; Deller 2010; Holden 2013). Therefore, studies demonstrating how many economic benefits are distributed to and enjoyed by the poor are rare (Harrison & Schipani 2007; Mitchell & Ashley 2010). Even where such

assessments are available, they are conflicting (Harrison & Schipani 2007). Some economic profits of tourism may not have any poverty effect because they are spent on imports or paid to expatriate workers (ESCAP 2005; Oriade & Evans 2011). These profits are much less significant when tourists use foreign travel agencies, foreign airlines, and stay in multinational hotel chains (Huynh 2011; McLaren 2003), or when such foreign providers dominate the marketplace (Mowforth & Munt 2003; Oriade & Evans 2011). For instance, it was estimated that in the 1990s, about 60% of Thailand's US\$4 billion annual tourism earnings left the country (Mowforth & Munt 2003), suggesting that very little money was distributed to poor people in host communities. Therefore, tourism has often been called a new form of imperialism that further promotes the domination of developed countries over the less developed ones (Butler 1990; Mowforth & Munt 2003; see also Holden 2013).

Since PPT pays little attention to distributional issues, sometimes the poorest people are not the beneficiaries of tourism. Rather, those in better conditions earn more income (Blake et al. 2008; Dang 2009; Deller 2010; Suntikul et al. 2009; Torres & Momsen 2004). In other cases, the non-locals having more money and skills can gain more benefits (Ashley et al. 2001; Suntikul et al. 2009; Wilkinson & Pratiwi 1995). Poor people's opportunities to participate in tourism and enjoy its benefits are also limited by competition from multinational enterprises and/or market constraints (Schilcher 2007). This is particularly problematic when countries need to accelerate their economies through tourism growth, they often advocate free market and private sector development. This reflects the liberal/neoliberal thinking that considers tourism a means of modernisation through economic growth, job creation, income generation, and debt settlement. Tourism is thus promoted alongside marketisation, free trade, and increased presence of private companies in the marketplace, which then trickles down benefits to alleviate poverty (Holden 2013; Pearce D. 2012; Scheyvens 2007; Schilcher 2007). In addition, inappropriate administration systems, legal structures, insufficient financial resources, and unfair economic schemes could contribute to restraining poor people from participating in tourism (Tosun 1998). Even when they are able to participate in developing tourism strategies, they are not necessarily entitled to tourism benefits (Mitchell 2008). A truly integrated approach, as Mitchell (2008) argues, requires the measurement of both perceived and actual social, cultural, and economic impacts on poor people. Implicit in Mitchell's (2008) argument is that more attention needs to be given to the perceptions and experiences of poor people whom PPT is meant to benefit.

Equally important in PPT development is to create and maintain local communities' positive attitudes towards tourism (ESCAP 2005). Previous research suggests that local people's attitudes are determined by, *inter alia*, the economic benefits of tourism (Akyeampong 2011; Liu 2003). The higher the income they receive from tourism, the more favourable attitudes they maintain towards its development. Their attitudes are also affected by their level of presence in tourism, that is, their attitudes are often positive when they are empowered to influence planning and decision-making and thus control the ways tourism is developed (Liu 2003). However, the equitable distribution of profits is not a main concern in PPT as noted earlier. Tourism is still often labelled PPT even when rich people benefit more than poor people (Ashley et al. 2001). Indeed, the rich have more chances to participate in tourism and therefore obtain more benefits (Hall 2007). This suggests that poor people may maintain negative attitudes towards tourism, which may result in the failure of tourism promotion in any given destination (Akyeampong 2011). Prior findings also indicate that people with high levels of income, education, and social status demonstrate positive attitudes towards tourism (Jackson & Inbakaran 2006), and thus have more opportunities to participate in and benefit from it. As such, it is therefore necessary to promote positive attitudes among local people alongside income generation, where applicable, if PPT is to succeed.

Apart from income and employment generation, PPT also considers a wide range of non-economic livelihoods for poor people. These include vulnerability mitigation, capacity building, skills training, access to information, community pride, infrastructure improvement, credit and market support (DFID 1999). The inclusion of these livelihood impacts is considered an advantage of PPT over other forms of tourism (Ashley et al. 2001; Holden 2013). This suggests that PPT is potentially a people-centred and comprehensive approach. However, it requires insights into what local people prioritise and need (Jamieson et al. 2004) as well as into how they interpret tourism as a means of poverty alleviation, which is a substantial knowledge gap (Holden et al. 2011; Muganda et al. 2010; Pleumarom 2012). PPT has also to ensure that these livelihoods are positive and sustainable (Tao & Wall 2009). This is challenging for two main reasons. First, livelihoods are complicated and multi-dimensional. Second, tourism often involves the participation of various stakeholders and the provision of services by many sectors (Simpson 2007). The PPT literature is lacking data to demonstrate that the poor's livelihoods are changed due to tourism. Little is thus known of destinations where the full range of livelihood impacts of tourism is evaluated rigorously (Goodwin 2009; Holden 2013; Mitchell & Ashley 2010; Thomas 2013).

2.3.6. Major institutional actors in the PPT discourse

This section examines the perspectives of several major actors in the PPT discourse. These actors include, but are not limited to, PPT Partnership, UNWTO, NGOs and international development agencies, and individual scholars and practitioners.

PPT Partnership was a cooperative research initiative between the International Centre for Responsible Tourism, IIED, and ODI. Its PPT definition suggested that PPT does not emphasise the expansion of the sector, but prioritises poor people. It proposed three groups of measures: economic measures (business and employment opportunities), non-economic measures (capacity building, empowerment, environmental and socio-cultural impacts), and policy measures (policy, planning, participation, and partnership) (Ashley et al. 2001; DFID 1999). Although the Partnership recognised the multi-dimensionality of poverty and attempted to embrace a range of measures, it focused primarily on corporate and national levels based on the argument that these levels could make tourism benefits more pro-poor (e.g. change the way businesses operate) (Scheyvens 2007). The local level was of little concern since the Partnership did not explicitly examine the causes of poverty. Cattarinich (2001), in a contribution to the Partnership's project on PPT strategies, claimed that poverty had been defined by non-poor people but that a discussion of this issue was not an objective of his study. This perhaps implies that what causes poverty was not a concern either. Although it does not necessarily reflect the views of the Partnership, this study may still imply that the causes of poverty are beyond the scope of other studies conducted by this organisation.

As a result, instead of understanding poverty and benefiting poor people, some organisations may adopt PPT to promote marketisation and private sector development (Scheyvens 2007). Powerful stakeholders may take advantage of PPT to serve their own interests, but under an "ethical" guise (Chok et al. 2007; Pleumarom 2012). This is logically true because the private sector is often the industry leader and profitability is thus the most important objective of tourism development (Cattarinich 2001; Mitchell & Ashley 2010). In theory, the above measures all serve to achieve the common goal of net benefits for the poor, particularly those in the global South (Ashley et al. 2001). Poverty here is synonymous with insufficient income. As Cattarinich (2001, p. 5) stated, "The enhancement of economic opportunities for the poor in tourism is one example of a PPT strategy." However, income is neither the sole measure nor determinant of poverty as noted above, not to mention that tourism production, consumption, and control are still in the hands of the rich (Hall 2007).

The second major institutional actor that advocates PPT is the UNWTO. After launching the ST-EP Initiative, the UNWTO established the ST-EP Foundation through which the Initiative has focused on four main activities: capacity building, research and publications, ST-EP projects, and information dissemination and awareness raising (UNWTO n.d.). Although the UNWTO includes poverty alleviation as a central goal, it seems to follow the PPT Partnership in that it recommends seven poverty measures: employment for the poor; the poor supplying tourist products and services; the poor informally selling tourist products and services; the poor running tourism enterprises; taxes; philanthropy; and collateral benefits from tourism investment (UNWTO n.d.). These measures are repeated in several other publications (UNWTO 2005c, 2006, 2010), suggesting that they can be applied in a number of destinations. Although they differ from those of the PPT Partnership in that they focus more on the local level (e.g. positive linkages with local economies), they actually reflect the UNWTO's ambition for the liberalisation of trade in tourism with "a human face agenda" (Chok et al. 2007; Hall 2007) because they continue to target the economic impacts of tourism. Their target beneficiaries are people living on less than US\$1 per day (UNWTO n.d.), indicating that poverty is synonymous with a lack of income and that the choice of poverty measurement methods is for convenience (e.g. time, budget) rather than a rigorous analysis of poverty (Thomas 2013). It also suggests that tourism, even under the banner of the MDGs, is a means of economic growth and hence the most effective way of poverty alleviation. The focus on poverty is only aimed at making tourism a development priority, promoting private sector development, and avoiding criticisms (Chok et al. 2007).

The third actor involves international development agencies. The WB has funded many tourism projects worldwide, although it has no specific poverty focus. These projects can be divided into projects where tourism investments and outcomes are central, projects where investments do not focus on tourism but tourism outcomes are significant, and projects where tourism is not a focus. Among these, projects of the second category are the most popular (Markandya et al. 2005), implying that economic growth is prioritised on the WB agenda. Although tourism outcomes are significant, the issue of equity is neglected. This reflects the "World Bank orthodoxy" which stipulates that benefits will automatically trickle down to poor people due to economic growth (Schilcher 2007; Yunus 2007). This growth agenda still holds an important position since increased economic growth will likely facilitate borrowing countries to pay off their debts to the WB (Scheyvens 2007; Holden 2013). That said,

although it claims poverty alleviation is an overarching goal, the WB only focuses on economic growth (Yunus 2007), using the tourism industry to achieve this goal.

The fourth actor is the Asian Development Bank (ADB) that has provided about US\$38.2 million assistance to promote tourism growth in the Greater Mekong Sub-region (GMS) since 1992 (ADB 2008). Since 2001, the ADB has been guided by a long- and medium-term strategy that aims to respond to the challenges of poverty and achieve the MDGs in the Asia and Pacific region. As a result, a GMS tourism strategy was formulated for the period 2006-2015 with the overall goal of “promoting the Mekong as a single destination, offering a diversity of good quality and high yielding subregional products” so that “all regional countries and tour operators earn more from tourism and over a long period of time” (ADB, 2008, p. ii). A revised “road map” for the period 2011-2015 was approved at the GMS 2011 Tourism Ministers’ Meeting, focusing on the development of multi-country tour circuits along the GMS Economic Corridor and the Mekong River Tourism Corridor. This suggests that the growth of the tourism industry is a strategic goal, where the development of the private sector plays an important part. Although a PPT program has been implemented with one pilot project in each member country, there is “no concrete evidence of likely reduced poverty arising from ADB-supported GMS tourism operations” (ADB, 2008, p. vii).

Although NGOs are different from the above actors in terms of emphasis and approach, they also have not been able to demonstrate the poverty reduction effects of tourism. Take the case of SNV for example. Since 1990, SNV has introduced different concepts (e.g. local participation/involvement, CBT, pro-poor sustainable tourism, multi-stakeholder approach) to tourism projects in developing countries. It has also changed its ways of measuring development impacts from counting the number of beneficiaries and/or number of people trained in tourism projects to estimating the increased incomes and jobs of poor people (Hummel & van der Duijn 2012). However, SNV has provided no quantifiable figure that proves the net benefits of tourism for poor people. As a result, SNV has recently transformed from an organisation involved in project implementation into an advisory agency.

The PPT discourse has also captured the attention of individual scholars and practitioners, whose interests vary widely. Some of these investigate PPT from a macro perspective, where policy implications are discussed (e.g. Bolwell & Weinz 2008; Bowden 2005; Chok et al. 2007; Croes & Vanegas 2008; Donaldson 2007; Gartner 2008; Rogerson 2012). Meanwhile, other scholars examine PPT at a micro level with specific references to income distribution (e.g. Blake et al. 2008; Wattanakuljarus & Coxhead 2008), local people’s

perceptions and experiences (e.g. Akyeampong 2011; Holden et al. 2011), and the effectiveness of tourism in meeting people's needs (e.g. Mensah & Amuquandoh 2010; Muganda et al. 2010). PPT has also been studied at a corporate level (e.g. Erskine & Meyer 2012; Pillay & Rogerson 2013; Scheyvens & Russell 2012). Most of these studies do not explicitly define poverty and examine its causes. Where poverty is defined, its causes are not examined (e.g. Bowden 2005; Chok et al. 2007; Gartner 2008; Schilcher 2007; Suntikul et al. 2009). Jamieson et al. (2004) are among the few who argue that it is necessary to investigate the causes of poverty at local, national, and global levels. However, the individual level (poor people) is ignored. Others attribute poverty to a list of "lacks", which actually are not the causes of poverty, but the forms it manifests itself or the dimensions it embraces (e.g. Bolwell & Weinz 2008; Bowden 2005; Cattarinich 2001).

This section indicates that the extant discourse over the tourism-poverty linkage tends to assume that tourism has some advantages for poverty alleviation, often through employment and income generation. Therefore, tourism growth is advocated to increase benefits for poor people. This represents the (neo)liberal thinking that views tourism as a tool for economic growth which will then trickle down benefits to alleviate poverty. Although this view may be correct in that in some contexts and locations tourism development may be beneficial to local communities and individuals, it overlooks the bigger picture (Hall 2007; Scheyvens 2007). As Hall (2007, p. 116) argues, "Unless structural changes are made...the hopes for poverty-reduction in many parts of the developing world remain poor". In a similar vein, other critics claim that the potential of tourism for poverty alleviation remains limited if the barriers to poverty alleviation at the macro level, such as corruption and income inequality, are not removed (Chok et al. 2007; Harrison 2008; Scheyvens 2007, 2011; Schilcher 2007).

In addition, this section finds that there is a lack of research attention given to the voice of poor people whom PPT is meant to benefit (Holden et al. 2011; Pleumarom 2012). There is also little understanding of poverty and its causes at a local level. As already discussed, given its multi-dimensional nature, examining poverty and its causes in a localised context would help tourism contribute effectively to poverty alleviation.

2.4. TRICKLEDOWN THEORY: DO TOURISM BENEFITS TRICKLE DOWN TO POOR PEOPLE?

Trickledown theory has often been cited in the tourism literature as the process where the economic benefits of tourism naturally spread out to reach poor people (Gartner 2008;

Pleumarom 2012). This theory has been used in politics with the belief that by cutting down on taxes and offering other priorities to businesses and rich individuals, benefits will trickle down to the broader population. Advocates of this view claim that economic growth follows a top-down pattern, which will thus indirectly benefit people who are not the direct beneficiaries of policy changes (Kakwani & Pernia 2000). In economics, this theory became dominant development thinking in the 1950s and 1960s, assuming that public and private investments will naturally flow into poorer areas and benefit socially excluded groups (Minnaert 2012). This theory has been used by advocates of capitalism to justify its economic dynamics since the second half of the 20th century (Mowforth et al. 2008). Nevertheless, the income gaps between different groups of people have widened from the mid-1960s to the mid-1990s as noted earlier, meaning that continued economic growth in developed countries has resulted in more poor people (Kakwani & Pernia 2000; Kotler et al. 2006). The evidence suggests that income inequality may be as important as poverty itself (Ravallion 2013). For this reason, development economists have attempted to establish livelihood programs that target poor individuals and microloan programs that assist small business development (e.g. Grameen Bank; Kotler et al. 2006; this will be discussed in Chapter Four).

In tourism, this theory has been advocated by some scholars. According to Richter (1985), although all regions in the US depend on tourism, the South and West rely most heavily on the sector. However, a closer analysis of the “trickledown” effect of tourism in 20 states reveals that tourism has benefited all counties in these states. This diffusion of revenue is regarded as an important economic and political foundation for the state to support tourism development. Examining ethnic tourism in the Mexican San Cristobal town, Berghe (1992) indicated that the economic benefits of tourism do “trickle down” to the local Indians. Although these benefits may look meagre individually, they have a collectively significant impact on the local residents. It has often been assumed that through this trickledown mechanism, local communities will be able to benefit from employment or through the economic impacts of spending in tourist destinations (Goodwin 2006; Jamieson et al. 2004; Matarrita-Cascante 2010; McLaren 2003). Tourism growth has thus been measured and reported in terms of visitor numbers, associated expenditure, and contribution to national GDP (Gartner 2008; Goodwin 2006; Jamieson et al. 2004; Matarrita-Cascante 2010; Muganda et al. 2010). Such issues as equity, poverty reduction, or environmental protection are of little consideration (Matarrita-Cascante 2010).

Some research indicates that although increased tourism development has significant impacts on the macro-economy of local destinations, its benefits fail to trickle down to poor people, especially ethnic minorities (Akama 2000; Pleumarom 2012; Scheyvens 2002; Wong 2007), who are usually employed in low-paying jobs but are exposed to many of the negative social and environmental impacts of tourism. Akama (2000, pp. 5-6) reported that “only between 2% and 5% of Kenya's total tourism receipts trickle down to the populace at the grassroots level, in forms of low paying and servile jobs, and the selling of souvenirs and agricultural products”. The same also happened in Tangkoko (Indonesia) where 47% of tourism benefits were distributed to major tour companies, 44% to hotels, and only 7% to tour guides (McLaren 2003). In Guizhou and Yunnan (China), while local rural residents continued to serve as cooks, waiters and cleaners in some hotels and restaurants, and food grown by poor people was purchased to feed tourists, relatively small portions of the profits trickled down to the poor. The situation became worse when the local tourism sector further developed and required skilled workers. The local poor were excluded from jobs, and the beneficiaries as a result were the non-poor (Donaldson 2007).

Muganda et al. (2010) demonstrate that tourism generates some benefits for the residents of Tanzania in the forms of infrastructure and transportation improvements. However, these benefits are not distributed equally amongst the local community and fail to trickle down to those living far from main roads. In Cambodia, the 2007 *Stay another Day* campaign was launched by the International Financial Corporation in cooperation with GIZ and the Cambodian Ministry of Tourism to promote tourism that benefits local poor communities. A focus was placed on Siem Reap, where the World Heritage Site of Angkor is situated. However, after three years of campaign operations, Siem Reap remains one of the poorest areas in Cambodia, where over half of its population lives on less than US\$1.25 a day. Four out of 10 villages have no access to safe drinking water. Additionally, 53% of the local children are malnourished and literacy rates are found to be the lowest in the country (Pleumarom 2012). These findings suggest that tourism development, at least in developing countries, often fails to benefit local people equitably, particularly the poor. The trickle-down mechanism after all has the potential to generate detrimental impacts on the poverty condition in these countries, rather than alleviate it.

In summary, the above discussions suggest that the liberal/neoliberal approach is often adopted by tourism scholars and development agencies who tend to favour marketisation and private sector development as the most effective means of tourism growth and hence poverty

alleviation. The liberal/neoliberal thinking is also the main driver behind the use of the trickledown logic, where economic growth is considered the ultimate goal of tourism promotion. The PPT concept is taken as a banner where economic and political goals are hidden. This may be a reason why the nature of poverty, its causes, and the voices of poor people have received limited attention in the extant tourism literature.

2.5. CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has discussed the conceptualisation, causes, and measures of poverty. It indicates that poverty definitions have evolved from a reductionist perspective that limits poverty to income or several other needs to a generalist perspective that acknowledges its multi-dimensionality. Poverty is due to both internal and external causes, which represent classical, and liberal/neoliberal and political ideologies, respectively. These ideologies lead to two main categories of poverty measures. The first stresses the efforts of poor people in lifting themselves out of poverty. The second, in contrast, emphasises structural barriers that hinder poor people from escaping poverty. However, the neoliberal approach to poverty alleviation, which advocates economic growth, has often been favoured.

The extant literature on PPT has been driven by the liberal/neoliberal perspective, which echoes free market and private sector development. This is not surprising given the positions of the major institutions that have been involved in tourism as project/program funders and sponsors. Tourism is considered a means of economic growth and hence the best way of poverty alleviation. Tourism tends to flourish in a free market since the private sector is the industry leader. Therefore, tourism can be regarded as both the driver and beneficiary of liberalism/neoliberalism. Although PPT research has resulted in a substantial body of literature, little is known of how poor people perceive tourism as a means of poverty alleviation. There is also limited understanding of the causes of poverty, including the behaviour of poor people (and non-poor people) in both positively and negatively affecting the poverty situation in host destinations. Where behaviour change is important for poverty alleviation, social marketing may be important given its potential in promoting behaviour change. The key principles of social marketing will be presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE:

LITERATURE REVIEW - SOCIAL MARKETING

3.1. INTRODUCTION

Chapter One has stated that this research examines the interrelationships between tourism, poverty alleviation, and social marketing. As Chapter Two has investigated the tourism-poverty linkage, this chapter examines social marketing as the second main area of interest, laying the basis for the discussions of the social marketing - poverty alleviation and social marketing - tourism linkages in Chapter Four. First, the development of social marketing is chronicled. Next, the theoretical underpinnings of social marketing are discussed. Social marketing utilises the tools of generic marketing to promote voluntary behaviour change in the target audience for collective welfare. This is important given that poverty in some cases may have behavioural causes and that poverty alleviation *per se* is for the benefits of poor people and society overall (Chapter Two). The social marketing concept includes six basic elements: voluntary behaviour change, exchanges, a long-term planning process, audience research and segmentation, both individuals and the general public as the target audience, and competition. These elements are proposed as the criteria for labelling and evaluating legitimate social marketing programs. Finally, the ethical dimensions of social marketing are considered. Based on this chapter, the conceptual framework guiding this research will be developed in Chapter Four.

3.2. THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL MARKETING

The term “social marketing” was formalised by Kotler and Zaltman (1971) in referring to the use of the tools of generic marketing to solve social issues. In fact, social marketing first appeared when the question “Can brotherhood be sold like soap?” was posed by Wiebe (1951). Wiebe (1951) suggested that a social change program would be more likely to succeed if it were more similar to that of commercial marketing. Wiebe’s idea about the adoption of commercial marketing for social causes thus far has been cited in numerous journal articles published worldwide (Andreasen 2002; Gordon 2011).

In the 1960s, social marketing was not recognised as a formal concept. However, marketing was adopted by international development organisations to distribute

contraceptives (Andreasen 2006) and provide health education in developing countries (MacFadyen et al. 1999). Social advertising was then employed to motivate social change. Its success had pulled academics towards the broadening of the marketing concept (Andreasen 2006). Family planning campaigns in Sri Lanka, India, Bangladesh (Fox & Kotler 1980) and oral rehydration programs in Africa were among the early successful examples of adopting a more consumer-oriented approach to program development (MacFadyen et al. 1999). These programs mainly used pharmacists and small shops to distribute contraceptives and condoms that were aimed at reducing birth rates in the target audience as a means of poverty alleviation. These examples suggest that social marketing may help alleviate poverty by encouraging behaviour change in the target audience.

The 1970s was marked with the formalisation of the term “social marketing”. Kotler and Zaltman (1971, p. 5) defined social marketing as:

The design, implementation and control of programs calculated to influence the acceptability of social ideas and involving considerations of product planning, pricing, communication, distribution and marketing research.

The early use of the social marketing term created some confusion. Individuals tended to confuse social marketing with societal marketing – which actually aims to reduce the social consequences of commercial marketing practices (Andreasen 1994b). Besides, its emphasis on the marketing of ideas tended to make marketers believe that they would be successful once they saw some change in the attitudes and ideas of their target audience. Later on, Andreasen (1994b, p. 110) provided another definition where social marketing is “the application of commercial marketing technologies to the analysis, planning, execution and evaluation of programs designed to influence the voluntary behaviour of target audiences in order to improve their personal welfare and that of society of which they are a part”. Andreasen (1994b) argued that social marketing is often understood to have its root in commercial marketing but the production of sales as the bottom line of commercial marketing is neglected. Because sales are examples of human behaviours, social marketing should concentrate on the same objectives of influencing behaviour change (Andreasen 1994b). To achieve these objectives, some commercial marketing technologies are adopted. “Technologies” in this definition can be construed as “tools” or “techniques”.

The above two definitions were important at the time as they helped distinguish social marketing from commercial marketing (Table 3.1). Lazer and Kelley (1973, p. ix), however, proposed a different definition, where social marketing “is concerned with the application of

marketing knowledge, concepts and techniques to enhance social as well as economic ends. It is also concerned with analysis of the social consequence of marketing policies, decisions and activities”. This definition highlights two issues. First, social marketing helps solve social issues for both the benefits of society and the economic gains of companies. Second, it examines the (negative) social impacts of commercial marketing programs, which Fox and Kotler (1980, p. 27) called “the other side of the story”. In this second context, social marketing may be confused with societal marketing as Andreasen (1994b) noted above. It may also be confused with macromarketing that concerns the effects of marketing systems (including individuals and groups with their decisions and activities) on society (Layton 2007). Although this confusion may be subject to individual views, it still relates to traditional marketing and involves social consequences (Gordon 2011). This definition is similar to the two previous definitions in indicating that social marketing applies commercial marketing techniques to address social issues. However, a science or discipline is more than its techniques. Social marketing is thus not a simple application of marketing techniques to other sectors. Rather, it seeks to identify how exchanges are created and resolved in social relationships (Bagozzi 1975). Social marketing *per se*, in other words, attempts to answer the question about the nature and dynamics of exchange behaviour in these relationships.

Table 3.1. Differences between social marketing and commercial marketing

Criteria	Commercial marketing	Social marketing
Product	Selling goods and/or services	Selling a desired attitude and behaviour
Product visibility	Both tangible and intangible	Often intangible
Primary aim	Financial gains, may be in long-, medium- or short-term	Societal gains, usually in the long-term
Competitor	Other organisations that offer similar goods and/or services or target similar needs	Presently preferred behaviour, alternative behaviour and/or social structures

Sources: Andreasen (1994b); Donovan & Henley (2010); Kotler & Lee (2008); Kotler & Zaltman (1971)

It was during the 1970s that the idea of broadening the marketing concept to solve social issues was opposed by some scholars. Luck (1974) was concerned that the economic exchange concept would be threatened by an intangible product or value. A person, he argued, receiving a free service is not a customer because he/she exchanges nothing with the service provider. Some feared the power of marketing in disseminating social ideas could

result in substantial ethical ramifications (Laczniak et al. 1979; MacFadyen et al. 1999). Others were even afraid the social marketing concept would threaten the reputation of marketing because it might be used to promote uncommon causes, or the proposed behaviour change might not be in people's interest (Fox & Kotler 1980). Paradoxically, while they expressed their opposition to social marketing, they also considered its applicability. The result was that the social marketing concept continued to be applied in developing countries (e.g. Sri Lanka; Fox & Kotler 1980). It was also redefined to embrace the marketing of ideas (Fine 1981; Kotler & Roberto 1989) and ethical considerations (Laczniack et al. 1979).

By the 1980s, scholars were no longer concerned about the possibility of applying marketing to social issues. Instead, they paid more attention to how it should be applied (MacFadyen et al. 1999). Social marketing practitioners were active in sharing experiences and offering suggestions to develop social marketing both theoretically and practically (Ling et al. 1992). For example, Fox and Kotler (1980) described the move of social marketing from a social advertising approach to social communications and promotion. While social advertising mainly articulates information to influence attitudes and behaviours, social communications and promotion utilise personal selling and editorial support. Social marketing replaces these approaches by adding at least four elements, namely marketing research, product development, incentives, and facilitation (Fox & Kotler 1980). Bloom (1980) examined the ways social marketing programs were evaluated, indicating that poor design and implementation was found in many studies. Bloom and Novelli (1981) reviewed the first decade of social marketing development and called for more studies to lay a more rigorous theoretical foundation for the discipline. They suggested that such issues as audience segmentation, media channels, long-term positioning strategies, organisation and management should be examined (Bloom & Novelli 1981).

Research studies in the 1990s (Hastings & Haywood 1991; Lefebvre & Flora 1988) contributed to social marketing's increasing popularity in the field of public health. More debates were directed towards its theory and practice (MacFadyen et al. 1999). Ling et al. (1992) critiqued social marketing's origin and practices and indicated its strengths and weaknesses in the public health field. Lefebvre (1996) reviewed the 25-year development of social marketing and pointed out some issues that needed to be addressed, namely theoretical development, strategic and creative development of social marketing programs, adoption of social marketing in the private sector, children and adolescents as the target audience, and

new research agenda and techniques. To Lefebvre (1996), addressing these issues would contribute to developing the empirical base of social marketing as a field of study.

The 1990s also saw a debate over behaviour change as the objective of social marketing. Scholars started to question whose behaviour actually needs changing. Buchanan et al. (1994) claimed that a narrow focus on individual behaviour change and the manipulative techniques used for promoting behaviour change had limited social marketing's effectiveness. Its benefits as a result were not as great as claimed by its advocates. Goldberg (1995) indicated that most social marketing programs had focused on individual behaviour and pointed out the need to eliminate contextual or structural influences on individual behaviour. Smith (1998) also called for close attention to a more strategic level: structural change. According to Smith (1998), social marketing is firstly about social change, individual change, and structural adjustments. Structural change requires policy, law, and regulation adjustments, while social change involves changes in the social environments which enable perceptual, attitudinal and behavioural change in individuals. Whilst individual change is emphasised, the structural level is neglected. Social marketers are thus urged to consider changing the environments before changing the "heads" of individuals (Smith 1998). These claims signify the need to move beyond the individual level to influence the structural level if social marketing is to realise its full potential. The targeting of the structural level is referred to as upstream social marketing and will be discussed further in section 3.3.

Social marketing continues to be applied in different sectors in the 2000s. It is not only seen as an effective way to improve public health, but also to foster public safety, family planning, human rights, environmental protection, hospitality operation, sustainable tourism, and community development (Table 3.2). Social marketing programs often incorporate a number of theories and/or models to promote behaviour change (e.g. social learning theory, theory of community organisation) (Donovan & Henley 2010; Hastings & Saren 2003; MacFadyen et al. 1999; Smith 2000; Stead et al. 2007). Myriad social marketing articles and textbooks have been published, workshops and conferences held (e.g. World Social Marketing Conference) and social marketing centres established globally (e.g. at University of Stirling, UK; University of South Florida, US; Carleton University, Canada; Bristol Social Marketing Centre, UK). The evidence indicates that the importance of social marketing is increasingly perceived by both academics and practitioners.

Table 3.2. Examples of social marketing programs

Area	Type	Country	Organisation
Public Health	Nutrition	Indonesia	Indonesian Government
	Sanitation	Tanzania	Water, Engineering and Development Centre (UK)
	Immunisation	Nepal	UNICEF
	Breastfeeding	Brazil USA	Brazilian Government Various States
	Oral rehydration	Honduras	HealthCom USAID programs
	Anti-smoking	USA	Florida State
Family Planning	Contraceptives	India, Bangladesh, Indonesia, Zambia, Pakistan, Vietnam, Sri Lanka, El Salvador, Colombia, Nepal, Mexico, Thailand, Guatemala, Dominican Republic	DKT International Government Ministries
HIV/AIDS	Use of condoms HIV/AIDS prevention	Ethiopia, Uganda, Thailand, Vietnam, Kenya	UNAIDS, UNICEF
Human Rights	Child rights, gender	Africa, Asia	UNICEF
Civil Society	Corruption	Asia	WB
Traffic safety	Seat belt usage	USA	North Carolina State
Environmental protection	Waste reduction	Australia, Ireland, Canada	Local governments & partners
	Water protection	USA, Canada, UK, New Zealand, Vietnam	
	Emission reduction	Canada, Australia	
	Energy use reduction	Canada, Spain	
	Fish and wildlife habitats protection	USA, UK	

Source: Developed from Martinsen (2003)

This section has chronicled the development of social marketing. It indicates that social marketing has triggered a lively debate among researchers and practitioners over its theoretical and practical foundations. This section also suggests that substantial research attention has focused on behaviour change in individuals. The potential of social marketing as an approach to promoting structural change, although recognised, appears under-researched. The conceptual underpinnings of social marketing are presented next.

3.3. CONCEPTUAL UNDERPINNINGS

The development of social marketing over the past 40 years has resulted in more than 45 academic definitions (Dann 2010). However, debates continue. MacFadyen et al. (1999) suggested that the social marketing concept consisted of four elements: audience orientation, exchanges, a long-term planning process, and the general public as the target audience. Andreasen (2002) added two more elements, namely voluntary behaviour change and competition, to constitute a set of six elements. These elements are discussed below.

3.3.1. Voluntary behaviour change

Social marketing utilises the tools of generic marketing to solve social problems where the final goal is behaviour change (Andreasen 1994a, 1994b; Dann & Dann 2009; Donovan 2011; Hastings et al. 2000; Kotler & Lee 2008; Maibach 2003b; Smith & Strand 2008). It is unique in that it expands from the mainstream marketing domain to “solve” social causes (Andreasen 1994b, 2002; Gordon et al. 2006; Hastings 2003; Stead et al. 2007). However, behaviour change must be voluntary, not compulsory or coercive (Dann & Dann 2009; Donovan 2011; Maibach 2003a; Stead et al. 2007). Social marketing influences people to voluntarily accept a target behaviour or stop a harmful behaviour for individual and collective benefits (Andreasen 1994b). Therefore, without the objective or outcome of behaviour change in the target audience, programs are not considered social marketing (Maibach 2003a; Smith & Strand 2008; Tabanico & Schultz 2007). The outcome of behaviour change is also utilised to evaluate the success of social marketing programs (Andreasen 1994b; Redmond & Griffith 2006; Tabanico & Schultz 2007). If only a more positive attitude is seen in the target audience after interventions, a social marketing program is not successful (Redmond & Griffith 2006). That said, voluntary behaviour change should be adhered to as the “bottom line” of social marketing programs.

Andreasen (1994b) suggested four advantages of the emphasis on behaviour change. First, it helps social marketing distinguish itself from other disciplines such as advertising and education. Second, it forces social marketers to understand their target audience before fully developing their programs. Third, it helps establish appropriate criteria for assessing social marketing programs. Finally, it helps social marketing avoid taking responsibility for objectives in areas (e.g. education, propagation) that social marketing does not have particular advantages (Andreasen 1994b). The emphasis on behaviour change should be

understood as the primary objective and outcome of social marketing, not the rejection of advertising or education as its component.

While behaviour change is considered a fundamental objective of social marketing, it is argued that social marketing also promotes the acceptability of a social idea (Fine 1981; Kotler & Roberto 1989; Kotler & Zaltman 1971). The assumption is that there is a marketplace where social ideas are exchanged like that of products. The dissemination of ideas is thus a marketing process. Griffin (2006), in contrast, maintains that the inclusion of a social idea is problematic as it may lead to a change in belief, but not necessarily in behaviour. Andreasen (2002) also rejects this argument, claiming that social marketing is not about idea promotion, but about behaviour change. Donovan (2011) warns that an undue focus on behaviour change may lead to endless discussions and limit social marketing's potential in influencing a wider range of audience than individuals. Peattie and Peattie (2003) argue that the behaviour is only proposed, not produced, owned or transferred, by social marketers or marketing organisations. Instead, it is the target audience who produce the behaviour.

3.3.2. An exchange

Promoting behaviour change requires an exchange between social marketers and the target audience. Exchange is thus the second basic element of social marketing (Alwitt 1995; Peattie & Peattie 2003; Smith 2000; Smith & Strand 2008). It is defined as the situations where two or more parties interact with one another to gain benefits from something of value (Kotler & Zaltman 1971; MacFadyen et al. 1999). Bagozzi (1975) classified exchange into restricted exchange, generalised exchange, and complex exchange. Restricted exchange refers to the relationships between two parties. Generalised exchange involves reciprocal relationships between at least three parties where each party gives to another but receives from someone other than to whom he/she gives. Complex exchange consists of the mutual relationships between three or more parties where each party is directly engaged in at least one relationship. Bagozzi (1975) also implied that exchange is a basic social activity of human beings, suggesting that the marketing concept is not only limited to the exchange of products and services for commercial gains, but also conveys the (social) interactions, (psychological) feelings and emotions of the participating parties.

Skidmore (1975) indicated that individuals will engage in an exchange if the resulting awards are valued, if the exchange is likely to produce valued rewards, and if the perceived benefits outweigh the perceived costs. Thus, to encourage voluntary behaviour change, social

marketers need to exchange something the target audience are interested in or want (Hastings & Saren 2003; MacFadyen et al. 1999; Smith 2000). They even need to attach more value to increase the target audience's readiness to change. The target audience are also encouraged to reject/modify the current undesired behaviour because social marketers not only promote the acceptability of the proposed behaviour but also seek to prevent the less desirable one (Donovan & Henley 2010; Ling et al. 1992). Moreover, social marketers need to find ways to motivate the target audience to maintain the behaviour (Andreasen 2006; Brennan & Binney 2008) since some of them may adopt it for tangible rewards only (Griffin 2006). Social marketers thus need to identify both internal and external barriers to the sustainable maintenance of the behaviour (Tabanico & Schultz 2007). These challenges require social marketers to develop innovative initiatives in order to promote voluntary exchange.

The notion of exchange in social marketing, however, is not without problems. Since the benefits promoted by social marketers are often intangible, unforeseeable, and long-term (Hastings & Saren 2003; Kotler & Lee 2008, 2009), it is difficult for social marketers to convince the target audience. In addition, social marketers may face difficulty in communicating the benefits of the proposed behaviours in case the target audience do not have adequate knowledge and skills to provide constructive responses. Therefore, in order to promote voluntary exchange, a long-term planning process is required.

3.3.3. A long-term planning process

As already noted, social marketing utilises the tools of generic marketing to create behaviour change. The development of a social marketing program is thus long-term, continual (MacFadyen et al. 1999) and consists of a number of steps (Kotler & Lee 2008). The typical social marketing planning process is usually carried out in the same way as that of commercial marketing (Kotler & Lee 2008). It starts with the description of the program background, purpose, and focus. The internal and external environment is then analysed. This results in the segmentation of the target audience, determination of objectives and goals, and identification of competition and barriers. Next, a strategic marketing mix is developed (Table 3.3) and a monitoring and evaluation plan is outlined. Finally, budgets and funding sources are sought and an implementation plan completed (Kotler & Lee 2008).

Table 3.3. The social marketing mix

P elements	Description
Product	This element refers to the idea, behaviour, or service to be promoted to the target audience (Smith 2000). The social product consists of the core or actual product that is the benefits of behaviour change, and the supplementary product comprising tangible objects and services to facilitate behaviour change (Kotler & Zaltman 1971; Wood 2008).
Price	The price element represents the barriers that the target audience must overcome to accept and maintain the proposed social product (Kotler & Zaltman 1971; Smith & Strand 2008). It may include the actual time they spend, the effort they make, the physical discomfort they experience, the opportunity cost they incur, and/or the status loss they may suffer.
Place	Refers to where the target audience perform the proposed behaviour (Bloom & Novelli 1981; Kotler & Lee 2008). To encourage this performance, social marketers may make the places closer, more accessible, and more appealing to the target audience (Kotler & Lee 2008).
Promotion	This element refers to the ways the social product is communicated to the target audience. It includes advertising, public relations, audience orientation, education, counselling, community organisation, and interpersonal support (Kotler & Zaltman 1971; Smith 2000). It also includes interactive media and electronic channels (Wood 2008).
Politics	Apart from the above four main Ps, a social marketing mix may include Politics or Policy, especially when the support of policy-makers and/or community activists is required to ensure successful behaviour change (Andreasen 2002; Goldberg 1995; Smith 2000; see 3.3.5 below).

However, it is more difficult to conduct a social marketing plan than in commercial marketing because it usually involves human behaviour change in more complicated or at least contested contexts (Kotler & Zaltman 1971; Lefebvre & Flora 1988). First, it is more difficult to define behaviour and its benefits. Second, it is harder to generate demands for that behaviour. Third, it is harder to reach the target audience (MacFadyen et al. 1999). Whilst commercial marketing seeks to meet shareholders' objectives, social marketing aims to bring about collective welfare for society overall. This long-term vision is an important advantage of social marketing (Andreasen 1994b). Yet, it makes social marketing more challenging because the benefits of the proposed behaviour are not direct and foreseeable in the short-term (Hastings & Saren 2003; Kotler & Lee 2008). Hence, social marketing is claimed to be "a thousand times harder" than commercial marketing (Fox & Kotler 1980, p. 31). One way to overcome this difficulty is to conduct effective audience research and segmentation.

3.3.4. Audience research and segmentation

The fourth basic element of social marketing is audience research and segmentation (Maibach 2003a; Smith & Strand 2008). This is because social marketing is audience-focused where the target audience are the active participants of the change process (Dann & Dann 2009;

Gordon 2011; Smith 2000). In social marketing definitions, audience may be synonymous with customers, consumers, and society at large (Dann 2008). For social marketers, audience research provides insights into the audience's needs, wants, perceptions, attitudes and behaviours (Donovan & Henley 2010) as well as into factors influencing their choices (Griffin 2006). For marketing organisations, it allows them to optimise the resources of their own and their partners (Maibach 2003b). When conducted over multiple periods, audience research will generate both short-term and long-term results (MacKintosh et al. 1999). Generally, audience research in social marketing requires more in-depth analyses and approaches than in commercial marketing because it involves more complex environments (Donovan & Henley 2010). There are also parallels with transformative marketing in generating benefits for the consumer and society overall (Ozanne et al. 2011). The notion of transformative consumer research, which emerged in 2001, seeks to improve the well-being of individuals and society (Blocker et al. 2011; Mari 2008; Ozanne et al. 2011). However, it is different in that it attempts to mitigate the effects of consumption on customer welfare and does not have behaviour change objectives (Mari 2008; Ozanne et al. 2011).

After audience research, a process of segmentation is undertaken (Smith & Strand 2008). It is defined as the division of audience into homogenous segments (Bloom & Novelli 1981; Kotler & Lee 2009; Kotler & Roberto 1989) within which similar strategies are adopted (Smith & Strand 2008). The number of segments does vary. A social marketing program may consist of only one or several segments (Fine 1981). These segments are common in terms of age, income, geographic locations (Maibach 2003a, 2003b), needs, wants, motivations, values, or behaviours (Kotler & Lee 2008, 2009). One or more of these variables may be chosen or combined to ensure that people of the same segments have similar behaviours and those of different segments demonstrate different behaviours. The segmentation should also ensure segment sizes are reasonably large so that a marketing mix can be developed effectively.

The benefits of segmentation can be reflected in three ways. First, it helps social marketers concentrate on the target audience whose needs can be best satisfied. Second, as the target audience's needs are satisfied, they are more likely to maintain the proposed behaviour sustainably. Third, it helps social marketers design the most appropriate communications and distribution strategy to meet the target audience's needs (Kotler & Roberto 1989). However, it is discriminatory to focus on several segments and ignore others. Therefore, social marketers may have to include many segments, which cause much pressure particularly in cases of limited funding. It may be more difficult for them to collect sufficient

behavioural data. Even with self-completion questionnaires, the generated data may be inaccurate (Bloom & Novelli 1981).

3.3.5. Not only individuals, but also the general public

Besides individuals as the target audience, social marketing can be adopted to change the behaviour of the general public (Andreasen 1994a; Kotler & Roberto 1989). This means to ensure the success of any social marketing program, the behaviour of other people relevant to the target audience also needs to change (Andreasen 1994b; Kotler & Lee 2009). These people may include interest groups, the media, stakeholders, organisations, and policy-makers (Donovan & Henley 2010; Gordon et al. 2006; Hastings 2003; Hastings et al. 2000; Stead et al. 2007). Referred to as the “upstream” level, these people to some extent control the social context where individual behaviour choices are made (Gordon 2011; Hastings et al. 2000; Kotler & Lee 2008). Targeting the upstream level thus helps social marketers avoid being criticised for blaming their own target audience, whose behaviours are not always under their control. It also makes downstream efforts less manipulative and overcome structural barriers to change (Hastings et al. 2000). That said, social marketing could be more comprehensive by targeting both downstream and upstream levels.

Maibach (2003a), in contrast, argues that social marketing is not about influencing law and policy makers who enforce regulations to achieve behaviour change. Andreasen (1994b), while acknowledging the effectiveness of coercion, claims that it is not part of social marketing. However, Donovan (2011, p. 11) contends that social marketing should include law and policy strategies because it exists in “a sea of regulations”. Laws and policies are part of the working environment for social marketers and are the context where the target behaviours are motivated (Donovan 2011). Smith and Strand (2008) even ascribe the failure of social marketing programs to the exclusion of regulatory measures, implying that policies and regulations should be a component of social marketing. Yet, targeting the “upstream” level often requires in-depth research to inform policies and regulations, where lobbying and media advocacy plays an important role (Brennan & Binney 2008; Gordon 2011).

In fact, the move beyond individuals had already emerged in the 1960s. Kotler and Levy (1969) claimed that an organisation’s consumers include not only individuals but also the general public, and the latter is the target audience of social marketers. Kotler and Roberto (1989) emphasised the effect of different “influentials” on the success of social marketing programs, arguing that successful social marketing requires a good understanding of the

behaviours of the upstream audience. These people are classified into four groups: permission granting group, support group, opposition group, and evaluation group (Kotler & Roberto 1989). Yet, they then used “megamarketing” to influence these groups. Since then, a clear indication of upstream social marketing and its differences from other regular lobbying activities has not been examined (Dann & Dann 2009), which warrants further research.

3.3.6. Competition

The sixth element fundamental to social marketing is competition (Peattie & Peattie 2003; Smith 2000). Competition always exists because the ultimate goal of social marketing is voluntary behaviour change (Hastings 2003) which occurs in a free environment. It may be an undesirable/less-desirable behaviour that the target audience tend to continue or an alternative to the proposed behaviour (Dann & Dann 2009; MacFadyen et al. 1999; Martinsen 2003). At the upstream level, competition may occur between policies proposed by social marketers and other policies with their advocates (Maibach 2003a). Andreasen (1994a) classified social competition into four levels: desire competition, generic competition, service form competition, and enterprise competition. Despite acknowledging this useful approach, Peattie and Peattie (2003) argued that competition is still examined primarily from a commercial perspective. Expanding on the idea of desire competition, they considered social marketing “a battle of ideas”. In this “battle”, competitive ideas emerge in four ways: counter-marketing (because social marketers are advocating behaviour opposite to commercial marketers), social discouragement (this may consist of social values and peer pressure), apathy (which prevents change or behaviour adoption), and individuals’ involuntary disinclination to change their behaviour (Peattie & Peattie 2003). Hence, social marketers need to understand not only the perceived benefits and costs related to the proposed behaviour, but also the perceived benefits and costs related to the competing behaviour (Maibach 2003b; Smith & Strand 2008). They also need to move beyond individual audience to influence other relevant stakeholders because competition, as noted earlier, occurs at both downstream and upstream levels.

This section has indicated that the social marketing concept consists of six principal elements and that social marketing may hold potential for both poverty and tourism studies. First, the notion of behaviour change may be important since poverty may have behavioural causes that have received little attention of tourism scholars (Chapter Two). Second, poverty alleviation *per se* is for the benefits of poor people and society overall. Third, audience research and segmentation is necessary because the real face of poverty may be a highly localised one (Kotler & Lee 2009; Chapter Two). In addition, these elements not only

constitute the core theoretical foundations of social marketing, but also help label and evaluate its effectiveness. The labelling and evaluation of social marketing is discussed below.

3.4. LABELLING AND EVALUATING SOCIAL MARKETING EFFECTIVENESS

An important aspect of social marketing is determining criteria for labelling and evaluating its effectiveness. This is a challenge for all marketers given the lack of a widely accepted definition of social marketing (McDermott et al. 2005; Stead et al. 2007). Some programs may claim they are social marketing but they are actually more about social advertising, whereas others utilise some elements of social marketing but they do not label themselves social marketing (Gordon 2011; Stead et al. 2007). Appropriate criteria are thus required to label social marketing interventions. Andreasen (1994b) proposed six benchmarks for recognising program interventions as legitimate social marketing: audience research, audience segmentation, audience pretesting, exchanges, competition, and use of a social marketing mix. Later Andreasen (2002) revised these benchmarks to include voluntary behaviour change, audience research, audience segmentation, exchanges, use of a social marketing mix, and competition. He also indicated that these criteria should be used flexibly. For instance, one or more elements of the social marketing mix can be more or less emphasised depending on specific situations and the skills of social marketers.

Social marketing scholars have used these criteria to identify programs which do not label themselves social marketing. Gordon et al. (2006) and Stead et al. (2007), for example, considered program interventions as social marketing if they met all the six criteria regardless of their labels. McDermott et al. (2005) also used these criteria to evaluate social marketing interventions that targeted nutrition problems, indicating that in many cases the social marketing label was not useful in identifying program interventions because several programs did not consider themselves social marketing while others were actually mislabelled. It is thus important for social marketers to better understand the core principles of social marketing and consistently apply suitable criteria to label social marketing interventions.

Regarding the evaluation of social marketing effectiveness, self-completion questionnaires are often used (Redmond & Griffith 2006) alongside several other methods (e.g. focus groups, interviews) to compare knowledge, awareness, and behaviour changes in the target audience before and after interventions (Cork 2008; Marshall et al. 2007). However, Doner (2003) argued that the effectiveness of social marketing interventions should

be compared between the target audience and those who do not receive interventions. If a social marketing program targets a community, then its effectiveness should be assessed by comparing the behaviour change in that community with an untargeted community, not between individuals within that community. Doner (2003) proposed several evaluation designs. The first is Pre- and Post-intervention Model of Effect where a survey is conducted before and after program intervention. The second is Exposure Outcome Association where a survey is carried out after program intervention and respondents are divided into groups of differing levels of exposure to the intervention. The third is Cohorts design where behaviour change is measured on the same target audience over time. The fourth is Time Series design where multiple estimates of some outcome precede and succeed the intervention. The last design is Experiments, which is based on the comparison between the intervention group and at least one random group that does not receive intervention (Doner 2003), and is often used in HIV/AIDS prevention programs (Smith 1999). Meanwhile, the choice of an internal or external evaluator to evaluate social marketing effectiveness was emphasised by Forthorfer (1999) who also highlighted the integrity of social marketing interventions as reflected by the compliance with the provisions of the social marketing plan during the implementation process. Dholakia (1984) suggested that the evaluation of the social marketing process equates with that of the social marketing effects, arguing that while social marketing might generate positive individual benefits it might also increase social disparities, inequities, and injustices. Dholakia (1984) also suggested that macromarketing might contribute to ameliorating these limitations. By adopting a macromarketing perspective, social marketing interventions can be made that are congruent with individual and collective benefits and that are equitable in terms of its effects on society (see Dholakia 1984).

To summarise, labelling and evaluating genuine social marketing interventions is an important part of the social marketing discourse that requires appropriate criteria. This is also a fundamental part of this research which seeks to examine the roles of social marketing in tourism projects as noted in Chapter One. The selection of appropriate social marketing benchmark criteria is, therefore, very important. It helps not only examine the roles and effectiveness of social marketing but also eliminate some criticisms levelled at its ethics. The ethical aspects of social marketing are discussed below.

3.5. ETHICAL CRITICISMS OF SOCIAL MARKETING

Social marketing has been subject to some ethical criticisms (Fox & Kotler 1980; Ling et al. 1992). It is described as a “two-edged sword” that generates not only social benefits but also potential ethical controversies (Laczniak et al. 1979). First, social marketing is criticised for being “manipulative” (Fox & Kotler 1980; Kotler & Zaltman 1971; Smith 2000). It is argued that those who have economic advantages over others could control social marketing. These people may use their money and power to influence social marketing efforts in order to communicate ideas that are not beneficial to society (Laczniak et al. 1979). Social marketing can also be abused by anyone claiming what they propose is for social benefits because they determine what the social benefits would be (Andreasen 1994a, 1994b).

Second, social marketing is critiqued for being “paternalistic” (Donovan & Henley 2010). In many cases, social marketers start their programs by assuming that their target audience are maintaining undesired/less desired behaviours (Dann & Dann 2009). Therefore, they tend to be paternalistic in telling what the target audience should or should not do. This is popular among western social marketers who come to work in less developed countries where cultural values are different (Donovan & Henley 2010). In such cases, it is claimed that social marketing is just a means of thought control by the advantaged over the less advantaged (Donovan & Henley 2010). Social marketers may then become “neo-propagandists” (Laczniak et al. 1979) who blame the target audience for their own behaviours (Ling et al. 1992) and thus tell them to change their behaviours. Therefore, to avoid being paternalistic, social marketers need to be informative, rather than directive (Donovan & Henley 2010). They also need to immerse themselves into the local environments to understand the target audience and other agents that affect their choice of behaviour.

Third, social marketing is critiqued for being self-serving. According to Fox and Kotler (1980), those who conduct social marketing programs may be driven by their own jobs. For example, condom producers may enthusiastically support HIV/AIDS programs because they can sell more condoms. Producers of anti-smoking pills, similarly, may even provide financial funding to anti-smoking campaigns and get profits via greater consumption of their pills. Hastings and Angus (2011) examine social marketing campaigns funded by tobacco and alcohol companies, indicating that these campaigns mainly benefit the companies themselves. Hence, with the financial aid of corporations, it is likely that social marketing will become transformed into commercial marketing (Hastings & Angus 2011). Donovan (2011)

investigates the case of P&G providing the UN International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) with a tetanus vaccine in exchange for each Pampers pack sold, arguing that the company did not do social marketing because they targeted their own economic benefits. These were actually cause-related marketing or social responsibility campaigns where the ultimate goal was either increased sales or greater awareness of the company's brand, or both (Donovan 2011; Hastings & Angus 2011). Therefore, to determine if any one program is social marketing, it is necessary to examine its final goal. If the final goal is for individual and social welfare, it is a social marketing program. Otherwise, it is not a social marketing program (Donovan 2011). This helps distinguish social marketing from cognate concepts like cause-related marketing and corporate social responsibility.

Fourth, ethical questions are raised when social marketers divide their target audience into different segments. It is argued that the idea of providing special treatment to certain groups while possibly ignoring others is discriminatory (Bloom & Novelli 1981). Whilst the majority of resources are allocated to these segments, others who may be in greatest need are neglected. The question of social equity thus poses a major challenge to social marketers (Kotler & Lee 2008). It requires social marketers to have a long-term vision in order to consider the segments that are not addressed in the present time. In addition, social marketers need to consider ethical aspects when setting goals and objectives as they might affect those outside the target segments (Donovan & Henley 2010) or conflict with other program agencies (Kotler & Lee 2008).

Fifth, social marketing is also critiqued for its unintended consequences (Donovan & Henley 2010; Smith 2006). Social marketing may result in increased victim blaming where the target audience are blamed for their own behaviours (Smith 2006). For example, an HIV/AIDS campaign, which was conducted in the Philippines to diffuse the knowledge that mosquitoes can transmit HIV/AIDS, resulted in reduced empathy for HIV/AIDS patients. Local people argued that HIV/AIDS patients should not blame their disease on mosquitoes, but on their own sexual practice (Smith 2006). Therefore, the design and dissemination of program messages need to consider the possible reactions of the non-target audience. Program messages should be accurate with clear language and images. This issue is of great importance because many problems addressed by social marketing are socially and culturally sensitive.

In short, as ethics is a fundamental concern, social marketers need to take it into due consideration in order to ensure the highest ethical standards in promoting behaviour change.

3.6. CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has examined social marketing as the second area of interest in this research. Social marketing utilises the tools of commercial marketing to promote voluntary behaviour change in not only individuals but also the general public for common welfare. The planning process of social marketing is similar to that of commercial marketing, but is more difficult because it involves human behaviour change in complex environments. Six elements of social marketing include voluntary behaviour change, exchanges, audience research and segmentation, use of a social marketing mix, the general public as the target audience, and competition. These elements are used as the criteria for labelling and evaluating genuine social marketing interventions. They may provide some implications for both poverty and tourism studies given that poverty, as discussed in Chapter Two, can be attributed to the behaviours of poor people and/or other relevant people (e.g. policy-makers), and that poverty causes differ by context. The discussion of these elements may also assist in examining the roles of social marketing in tourism projects and the barriers to poverty alleviation as identified by tourism projects, which are the first two main objectives of this thesis (Chapter One). In addition, the ethical aspects of social marketing have been noted to ensure the highest ethical standard in promoting behaviour change.

Building on this chapter and Chapter Two, it is now possible to discuss the potential linkages between tourism, poverty alleviation, and social marketing. It is also possible to introduce the conceptual framework that will guide this research. The discussion of the linkages and the conceptual framework will be presented in Chapter Four.

CHAPTER FOUR:

SOCIAL MARKETING, POVERTY ALLEVIATION, AND TOURISM

4.1. INTRODUCTION

Chapter Two has reviewed the tourism-poverty linkage and Chapter Three examined the conceptual underpinnings of social marketing, indicating that where poverty can be attributed to behavioural causes, social marketing may help the tourism sector alleviate poverty in host destinations. This chapter seeks to establish the potential linkages between these three bodies of knowledge. First, the roles of social marketing in community development are highlighted. Second, the importance of social marketing in the field of poverty alleviation is discussed. Then the tourism literature on social marketing is reviewed. In the last section, the potential interrelationships between social marketing, poverty alleviation, and tourism are suggested, and a conceptual framework is built to guide the development of this research.

As discussed in Chapter Three, the traditional marketing concept was expanded to embrace social and other developments besides economic development. Social marketing emerged as such an expansion, which has helped solve various community problems and thus contributed to community development. The use of social marketing for poverty alleviation reveals three main perspectives. The first is neoliberalism that aims to provide poor people with affordable financial products (e.g. loans) and eliminate structural and market constraints. The second is trickledown economics that advocates raising the awareness of well-off individuals and institutions about poor people. The third is classical economics that stresses positive behaviour change in poor people. These perspectives also reflect the evolution of the poverty concept in the social marketing literature from a sole focus on economic dimensions to a greater emphasis on other aspects of poverty (e.g. education, empowerment, capability, behavioural factors).

In this chapter, tourism literature on social marketing is divided into two periods. The first period (early-late 1990s) is marked by attempts made to distinguish social marketing from related concepts. However, social marketing was often confused with societal marketing. In the second period (early 2000s-present), social marketing is examined to foster behaviour change in tourists, businesses, and marketing organisations, but it is not considered

an integrated tool for poverty alleviation. A conceptual framework is thus developed to include social marketing as a means of poverty alleviation via tourism.

4.2. SOCIAL MARKETING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Chapter Two has argued that the real face of poverty is a localised one, that is, poverty is associated with specific groups and communities. It is thus appropriate to highlight the roles of social marketing in community development before discussing its importance in poverty alleviation. It is also necessary to note the different connotations of the term “development”. On the one hand, development can be synonymous with improvement (reflected by positive changes in poverty, income equality, and employment) (Seers 1969) or economic growth (Begovic et al. 2007; Sachs 2005). On the other, it can cover people’s quality of life that includes objective well-being (e.g. work, leisure, education, religion) and subjective well-being (e.g. values, expectations) (Ger 1992). Development can also be construed as a philosophy where a society looks forward to a desirable state, a process through which that desirable state is attained, an outcome of that process, or the plan guiding the society to achieve its desirable state (Sharpley 2002).

Marketing is perceived as an important contributor to community development in different parts of the world (Drucker 1958; Ger 1992; Hosley & Wee 1988). Its domain has been broadened from the traditional economic focus to embrace other developmental aspects. This expansion is attributed to the early efforts of Drucker (1958) who claimed that marketing is the most effective force of economic development. First, marketing as a business discipline helps identify and define customers by understanding their needs and wants. Second, marketing is a social discipline where customer decisions are made within certain social structures and values. Marketing is thus the mechanism through which economy is merged into society to serve human needs (Drucker 1958). Kotler and Levy (1969) similarly argued that the modern marketing concept conveys two different meanings. First, it is associated with selling, distributing, influencing, and persuading. Second, it is about serving and satisfying people’s needs. It helps enrich people’s life through better marketing of educational, health and religious services, effective utilisation of natural resources, and enjoyment of the fine arts (Kotler & Levy 1969). This argument signifies the importance of marketing in non-business entities apart from business ones. It also indicates a marketing shift from providing what organisations have towards satisfying what society

needs. In addition, it reveals that organisations are formed to meet the various interests (besides economic interests) of groups of people (Kotler & Levy 1969) in communities. Their marketing activities thus contribute to different developmental aspects in these groups and communities as well as the society where they are a part.

The relationship between marketing and development has since been examined by a number of scholars (Duhaime et al. 1985; Hosley & Wee 1988). Klein (1985) indicated that the marketing concept includes both technical and social aspects. While the technical aspect covers economic and environmental factors, the social aspect involves cultural factors. He emphasised the role of distributive channels in economic development. Economic development often entails the expansion of market size and the improvement of transportation and communication, which require marketing and distribution. Rostow (1965) stressed the active role of marketing in disseminating agricultural information and establishing organisations that effectively market agricultural products. However, Lavidge (1970) argued that marketing has more roles to play than ensure the daily operation of national economies. First, it can play an important part in the drive for social justice by, for example, discouraging activities that are likely to damage the economy and society and to do more harm than good in the long term. Second, it helps mitigate the negative consequences of consumerism. Third, it is concerned with the struggle of poor people for subsistence because it is impossible to satisfy people's other needs if they still suffer from hunger and starvation. Fourth, it can be used to promote social and cultural services for people to develop their fullest potential. Fifth, it spreads the application of new techniques to protect and improve environmental quality (Lavidge 1970). These roles again suggest marketing's contributions to various developmental areas (socio-economic, cultural, environmental) at both micro (individual, community) and macro (society) levels. However, other scholars pointed out the negative impacts of marketing. Ger (1992), for instance, claimed that while marketing may contribute to improving people's quality of life through better marketing of products and services, it may also be associated with higher prices. In addition, poor people may not be considered the target audience of marketing organisations given their low purchasing capacity, potentially resulting in reduced benefits for the poor and widened social gaps between different groups of people (Ger 1992; see also Alwitt 1995).

Bagozzi (1975) maintained that most marketing literature was confined to economic exchanges that he coined "restricted exchange". Meanwhile, individuals and organisations are also involved in intangible and symbolic exchanges for social purposes. It is through

exchanges that social interactions are created and psychological feelings and emotions satisfied. That means exchanges are an essential social activity that go beyond the quid pro quo of something of value for something of value (Chapter Three). As such, by dealing with exchange behaviour, marketing can benefit the wider society. Therefore, it is not enough to define marketing in terms of buying, selling and distributing goods and services (Kotler & Levy 1969; Lavidge 1970; Lazer 1996). Rather, marketing is seen as an agent or catalyst of community development. Areas that marketing can contribute include institutional and technological developments (Savitt 1988), nature conservation, poverty reduction (Hosley & Wee 1988; Lavidge 1970; Lazer 1996), family planning, and anti-corruption (Hosley & Wee 1988). Ger (1992) conceived the socio-economic development of a country as the quality of life or well-being of its individuals. Thus, in satisfying the consumer, marketing also affects the well-being of individuals, society and businesses, all of which create development.

From this discussion, there appear two main perspectives on the role of marketing in development. The first focuses on economic development (Drucker 1958; Klein 1985; Rostow 1965). The second expands marketing to socio-economic and other developments (Hosley & Wee 1988; Kotler & Levy 1969; Lavidge 1970; Lazer 1996). This broadened boundary of the marketing concept led to a paradigm shift. Marketing is no longer limited to its economic effect, but is expanded to social and other developments. The social marketing concept came out of this shift, which has since developed alongside generic marketing (Lefebvre & Flora 1988). Staying true to its core goal of fostering voluntary behaviour change for collective welfare (Chapter Three), which is for community development, social marketing has been adopted in many sectors. The earliest social marketing interventions emerged in the development field due to the slow diffusion of clinic-based family planning programs (Walsh et al. 1993). The first nationwide contraceptive social marketing program started in India in 1967 and was funded by the Ford Foundation. It was then expanded with increased funding from the US Agency for International Development (USAID) in the 1970s to support projects in Jamaica, Kenya, Colombia, and Sri Lanka where pharmacists and small shops were targeted (Fox & Kotler 1980; MacFadyen et al. 1999; Walsh et al. 1993). Other programs were successfully conducted in Bangladesh, Thailand, and Mexico (Duhaim et al. 1985). In fact, considerable research and development taken to promote social marketing in health has occurred in the field of family planning (Ling et al. 1992; Walsh et al. 1993).

Social marketing has subsequently evolved to help solve community problems. These include family planning, safe driving (Fox & Kotler 1980), smoking prevention (Bryant et al.

2000; Gordon et al. 2006; MacKintosh et al. 1999), use of community transports (Cooper 2007), waste recycling, environmental protection, and sustainable development (Kassirer 1997; Kennedy 2010; McKenzie-Mohr 1994; McKenzie-Mohr et al. 2012; Tabanico & Schultz 2007). Social marketing's successes (and failures) can be found in many case studies and reports (Cork 2008; Dholakia 1984; Doner 2003; Gordon et al. 2006; McKenzie-Mohr et al. 2012; Stead et al. 2007). More efforts are thus directed towards social marketing as a reliable way to promote community sustainability (Kassirer 1997), increase community engagement and cohesion, and influence the behaviours of local authorities (Fowle & Wood 2010). Social marketing's successes provide the potential to bridge the gap between the needs of community development and the traditional marketing's economic focus (Duhaime et al. 1985). Reid (2007, p. 2) states that "social marketing has now positioned itself for many communities, NGOs and social movements as the main point of access not only to the public media sphere but also to health, development and operates as a universal method for formulating and addressing local needs throughout much of the world". It considers not only the perceived needs of the target audience but also local socio-economic conditions. In addition, it helps avoid the traditional top-down approach to addressing social problems. Therefore, it can be seen as an effective tool of community development (Reid 2007). Nevertheless, Duhaime et al. (1985) warned that the application of social marketing to community issues needed to consider the culture of the target community and the support from its political system.

However, social marketing is not without criticism. Some scholars claim that there is a gap between social marketing's theory and practice because audience research is not undertaken extensively before implementation (Kennedy 2010). While trying to improve the well-being of communities, social marketing may unconsciously destroy various resources and thus jeopardise their sustainable future (Brennan & Binney 2008). Others argue that social marketing is too dependent on advertising or the "rational-economic model" of behaviour change frequently found to be psychologically limiting (McKenzie-Mohr 2000). The notion of community-based social marketing (CBSM) is suggested as a response. CBSM is rooted in social psychology and demonstrates that behaviour change would be best achieved at the community level by removing the barriers to and enhancing the benefits of such change (Kennedy 2010; McKenzie-Mohr & Smith 1999). It has been applied by some scholars (Bryant et al. 2000; Flocks et al. 2001; Kassirer 1997; Kennedy 2010) and is claimed to possess four advantages. First, decisions are made at each step of the program development process. Second, CBSM is piloted before official implementation. Third, it utilises program

evaluation. Fourth, it focuses on behaviour change at the community level instead of awareness and attitudes as outcomes (Tabanico & Schultz 2007). However, the last advantage is similar to the objective and outcome of behaviour change in general social marketing. CBSM is sometimes called community-based prevention marketing (Bryant et al. 2000) or community-led social marketing (Smith & Henry 2009).

Since encouraging individual engagement in a new activity is a complex task, CBSM requires community members to actively participate in and commit to addressing the social problems of interest (Bryant et al. 2000; Flocks et al. 2001). It focuses on the direct communication among community members (Kassirer 1997) and the effective relationship between them and social marketers (Fowle & Wood 2010). Another defining feature of this approach is the empowerment of all partners, particularly community members, through broad dissemination of knowledge and improvements in competence (Bryant et al. 2000; Flocks et al. 2001). A CBSM program begins by identifying the barriers facing community members in adopting the proposed behaviour. To do this, literature reviews, focus groups, interviews, and questionnaire surveys are often combined. The barriers may be internal (e.g. lack of knowledge/motivation) or external (institutional/contextual factors). Because both internal and external barriers may exist simultaneously, it is important to prioritise those having the most significant impacts on the adoption of the proposed behaviour. Then behaviour change tools and approaches are utilised, such as obtaining a commitment from a resident on whom they will pilot a new activity or establishing norms to encourage community members to adopt the desired behaviour sustainably. Prior to its official implementation, the program is piloted on a small sample group. In the final step, it is evaluated against the objectives set at the start stage (Kassirer 1997; Kenedy 2010; McKenzie-Mohr 2000; Tabanico & Schultz 2007).

The above discussion favours the conclusion that social marketing plays an important role in community development. Social marketing may help enhance the engagement and cohesion of community members and change the perceptions and behaviours of community authorities, thereby improving community quality of life and contributing to community development overall. The notion of CBSM emerged as a community-based approach to social marketing, of which successes have added to the evidence base of social marketing as a tool of community development. The use of social marketing for poverty alleviation is presented next.

4.3. SOCIAL MARKETING IN THE FIELD OF POVERTY ALLEVIATION

Although the marketing field has a long history of analysing the impact of marketing on society, especially in the domain of macromarketing (Hill et al. 2007), and marketers have utilised social marketing for collective welfare for years, it appears that limited attention has been paid to poor people and poverty alleviation. This is partly because poor people have very little to exchange with other parties (Alwitt 1995). Thus, they are often isolated from the rest of society, which not only exacerbates their economic situation but also worsens their relationships with non-poor people. Nevertheless, recent social marketing research witnesses an increased interest in the poverty issue, which reflects differing perspectives.

In the 1960s and 1970s, several elements of social marketing were used in health education programs. Customers were segmented within family planning programs in Sri Lanka. Some oral rehydration projects in Africa were developed with a greater focus on customer orientation (MacFadyen et al. 1999; Chapter Three). Other social marketing programs were conducted to distribute oral contraceptives, condoms, and treated mosquito nets to poor people in the 1980s and 1990s, but poverty alleviation was not a direct goal. HIV/AIDS and sanitation programs were also based on the social marketing approach. Furthermore, social marketing was used to articulate the needs of illiterate people (Reid 2007). These programs positively changed the perceptions, attitudes, and behaviours of the target audience, which were important for improving their living conditions and developing their communities (Duhaime et al. 1985). Although poverty alleviation was not a direct goal, these issues affected to some extent the poverty situation in any country or community (Kotler & Lee 2009). Solving them thus contributed to poverty alleviation.

Several other programs, which did not label themselves social marketing, actually utilised marketing techniques. For example, the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh adopted a marketing approach to alleviating poverty by providing microloans to the poorest groups in society. A marketing mix was designed which included target segmentation, product development, positioning, relationship marketing, and word-of-mouth communication (Dholakia & Dholakia 2001). The *poorest group* was defined as the bottom 25% lowest income earners of the population, consisting mainly of women who bore the greatest social burden of poverty (Yunus 2007). Although getting the Bank's loans did not guarantee any success, the poor's determination was considered *poverty-escaping behaviour*. It showed that they *voluntarily exchanged* their old practice (borrowing high interest credits from private

lenders and selling products to them at cheap prices) for *better living conditions*. The *product* (loans) did not include collateral, but was based on a credit discipline which was called “social collateral”. Landless women established groups of five members each to receive bank loans. The poorest two would get their loans first. The other three could not get their own loans until the first two began to repay the Bank on a regular basis (Yunus 2007). This system not only created peer pressure on the borrowers that prevented any group members from violating the Bank’s credit discipline, but also provided opportunities for members in and between groups to share experiences with one another.

Regarding *competition*, the Bank identified two major competitors. The first was local religious leaders who frequently opposed the Bank. The second was private lenders who spread the rumour that borrowing the Bank’s loans would be risky, particularly for women. At the *upstream level*, the Bank urged economists and policy-makers to expand the then current profit maximisation principle to achieve both economic profits and social benefits. The Bank’s success set a good example of utilising marketing interventions for social goods. Its approach is consistent with one of the ways Alwitt (1995) suggested to enhance the exchange power of the poor, that is, to encourage them to take greater responsibility for what they exchange. The groups of five poor women can be considered “small buying groups”. However, the problem is that the Bank only focused on poor individuals and their economic deprivation. Meanwhile, both poverty and development are multi-dimensional (Dholakia & Dholakia 2001), which include not only economic but also socio-political and cultural factors. In some cases, poverty can be attributed to ineffective social policies, poor infrastructure, and/or market constraints (Begovic et al. 2007; Freeman 1998). Poor people’s choices are not only influenced by their personal preferences but also by the socio-cultural context in which they are a part (Kotler & Lee 2009; see Chapter Two). In addition, since the loan recipients are poor with inadequate skills and assets, they mostly focus on micro activities. Their businesses are small-scale with no paid staff. The earnings generated as a result may not lift them out of poverty (Karnani 2007).

The Bank later expanded its operations to support housing and higher education for poor people. Telephones and internet access were brought to businesses run by the poor so that their products could be better promoted. The Bank demonstrated that even the poorest of the poor are “credit worthy” and their behaviour can be changed positively (Yunus 2007). A similar approach was also effectively adopted by development agencies and financial institutions to improve the well-being of poor people in other developing countries (Lee & Miller 2012).

Drawing upon the Grameen Bank's success, Koku (2009) urges commercial banks to expand their marketing framework to target poor people. A marketing strategy is proposed for these banks to address the financial needs of the poor in Ghana. The role of these banks, he argues, is consistent with the principles of social marketing which advocates social change. In this strategy, small loans are advocated. Collaterals are replaced with local social values such as community and family honour which helps reduce risk exposure for banks and create favourable credit access for the poor. Distribution channels include bank offices located in villages with flexible working hours. Information is disseminated through churches, mosques, and local chiefs. Interest rates are set at a minimal level. Bank staff are trained to work effectively with poor people. Following this strategy, commercial banks can both help poor people and optimise their market share and profits. As such, although it is grounded on the Grameen Bank's success, this approach adopts a macro perspective to change the marketing system of commercial banks. Meanwhile, the Grameen Bank focused on a micro level (poor people). Both approaches use social marketing to design and provide financial loans to poor people, suggesting that social marketing may be effective in alleviating poverty at both micro and macro levels.

Individual scholars started to pay attention to the convergence of social marketing and poverty issues in the late 20th century. Annis (1991) stressed the significance of information technology in giving voice to the poor. He described the adoption of commercial marketing techniques to distribute positive social messages to the poor in Latin Americas. However, since he only narrowed the concept to the creative adaptation of advertising technology, he claimed that the target audience were still the passive recipients of social marketing messages. Similarly, Rangan and McCaffrey (2002) stated that social marketing is synonymous with articulating the voice of the poor. Poor people are often excluded from the planning stages of social projects that are meant to benefit them, while the needs of the upstream donors take precedence. Therefore, they suggested marketers to help empower the poor by incorporating their wants and needs from the early stage of any project (see Lagace 2002).

Many non-profit organisations are also engaged in the fight against poverty (e.g. Oxfam GB). Some of them adopt social marketing to raise public awareness about the poor and call for donations from affluent institutions and individuals (Hill & Adrangi 1999), while others provide free products or services to poor people. The Aravind Eye Hospital, for example, offers free cataract surgery to the Indian poor. The Indian countryside is divided into different territories where patients are identified and program performance evaluated weekly. Not only

is the surgery free, but also the transportation cost is waived. The hospital also organises community outreach programs to bring free eye care service to the doorstep of the locals, where education is included to change their eye care practices.

While there is an increased interest in changing well-off consumers' attitude towards poor people (Hill & Adrangi 1999) and providing them with free products and services, Kotler et al. (2006) contend that poverty occurs because people maintain "poverty-staying behaviour". Citing a survey of poor people in Pakistan, they indicate that to generate income, the local poor tend to choose low-risk and low-return options. Considering these options "poverty staying behaviours", they propose measures to encourage the poor to adopt "poverty-escaping behaviours" which are evidenced by the poor's choice of higher risk but higher return options. This point parallels closely with that of transformative marketing (Chapter Three) which also requires in-depth audience research conducted to understand factors influencing poor people's choice of decision. As such, transformative marketing may also provide valuable insights into poor people's perception of poverty, the choice they make in their everyday life, and thus have potential for poverty alleviation (Blocker et al. 2011, 2013).

However, the idea that poor people are primarily responsible for their poverty condition does not always receive unanimous support. As Chapter Two has suggested, poverty is also caused by structural constraints, meaning that the ways poor people make decisions are determined by other factors than their own preferences. Poverty measures thus require close partnerships between governments, civil organisations, and businesses (Kotler et al. 2006; Kotler & Lee 2009), which involve the use of social marketing to target upstream influences (Chapter Three). To this end, macromarketing may also be useful given its potential in advocating individuals and organisations to engage in improving poor people's lives (Hill et al. 2007). In addition, it may be helpful in understanding the various ways poverty affects poor people's lives and adopting appropriate indicators to capture their essence (Hill et al. 2007). This is important given the multi-dimensionality of the poverty issue, which, even with the Human Poverty Index developed by the UN (Chapter Two), may be overly macro in some circumstances and difficult to be verified empirically (Hill et al. 2007).

Expanding the idea of the above research (Kotler et al. 2006), Kotler and Lee (2009) place poverty alleviation at the centre of social marketing efforts. They adopt a conventional marketing approach to poverty alleviation, from situation analysis, target segmentation, goals and objectives setting to implementation, evaluation and monitoring. Various dimensions of poverty, such as socio-economic and environmental, are examined. Health, education, and

family planning issues are also considered. Kotler and Lee (2009) regard poor people as the active participants in identifying and solving their own problems, reflecting the typical perspective of US citizens on poverty, that is, poor people are responsible for their own poverty (Chapter Two). Kotler and Lee also argue that since the true face of poverty may be a highly localised one, there is no single solution for poverty within all contexts. This argument resonates with the discussions given in Chapter Two regarding the dynamic nature of poverty – its causes and manifestations differ by context. Since poor people are made up of different groups with different needs and wants, it is necessary to identify the major groups where suitable measures can be applied. Social marketing thus needs to be combined with other approaches and be specific to the characteristics of the target poor (Kotler & Lee 2009).

The above discussion reveals three main perspectives on the use of social marketing for poverty alleviation. From the first perspective, social marketing is adopted to provide affordable products to the poor although poverty alleviation is not a direct goal. This approach is often utilised by development agencies and financial institutions (e.g. Grameen Bank). Since poverty is construed as a lack of income, measures are designed to bring financial products (e.g. loans) to poor people and eliminate market and structural barriers. This can be considered the neoliberal perspective. The second perspective, which is popular among NGOs, aims to raise the awareness of well-off individuals and institutions about poor people where the final goal is increased funding and donation. This is actually a form of trickledown economics (Yunus 2007). From the last perspective, social marketing motivates the poor to change their behaviour. This perspective is common in classical economics (Chapter Two). The above discussion also suggests the development of the poverty concept within the social marketing literature from a sole focus on financial/economic dimensions to a greater emphasis on other aspects of poverty such as health, sanitation, education, market and structural constraints, empowerment, and environmental factors. The behaviours of the poor and other people in both positively and negatively affecting poverty are also considered. This is consistent with the evolution of the poverty concept as presented in Chapter Two.

Each of the above perspectives has its own advantages and disadvantages. Some elements of the social marketing mix (Chapter Three) may be ignored in the first perspective, while the second one may make poor people more dependent on external aid and thus potentially unable to move themselves out of poverty. The third perspective focuses on changing poor people's behaviour so that they do not "stay" in, but try to "escape" from poverty. Nevertheless, there are also structural constraints and many other reasons for poverty

(Chapter Two). Therefore, poor people should not be the only ones to account for the poverty situation in any country or community. That said, to alleviate poverty, social marketing programs need to target the poor and utilise the marketing mix to influence their behaviour. The behaviour of relevant parties should also be targeted because they may affect the living environment of poor people. Put another way, poverty alleviation requires an appropriate combination of differing perspectives on the causes and measures of poverty.

4.4. SOCIAL MARKETING AND SUSTAINABLE TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

Chapter Two has argued that sustainable tourism centres on the three pillars of economic sustainability, social sustainability, and environmental sustainability (UNWTO 2005b). However, it may embrace other dimensions given that it is subject to differing interpretations. For example, Coccossis (1996) suggested four perspectives of sustainable tourism. These include the sectoral perspective that emphasises the economic sustainability of the tourism industry; the ecological perspective that stresses the importance of ecological sustainability; the long-term perspective that advocates the competitiveness of tourist destinations; and the perspective that accepts tourism as part of a strategy for sustainable development through the physical and human environments. Hunter (1997) also indicated that there are four main approaches to sustainable tourism. First, the industry approach fosters tourism development and satisfies the needs of tourists and tour operators. Second, the product approach considers environmental sustainability secondary to new product development. Third, the environmental approach recognises the sustainability of the host environments as being paramount to tourism development. Fourth, the neotenuous approach restricts tourism growth for the sake of ecological sustainability. Meanwhile, Bramwell et al. (1996) argued that there are seven dimensions of sustainability in the tourism context: environmental, cultural, political, economic, social, managerial, and governmental.

The above discussion suggests that it is difficult to construct a widely accepted definition of sustainable tourism. No matter how many dimensions may be embraced, sustainable tourism can only be achieved when each dimension is equally important and attainable individually and jointly. Meanwhile, poverty is detrimental to economic viability, social equity, and environmental integrity because it contributes to widening income gaps and increasing social unrest (Kirchgeorg & Winn 2006). Poor people's daily struggle for survival also tends to result in environmental degradation, particularly within the tourism context

where many important resources are associated with sites of conservation significance (Mowforth & Munt 2003). That said, poverty is a barrier to sustainable tourism. Yet, environmental and economic sustainability is often considered the focal point of sustainable tourism (Chapter Two). Social sustainability, which covers poverty alleviation, receives comparatively limited attention as Chapter Two has suggested. This raises the issue of equity in sustainable tourism and sustainable development overall. Equity was central to the World Commission on Environment and Development's definition of sustainable development: development that meets the needs of the present and future generations, particularly the essential needs of the poorest of the poor (UN 1987; Chapter Two).

It has also been argued that while social marketing has been used for poverty alleviation, it has received scant research attention in the tourism literature (Chhabra et al. 2011; Dinan & Sargeant 2000; Kaczynski 2008; Lane 2009; Peeters et al. 2009). However, research suggests that since the 2000s more attempts have been made to explore the potential of social marketing in the tourism field for collective welfare, that is, for sustainable tourism development (George & Frey 2010; Shang et al. 2010).

Tourism literature on social marketing can be divided into two main periods: early to late 1990s (exploration) and early 2000s to present (early application). The first period was characterised by the attempts of tourism scholars to understand the social marketing domain. In the US, marketing was used to communicate the benefits of physical activities to target groups. Education was included in programs designed to change people's attitude towards preserving open spaces. Although these examples were not genuine social marketing, they indicated an increased recognition of the use of marketing techniques to articulate the benefits of recreation and tourism to the public (Bright 2000). As less advantaged groups (e.g. the jobless) were often ignored in traditional marketing programs, social marketing was urged to create opportunities for them to access recreational activities. This approach attempts to satisfy the needs of a specific group (the jobless in this case) but in the complex context of ensuring long-term social interests. The key is to identify appropriate groups and their specific needs and desires, then design and apply a suitable marketing mix (Spigner & Havitz 1993). It proves the recognised importance of audience research and segmentation, the focus on long-term collective benefits, and the use of the marketing mix. Yet, societal marketing was perceived as being synonymous with social marketing (Andreasen 1994b; Chapter Three).

The second period began with Bright's (2000) article published in the *Journal of Leisure Research*, which argued that the potential to improve the well-being of individuals and

society has not been fully embraced by traditional profit-driven marketing. Marketing techniques, which can be used by governmental and non-governmental organisations, may have potential to enhance social benefits, leading to increased attention to social marketing. Given the multifaceted benefits of recreation and tourism activities, the use of social marketing to communicate these benefits to the public would help improve the quality of life for individuals and society. Bright (2000) also stated that social marketing is consistent with the social welfare philosophy that drives the work of public recreation professionals, implying that tourism naturally fits in with social marketing given that it is considered one form of recreation. In a similar vein, Kaczynski (2008) argued that social marketing is a more superior and credible mechanism for public leisure services than education and coercion and therefore it is a preferred mechanism for change in a public recreation environment.

Dinan and Sargeant (2000) argued that tourism development might produce severe economic and environmental impacts on local communities if it attracted the “wrong” type of tourist whose demonstrated behaviours were incongruent with local contexts. It was thus crucial that sustainable practices be adopted and the nature of the tourism region respected. Dinan and Sargeant (2000) proposed two strategies. The first concentrated on the segment of sustainable tourists who were attracted primarily by the natural beauty and historical values of the destinations, while the second focused on the least sustainable tourists where a social marketing mix was used to encourage them to adopt a visitors’ code of conduct. Likewise, Peeters et al. (2009) suggest the use of social marketing to influence tourists’ behaviour in choosing destinations, travel modes, and consumption patterns, where research and segmentation is conducted to understand tourists’ needs, wants, and motivations.

Kotler and Levy (1971, p. 76) defined demarketing as “that aspect of marketing that deals with discouraging customers in general or a certain class of customers in particular on either a temporary or permanent basis”. In tourism, Beeton (2001) introduced the concept of demarketing to move Australians away from involvement in gambling behaviour and towards spending money on domestic holidays. This process consists of two steps: first, demarketing is adopted to discourage gambling behaviour; second, remarketing is utilised to encourage holiday taking behaviour. This shift may benefit local communities given that the gambling expenditure will be spent on local tourism organisations through domestic holidays (Beeton & Pinge 2003). Beeton and Benfield (2002) argued that demarketing could also be used as a form of demand control for environmentally sensitive areas. This approach was also

suggested by Wearing et al. (2007) for developing a greater focus on more targeted audience and ecological messages in national park marketing.

The potential contribution of social marketing to the development of environmentally friendly consumption behaviours is an increasingly significant theme in the tourism literature (Peeters et al. 2009). Kim et al. (2006) examined the psychological constructs of visitors attending the International Festival of Environmental Film and Video held in Brazil and proposed social marketing as means of improving participants' environmental awareness. They indicated that the highly pro-environmental group of visitors was more likely to attend the festival given its thematic relevance to their existing psychological constructs. Kim et al. (2006) suggested that by adopting social marketing approaches, the balance between the host community's long-term environmental interests, sociocultural constructs, and customers' expectations could be maintained. However, neither the behavioural impacts of the psychological constructs nor other factors influencing the target visitors' choice of behaviour (peer influence, contextual factors) were examined. Using social marketing to examine the pro-environmental behaviours of attendees at an Australian sustainability event, Mair and Laing (2013) find that the event attracted individuals who were already committed to sustainable behaviour. They suggest that events can be an important context for promoting pro-environmental behaviour change. Although such elements as behaviour change, exchanges, and upstream targeting were utilised, the competition element was missing (Mair & Laing 2013).

Tourism research on social marketing also targets behaviour change in tourism operators. Shang et al. (2010) note that some hotels have adopted social marketing to encourage customers to reuse towels and linen while also reducing operating costs and improving their image. They reveal that customers' reuse intentions are much influenced by the presence of a reuse request card printed with hotel logos. They also indicate that benefits to towel and linen reuse programs could be maximised if the savings are donated to charity, meaning that hotel guests' behavioural change could be enhanced if the hotels were more conscious of social concerns, rather than their own interest (Shang et al. 2010). George and Frey (2010) examine social marketing to encourage tour business owners in Cape Town to adopt positive attitudes and behaviours towards responsible tourism practices. They indicate that although local tourism firms do not hold negative attitudes towards responsible tourism practices, their performance is not satisfactory. Barriers facing these firms in implementing change are also identified. Social marketing strategies are thus needed to enable change in order to support

the future sustainable development of tourism (George & Frey 2010). Since responsible tourism practices are in line with achieving the objectives of poverty alleviation set by the MDGs (Chapters One and Two), using social marketing to promote their adoption would contribute to poverty alleviation.

In addition, social marketing has been examined in the context of tourism advertising. Sirakaya and Sonmez (2000) revealed that women are often depicted in a traditional way as submissive, subordinate, and dependent on men, and noted the potential implications of social marketing to change the behaviour of tourism marketing organisations towards promoting gender equity. However, the authors use the term “societal marketing” to indicate such an intervention. Chhabra et al. (2011) indicated that tourism advertising organisations could adopt social marketing to dispel gendered images in their advertising with the generation of two main benefits. First, tourism organisations can better attract women as a lucrative target segment. Second, they can improve their members and customers’ awareness about the ethics of marketing (Chhabra et al. 2011).

Recently, the *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* devoted a special issue to the relationships between behaviour change mechanisms and sustainable tourism (Volume 21/7). This was the result of the 2012 “Psychological and behavioural approaches to understanding and governing sustainable tourism mobility” workshop held in Germany, where attention was paid to the potential of social marketing as a means of promoting voluntary behaviour change (Hall 2013; Higham et al. 2013; Peeters 2013). However, none of its papers provided any empirical findings on the effectiveness of social marketing in tourism. The evidence again suggests that social marketing remains new in the tourism literature. This is despite case studies of successful social marketing applications in tourism being reported. Examples include reducing hotel water consumption in Washington (McKenzie-Mohr et al. 2012), encouraging air travellers not to bring biosecurity risk goods into New Zealand, and changing the behaviours of waterways users to slow down the spread of didymo and other aquatic weeds in this country (Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry New Zealand 2010). These successes have led to the increased recognition of the role of social marketing in sustainable tourism, particularly in articulating the benefits of responsible tourism and raising the awareness of tourists regarding poverty alleviation (UNWTO 2011a). Nevertheless, tourism literature on social marketing is still limited. As Lane (2009, p. 26) states: “the whole area of Social Marketing, of how to promote behavioural change, seems to be a blank for sustainable tourism researchers”.

This section has indicated that there is a scarcity of tourism research on social marketing, most of which is conceptual with discussions of social marketing and its departures from cognate concepts (Beeton & Pinge 2003; Bright 2000; Kaczynski 2008). However, theoretically and methodologically informed studies are gaining prominence, with growing use of surveys, focus groups, and observational techniques (Chhabra et al. 2011; Dinan & Sargeant 2000; George & Frey 2010; Kim et al. 2006; Shang et al. 2010). The importance of social marketing in promoting sustainable tourism has been increasingly recognised. Social marketing has been evaluated in terms of its appropriateness to foster behaviour change in tourists, businesses, and marketing organisations. However, it has not been considered an integrated tool for alleviating poverty via tourism.

4.5. LINKING SOCIAL MARKETING WITH TOURISM FOR POVERTY ALLEVIATION

In some contexts and locations, tourism has greater potential for poverty alleviation than other sectors for its particular characteristics. First, tourism is a diverse industry that provides scope for wide participation, including that of the informal sector. Second, the customer comes to the product, creating opportunities for linkages (e.g. souvenir selling). Third, tourism is dependent on resources, some of which may be owned by poor people. Fourth, tourism is labour-intensive and can generate employment for many people. Finally, compared to other sectors, a higher proportion of tourism benefits accrue to women (Ashley et al. 2001; Rogerson 2006, 2012; Chapter One). It is argued that in many developing societies women tend to be the foundations of family subsistence (Ashley et al. 2001). Tourism offers women significant employment and income opportunities due to its low barriers to entry, flexible working hours, and part-time work (UNWTO & UN Women 2011). Therefore, tourism has been supported by governments, NGOs, and development agencies as a tool of poverty alleviation in many developing countries (Chapter Two).

However, tourism is also perceived to be similar to other industries in that it is mainly driven by economic interests. Its potential for poverty alleviation is thus limited (Ashley et al. 2001; Mitchell & Ashley 2010; Rogerson 2012; Chapter Two). Numerous criticisms have been levelled at tourism, no matter how many alternative forms of tourism are suggested. Although PPT has captured substantial attention of tourism scholars and practitioners, empirical evidence that demonstrates the actual pro-poor effects of tourism is lacking (Ashley & Goodwin 2007; Blake et al. 2008; Goodwin 2006, 2009; Mitchell & Ashley 2010; Thomas

2013; Winters et al. 2013) for several reasons. First, PPT has often been adopted as an umbrella for liberal and neoliberal motivations. The driver behind PPT initiatives and programmes is primarily marketisation and deregulation for the benefits of powerful stakeholders (Scheyvens 2007, 2011; Schilcher 2007; Chapter Two). Second, the concerns and aspirations of poor people in host communities are largely neglected (Holden et al. 2011; Muganda et al. 2010; Pleumarom 2012). Third, little research attention is paid to the different dimensions and causes of poverty (Chapter Two).

Indeed, the best way to solve any problem is to remove its cause. Therefore, examining the differing causes of poverty is arguably fundamental to any successful poverty measures (Amsden 2012; Pleumarom 2012; Chapter Two). These include external factors (e.g. structural barriers) and internal factors (e.g. poor people's attitudes and behaviours). The same could be said of tourism as a means of poverty alleviation. If poverty is to be alleviated through tourism, it is then important to investigate the actual causes of poverty in specific destinations (Pleumarom 2012), including the behaviours of poor people and other stakeholders in both positively and negatively affecting poverty (Amsden 2012; Moore 2012). Where poverty is attributed to behavioural factors, social marketing may be important given its proven effectiveness in promoting voluntary behaviour change (Kotler & Lee 2009; Chapter Three). Although the potential of social marketing has captured increased research interest of tourism scholars, it has not been considered an integrated tool for poverty alleviation as discussed earlier. Social marketing is different from both educational and legal approaches to promoting behaviour change (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1. Differences between educational, marketing and law based approaches

Use educational approaches to manage behaviour when	Use social marketing to influence behaviour when	Use law-based approaches to enforce behaviour when
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Target audience is prone to behaviour as desired. • Self-interest and benefits of the desired behaviour are easily disseminated or apparent to the target audience, but the audience lack understanding. • There is no or weak competition. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Target audience is neither prone nor resistant to the proposed behaviour. • Self-interest and benefits can be conveyed to target audience by enhancing and managing the offer. • Competition is active. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Target audience is resistant to behaviour as desired, making it very difficult to perform the behaviour. • Self-interest and benefits cannot be conveyed to target audience. • Competition is unmanageable.

Source: Adapted from Maibach (2003b) and Smith & Strand (2008)

In order to examine the interrelationships between tourism, poverty alleviation, and social marketing, the following conceptual framework is formulated based on the discussions given in the literature review (Figure 4.1). It will help guide the further development of this research in the field by illustrating the knowledge and relationships described in the literature review, and help as a means of asking questions and seeking to identify linkages and relationships rather than in the development or testing of hypotheses. Drawing on the suggestion that where behaviour change in poor people is significant for poverty alleviation (Amsden 2012; Moore 2012; Chapter Two), social marketing may play an important role in encouraging positive attitudinal change, which may then lead to behavioural change (Kotler et al. 2006; Kotler & Lee 2009; Chapters Three and this chapter). However, poverty can also be attributed to structural barriers as already discussed (Begovic et al. 2007; Blank 2003; Freeman 1998; Chapter Two). It is, therefore, necessary to employ social marketing to promote changes in relevant policies that affect poor people's lives (Koku 2009; Kotler & Lee 2009; this chapter). Furthermore, socio-cultural norms and/or values may be considered to motivate behaviour change in poor people given that poverty, as Chapters Two and Four have argued, is specific to local contexts and cultures. The behaviour choice of poor people, as well as of the general public at large, is thus influenced by the prevailing social beliefs and/or cultural values in the community in which they are a part (e.g. the case of poor people in Bangladesh discussed earlier in this chapter).

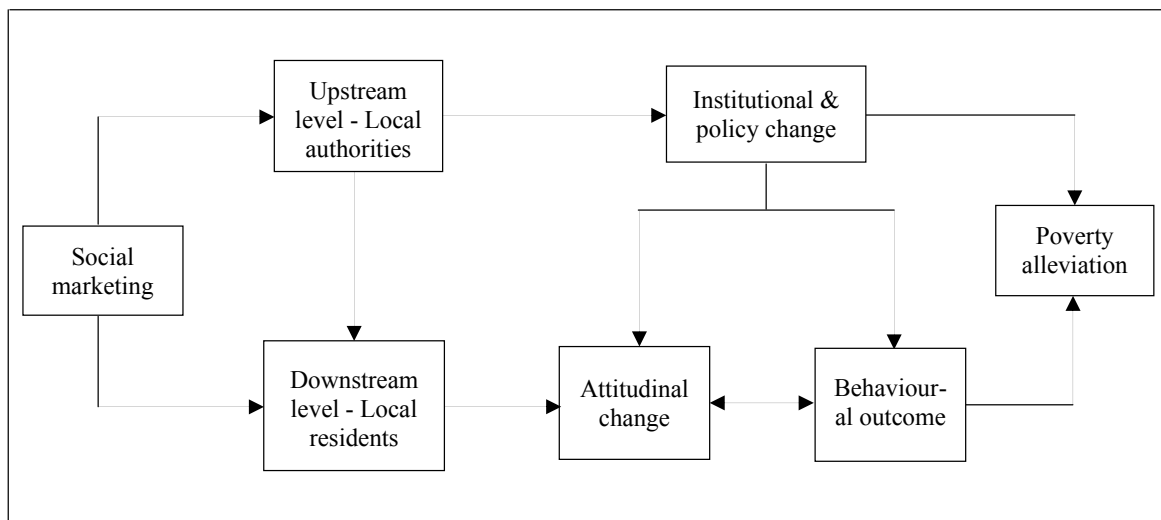


Figure 4.1. Conceptual framework

4.6. CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has examined the broadening of marketing from a sole economic focus to social and other developments. Social marketing has helped solve various community problems, leading to the CBSM concept. The adoption of social marketing in the fields of poverty alleviation and sustainable tourism has also been discussed. For the former, three main perspectives are found. They include neoliberalism where social marketing is used to provide affordable products to poor people; trickledown perspective in which social marketing is used to raise the awareness of well-off individuals and institutions about poor people; and classical economics which advocates behaviour change in poor people. For the latter, two periods are identified. The first period lasts from the early to late 1990s, when attempts were made to distinguish social marketing from commercial marketing. Social marketing was then often confused with societal marketing. In the second period (early 2000s-present), the potential of social marketing has been examined to foster behaviour change in tourists, tourism operations, and marketing organisations. However, social marketing is not considered an integrated anti-poverty tool in tourism. Therefore, the conceptual framework linking social marketing, tourism, and poverty alleviation has been developed to guide this research.

After the literature has been reviewed and the conceptual framework developed, it is appropriate for the next chapter to discuss the tourism and poverty situations in Vietnam as the country background to this research.

CHAPTER FIVE: TOURISM DEVELOPMENT AND THE POVERTY SITUATION IN VIETNAM

5.1. INTRODUCTION

This research, as stated in Chapters One and Two, examines the tourism-poverty linkage, using Sapa, Vietnam as a case study. To set the background to the research, this chapter provides an overview of Vietnam's tourism and poverty situations. The first section chronicles the history of the local tourism industry, while the second section reviews the local tourism policies based on a model of the tourism policy-making process. The third section then highlights the local poverty situation, laying the basis for the last section to examine the poverty component of the local tourism policies and hence unpack the ideological philosophy that underpins the formulation and implementation of these policies.

Vietnam has attached great importance to tourism development. The development of Vietnam's tourism industry is divided into three main periods. Tourism was primarily developed for political purposes in the period 1960-1975. Its economic potential was recognised between 1976 and 1990. Since the 1990s, tourism has been used as a means of economic growth and poverty alleviation. The GOV has been actively involved in tourism, playing the roles of operator/entrepreneur (running state-owned businesses), regulator (making policies), planner (building tourism plans), promoter (spending money on promotional campaigns), coordinator (coordinating with relevant industries), and educator (managing tourism training schools). As noted in Chapter One, Vietnam remains a relatively poor country although it succeeded in halving its poverty rate between 1990 and 2000. The GOV defines poor people as those who earn less than VND600,000 (US\$28.6) and VND480,000 (US\$22.8) per month in urban and rural areas, respectively. While poverty alleviation has been included in a number of important tourism policies and strategies, it has often been considered secondary to tourism growth. This represents the neoliberal perspective, which assumes that tourism growth will increase benefits for poor people. This chapter, alongside the previous chapters, will guide the development of this research, of which methods and design will be discussed in Chapter Six.

5.2. TOURISM DEVELOPMENT: AN OVERVIEW

In creating a systematic overview of the local tourism sector, it is important to trace back its history and development (Huynh 2011; Tran 2005). The development of Vietnam's tourism can be divided into three main periods (a map of Vietnam is provided in Figure 5.1). In the period 1960-1975, tourism was developed for political purposes (Brennan & Nguyen 2000; Tran 2005). From 1976 to 1990, tourism was recognised as an economic sector (Cooper 2000; Tran 2005). Since 1991, tourism has been regarded as an important tool of economic growth and poverty alleviation (GOV 2005a).



Figure 5.1. Map of Vietnam (Source: VNAT's website)

The period 1960-1975 saw the country being divided into two different parts, the North and the South, during the American War (also known as the Vietnam War in the West). It was very difficult to develop tourism, which primarily served political purposes (VNAT 2005). Most foreign tourists were political delegates who were invited by the government of Vietnam (GOV). Leisure and business tourists were rare. Total international arrivals were thus very limited (Table 5.1). The Vietnam Tourist Company was established in 1960 in the North and was placed under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Tran 2005; VNAT 2005). It was later managed by the Ministry of Public Security (Tran 2005). The evidence suggests that tourism was placed at the highest level of state management. Although some early tourist sites were already in place (e.g. Hanoi, Hai Phong, Quang Ninh, Tam Dao, Hoa Binh) (VNAT 2005), economic benefits were not a priority (Cooper 2000). It is thus appropriate to conclude that tourism was neither an economic sector nor an economic activity.

Table 5.1. International arrivals to Vietnam 1960-1975

Year	Arrivals	Year	Arrivals
1960	6,130	1970	18,160
1961	7,630	1971	12,080
1962	8,070	1972	15,860
1963	8,790	1973	19,320
1964	10,780	1974	26,820
1965	11,850	1975	36,910

Source: Ministry of Internal Affairs (1979, cited in Tran 2005)

After the American War, it was still difficult to develop tourism because Vietnam had been severely damaged (Mok & Lam 2000). However, tourist sites were gradually expanded to other areas (e.g. Ho Chi Minh City, Hue, Da Nang, Vung Tau, Can Tho) (VNAT 2005), where some state-owned tourist companies were established and managed by provincial people's committees. The VNAT was established by the GOV in 1978 to manage all tourism activities countrywide. There were limited numbers of foreign visitors (Table 5.2) and these mainly consisted of those coming from the then Soviet Union (Cooper 2000; VNAT 2005). Tourism in the early years after 1975 was primarily developed to promote patriotism, enhance the mutual understanding between the North and the South, and introduce Vietnam as a peaceful country (VNAT 2005). Tourism development was thus highly characterised by

the GOV's intervention (Brennan & Nguyen 2000; Mok & Lam 2000) as proven by the dominance of state-owned companies in the local tourism marketplace.

Table 5.2. Tourist arrivals 1980-1989

Year	1980	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
International	41,110	50,830	54,353	73,283	110,390	187,573
Domestic	-	-	280,000	400,000	480,000	540,000
Total	-	-	334,353	473,283	590,390	727,573

Sources: Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of Trade and Tourism (1990, cited in Tran 2005)

The 1986 *Renewal Policy* marked a significant turn in Vietnam's development from a command to a market economy. Tourism was recognised as an economic sector. However, it was only a secondary sector and did not really thrive until the 1990s (Tran 2005).

In the third period, barriers to private investments were gradually removed and foreign investments encouraged (Cooper 2000) with the issuance of the *Law on Private Companies* and the *Company Law* (1990), of the *Law on the Promotion of Domestic Investment* (1994), and the amendment of the *Law on Foreign Investment* (1992, 1996) (Brennan & Nguyen 2000). This led to a rapid increase in foreign tourists (Table 5.3) who sought business and investment opportunities (Hobson et al. 1994; Mok & Lam 2000). It also resulted in a significant change in the GOV's perception from considering tourism a political means towards focusing more on its economic benefits (Agrusa & Prideaux 2002; Cooper 2000). For example, the 1994 *Decree No. 46* declared that tourism was a strategic component in the country's socio-economic development, industrialisation and modernisation (VNAT 2005). This perceptual change was also evidenced by the formulation of a licensing system for hotels (1993), a classification system for hotels (1995) (Cooper 2000), and the approval of subsequent policies and strategies (e.g. *Tourism Ordinance*, *Law on Tourism*).

Table 5.3. International arrivals 1990–1999 (Unit: thousand)

Year	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
<i>Total</i>	250	300	440	670	1,018	1,351	1,067	1,715	1,520	1,782
<i>By purpose</i>										
Leisure	-	-	-	-	-	610	661	691	599	838
Trade & investment	-	-	-	-	-	308	364	403	292	266
Visit friends & relatives	-	-	-	-	-	-	273	371	301	337
Others	-	-	-	-	-	432	306	249	328	341
<i>By means of transport</i>										
Airways	-	-	-	-	-	1,206	939	1,033	874	1,022
Waterways	-	-	-	-	-	21	161	131	157	188
Land	-	-	-	-	-	122	505	550	489	572

Source: Adapted from Brennan & Nguyen (2000)

More tourism policies and strategies have been issued since 2000 (see section 5.3), creating a sound legal framework for the operation of tourism businesses. Vietnam's socio-economic and political stability has also been a good foundation for tourism development (Mok & Lam 2000). Therefore, tourist numbers have increased (Table 5.4).

Since the PPT concept emerged (Chapter Two), it has attracted considerable attention of Vietnamese tourism scholars (e.g. Bui 2010; Dao 2010; Huynh 2011; Mai 2010; Nguyen D.D. 2010; Vu 2010). These scholars have typically sought an appropriate model of tourism development where economic benefits for poor people are often highlighted as a means of poverty alleviation. However, little attention has been given to the voice of poor people (Chapters One and Two). In addition, the pro-poor potential of tourism has also been noted in a number of tourism policies and strategies (e.g. *Law on Tourism*). Reports suggest that the tourism sector has had significant impacts on the livelihoods of various stakeholders, including poor people. It has also considerably benefited the wider population, both directly and indirectly, as measured by increased foreign tourists and total tourism earnings (VNAT 2005, 2009a). The *National Strategy for Tourism Development* (NSTD) up to 2020 (Vision 2030) affirms that tourism is a spearhead and that total tourism receipts are the primary indicator of tourism growth (GOV 2013). The evidence suggests that tourism growth is the key priority and hence the most effective way of poverty alleviation in tourist destinations.

Table 5.4. Vietnam's tourism arrivals (thousand) and receipts (trillion VND) 2000-2013

Year	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
<i>Domestic</i>	11,200	11,700	13,000	13,500	14,500	16,100	17,500	19,200	20,500	25,000	28,000	30,000	32,500	35,000
<i>Foreign</i>	2,140	2,330	2,628	2,429	2,928	3,477	3,583	4,229	4,254	3,772	5,049	6,014	6,847	7,572
<i>Total receipts</i>	17.4	20.5	23	22	26	30	51	56	64	70	96	130	160	200*
<i>Major foreign markets</i>														
China	492.0	675.8	723.4	693.0	778.4	752.6	516.3	558.7	650.0	527.6	905.4	1,416.8	1,428	1,907
South Korea	---	---	---	---	232.9	317.2	421.7	475.5	449.2	362.1	495.9	536.4	700.9	748.7
Japan	142.9	205.1	279.8	209.6	267.2	320.6	383.9	411.6	393.0	359.2	442.0	481.5	576.4	604.0
USA	95.8	230.4	259.9	218.8	272.5	333.6	385.6	412.3	417.2	403.9	431.0	439.8	443.8	432.2
Taiwan	210.0	199.6	211.1	208.1	256.9	286.3	274.7	314.0	303.5	271.6	334.0	361.0	409.4	398.9
Thailand	20.8	31.6	41.0	40.1	36.4	84.1	123.8	160.7	183.1	152.6	222.8	181.8	225.9	268.9
France	88.2	99.7	111.5	86.8	104.0	126.4	132.3	182.5	182.0	174.5	199.4	211.4	219.7	209.9

Sources: VNAT (2009a, 2011a, 2011b, 2014a, 2014b, 2014c); *This is equivalent to about US\$9.5 billion (see also Chapter One)

This section indicates that tourism has been used to achieve the goals of the GOV since 1960. Tourism was developed for political purposes in the period 1960-1975. Between 1976 and 1990, tourism was recognised as an economic sector. Since 1991, it has been regarded as a means of economic growth and poverty alleviation. The changing roles of tourism reflect the significant changes in the GOV's tourism policies, which are presented next.

5.3. TOURISM POLICY IN DEVELOPMENT

This section examines the changes in Vietnam's tourism policies over two periods: 1976-1990 and 1991-present. The period 1960-1975 is excluded because tourism, as noted, was not a formal industry and hence no important tourism policy was made. Hall (1994) indicated that it is necessary to unpack the political nature of tourism before obtaining a thorough understanding of tourism development and its impacts in any given country. According to Hall (1994), the roles of governments in tourism are an outcome of their tourism policy formulation and implementation. It is thus important to analyse tourism policies to understand the roles and ideologies of governments. Hall (1994) also suggested a model of the tourism policy-making process, which consists of four main components: demands, decisions, outputs, and impacts (see also Dredge & Jenkins 2007). Based on this model, Vietnam's tourism policies are analysed and the GOV's roles highlighted. These policies are summarised in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5. The development of Vietnam's tourism policies

Policy issues	Period	1976-1990	1991-present
Policy-making context		(a) GOV's perception changed; (b) 1986 <i>Renewal Policy</i> adopted; (c) Tourism developed for economic goals, though still politically driven.	(a) Significant perceptual changes in GOV; (b) Tourism development for economic growth over political purposes; (c) Pro-poor potential of tourism recognised.
Demands for tourism policies		(a) Lack of an agency responsible for state management of tourism; (b) Ineffective state management of tourism; (c) Poor infrastructure, unskilled human resources, limited tourist sites.	(a) Tourists increased in number and demands; (b) Foreign investments required; (c) Tourist sites needed expanding; (d) Tourism quality needed improving.
Policy decisions		(a) Formulating an agency for state management of tourism; (b) Separating business function from state management function; (c) Transferring from state monopoly to joint ventures.	(a) Separating state management from provincial management; (b) Coordinating tourism development among regions and industries; (c) Expanding types of tourism business; (d) Classifying and standardising tourism businesses; (e) Formulating tourism strategies and plans; (f) International promotion of tourism; (g) Intensifying tourism education and training.
Policy outputs		(a) The VNAT established (1978); (b) The VNAT became a state management function; (c) Joint-venture hotels started to emerge (post 1986); (d) 1990 <i>Vietnam Tourism Year</i> campaign launched; (e) Tourism schools established.	(a) Local Departments of Tourism established (1994); (b) National Steering Committee for Tourism Development established (1999), followed by similar committees at provincial level; (c) Different types of businesses participated in tourism; (d) National standards built (2009); (e) Tour guiding standardised (2005); (f) National and local tourism strategies and plans implemented; (g) Local <i>Tourism Year</i> campaigns implemented; (h) International promotional campaigns implemented; (i) Visa exemption agreements signed; (j) Tourism educated at different levels.
Policy impacts		(a) Foreign tourists increased; (b) Tourism recognised as an industry; (c) Tourist sites expanded; (d) The country failed to provide sufficient flights and hotels.	(a) Tourism recognised as a spearhead industry; (b) Target of one million foreign tourists achieved, a fourfold increase as compared to 1990; total tourism receipts increased 53 times; direct jobs created for about 334,000 people and indirect jobs for 510,000 people. Both state funding and FDI increased. (c) Concerns about equal distribution of benefits, environmental impacts, and pro-poor contribution.
GOV's roles		Operator/entrepreneur, coordinator, promoter, and educator.	Operator (weakened), coordinator, planner, promoter (intensified), and educator (weakened).

Sources: Cooper (2000); GOV (1999a, 1999b, 2001, 2005a, 2011); Hobson et al. (1994); Tran (2005); VNAT (2005, 2009a, 2009b, 2010)

5.3.1. 1976-1990

5.3.1.1. Demands for tourism policies

Firstly, a state agency responsible for managing tourism was unavailable. The tourism sector was lacking both well-trained human resources and professional facilities (Tran 2005). Secondly, the state management of tourism was ineffective. The VNAT undertook the roles of both a management agency and a business at the same time. These roles were not clearly separated. In addition, the VNAT was inexperienced in managing tourism (Tran 2005). Thirdly, foreign tourists were increasing. However, tourism infrastructure was poor, tourist sites were limited, and human resources untrained (Hobson et al. 1994).

5.3.1.2. Policy decisions and outputs

In 1978, the VNAT was established to manage all tourism activities. It also managed over 30 state-owned tour companies, tourist hotels, guesthouses, and villas nationwide (Tran 2005). The evidence suggests that the GOV was playing the roles of operator and entrepreneur in tourism. However, the VNAT was inexperienced as noted above, so it could not effectively implement both the state management and business functions. Therefore, *Decree No. 20* was issued to specify three main responsibilities of the VNAT: undertaking state management of tourism, managing tourism training institutions, and managing state-owned tourism businesses (VNAT 2005).

There was a significant transfer from state monopoly to joint-venture businesses. This transfer was most evident in the hotel sector. Before 1986, most state-owned hotels and guesthouses were of old styles and were equipped with very basic facilities and unskilled staff. After the *Law on Foreign Investment* was approved (1987), joint-venture hotels started to emerge. The Saigon Floating Hotel was opened in 1989 and was managed by Southern Pacific Hotels. It was the first five star hotel in Ho Chi Minh City that offered international standards of services (Suntikul et al. 2008). At the end of this period, 45 hotel investment projects were recorded (Hobson et al. 1994), indicating that the state monopoly over tourism was diminishing and that the GOV was starting to act as the coordinator of FDI in tourism.

In 1990, the *Vietnam's Tourism Year* campaign was launched. It aimed to promote Vietnam's image to the world (Cooper 2000; Hobson et al. 1994) in order to accelerate economic growth. It suggested that the GOV was acting as the promoter of tourism. In addition, some tourism schools were established, including Hanoi Hospitality School, Vung

Tau Hospitality School, and Centre for Tourism and Hospitality Training. They were managed by the VNAT, indicating that the GOV was also the provider of tourism education.

5.3.1.3. Impacts of tourism policies

The 1990 *Tourism Year* campaign led to a sharp increase in foreign tourists. Between 1975 and 1990, foreign tourists increased more than six times, from 36,900 (Tran 2005) to 250,000 (Brennan & Nguyen 2000). The total tourism income generated was recorded at US\$140 million in 1989 (Suntikul et al. 2008). To some extent, the campaign succeeded in introducing Vietnam to the world community. Nevertheless, it failed to handle the rapid influx of foreign tourists and provide sufficient hotels and flights. Added to this was the lack of well-trained human resources (Cooper 2000; Hobson et al. 1994; Suntikul et al. 2008).

Tourist sites were expanded to include Hue, Nha Trang, Can Tho, and Ho Chi Minh City (VNAT 2005) apart from those developed in the previous period. The local human resources in tourism were improved in terms of both quantity and quality (Tran 2005). From only 112 direct employees in the 1960s (Tran 2005), the tourism industry created about 8,000 direct jobs in 1989 (Suntikul et al. 2008). However, it was still facing such difficulties as inadequate infrastructure, poor service quality, and ineffective inter-sectoral coordination. These challenges ushered the industry into a new period when a sound legal framework was created.

5.3.2. 1991-present

5.3.2.1. Demands for tourism policies

Effective tourism policies have been required for three main reasons. First, foreign tourists have increased annually (Tables 5.3 & 5.4 above), who come from many other countries than those from the former Soviet Union (VNAT 2005). Second, the roles of foreign partners and investors have been recognised, particularly in developing the hotel sector that requires intensive funding. Foreign investments are even more important because Vietnam aims to construct some tourist sites of regional and international significance and to become a tourist centre in Asia (VNAT 2005). Third, the increase in foreign tourists has required the expansion of tourist sites and the diversification of quality products and services (Tran 2005).

5.3.2.2. Policy decisions and outputs

Tourism management has been separated between state level and provincial level. *Decree No. 9* was issued in 1994, specifying the responsibilities of provinces and cities for managing their own tourism activities (GOV 1994). Departments of Tourism were thus

established in 14 provinces and cities where tourism was more developed than others. There are now Departments of Tourism or Departments of Tourism and Trade in 61 provinces and cities countrywide (VNAT 2005). Tourism coordination has been strengthened, as indicated by the establishment of the National Steering Committee for Tourism Development in 1999. Headed by the Deputy Prime Minister, the Committee assists the GOV in coordinating relevant ministries in developing tourism (GOV 1999b). As of 2005, similar committees were established in over 51 provinces and cities, where cooperation agreements have been signed (VNAT 2005).

Several types of business have participated in tourism, including collective, private-owned, family-run, and foreign-invested businesses. Some state-owned businesses were reformed such as Hanoi Tourist Company, Saigontourist Company, and Ben Thanh Tourist Company (VNAT 2005). The GOV's role of entrepreneur has thus tended to weaken, while its role of promoter has been intensified, as demonstrated by many strategies and plans implemented. At the national level, the *Master Plan for Tourism Development 1995-2010* was made in 1994 (Cooper 2000). The NSTD 2001-2010 was formulated (GOV 2002), which was developed into the *National Action Plans for Tourism Development* for 2002-2005 (GOV 2002) and 2006-2010 (GOV 2006). These plans were followed by the *National Action Plan for 2007-2012* (GOV 2007). In 2011, the NSTD up to 2020 (Vision 2030) was approved (GOV 2013). At the local level, tourism development plans were approved in over 50 provinces and cities (VNAT 2005). Five websites were built to promote tourism (VNAT 2006). *National Tourism Year* programs were implemented in a number of provinces and cities (e.g. Quang Ninh, Quang Nam, Hanoi, Thua Thien Hue). Up to October 2013, visa exemption agreements had been signed with 80 countries worldwide (Appendix 1).

Furthermore, policies have been issued to classify tourism businesses. The *Law on Tourism* divides tourism businesses into tour operators, tourist accommodation establishments, tourist transportation providers, tourist spots and resorts development businesses, and providers of other tourism services (GOV 2005a). Tourist accommodation establishments include tourist hotels, tourist villages, tourist villas, tourist apartments, tourist campsites, tourist guesthouses, houses for tourist rental, and other tourist accommodation establishments (GOV 2005a). Tourist hotels are classified into city hotels, hotel resorts, motels, and floating hotels, and are ranked in terms of location and architecture, facilities and amenities, quantity and quality of services, quality of executive and service staff members, and security and environmental protection (VNAT 2009b). The Law also sets five conditions

for international tourist guides: being Vietnamese citizens, demonstrating good ethics and personality, having good health, demonstrating a good command of at least one foreign language, and holding a tertiary degree in tourist guiding (GOV 2005a). This has led to an increase in tourism training institutions (over 40 universities, colleges, and 30 vocational schools offering tourism courses) (VNAT 2005). The Institute for Tourism Development Research was established in 1993. It is responsible for conducting research on policy-making, master plan building, and strategy formulation. The GOV's role of educator has tended to weaken because most tourism institutions are independent of the VNAT.

5.3.2.3. *Impacts of tourism policies*

The target of one million foreign tourists was achieved in 1994 (Tran 2005; VNAT 2009a), a fourfold increase as compared to 1990. From 1990 to 2008, domestic tourists increased about 20 times. In the same period, foreign tourists increased about 17 times where Asian countries were the biggest international markets (Table 5.4 above). Total tourism receipts grew about 53 times, from VND1,350 billion (US\$64.3 million) in 1999 to VND70,000 billion (US\$3.3 billion) in 2009. In 2011, tourism contributed over 5% to GDP (VNAT 2011a).

Up to the end of 2011, there are 12,500 tourist hotels and 987 international tour operators nationwide (VNAT 2011b). About 50% of hotels are ranked from one to five stars. Tourism has created direct employment for about 334,000 people and indirect employment for about 510,000 people, many of whom are young adults and women (VNAT 2009a). It has also led to increased state funding for infrastructure development (Table 5.6).

Table 5.6. State investments in infrastructure for tourism development 2001-2009

Year	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Amount (billion VND)	266	380	450	500	550	620	750	620	700
Number of localities	13	37	43	53	58	59	59	56	55

Sources: VNAT (2005, 2010)

Moreover, more FDI has been made in tourism development. Between 1988 and 1997, Vietnam attracted over US\$30 billion FDI, of which more than 20% was for tourism (Sadi & Henderson 2001). From 2000 to 2009, FDI has increased 15.5 times in terms of project number and 385 times in capital amount. As of 2011, FDI in tourism was estimated at about US\$476.8 million (Table 5.7).

Table 5.7. FDI in tourism 2000-2011

Year	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Number of projects	02	04	25	13	15	48	26	31	39	25
Capital (million US\$)	22.8	10.3	174.2	239	111,17	2,012	9,126	8,800	315.5*	476.8*

Sources: GSOV (2010, 2011); VNAT (2010); Note: Cumulative values

However, the increased development of tourism has raised questions of its actual impact at the local level. These questions include the equitable distribution of benefits (Dang 2009; Nguyen et al. 2007; Suntikul et al. 2010), environmental effects (Dang 2009; Nguyen 2002; Nguyen 2006; Nguyen et al. 2007; Sage & Nguyen 2001; Suntikul et al. 2010), and the contribution of tourism to poverty alleviation (Rogers & Harman 2010; Vu 2009).

To summarise, this section has analysed the development of Vietnam's tourism policies. In the period 1976-1990, tourism policies emerged as a response to the 1986 *Renewal Policy*. The GOV played the roles of operator/entrepreneur, coordinator, promoter, and educator. In the period 1991-present, tourism policies have been required to meet the increased expansion of the tourism industry, resulting in the classification and standardisation of tourism businesses and the formulation of many tourism strategies and plans. The GOV plays the additional roles of planner and regulator. Its role of educator is weakened while the role of promoter is intensified. The GOV has strongly intervened into tourism and considered it a tool of poverty alleviation. Vietnam's poverty situation is discussed next.

5.4. POVERTY IN VIETNAM

As discussed above, Vietnam was severely damaged after the American War. It was also worsened by the economic sanctions that were imposed by the American government in the following years (Dang 2009). Politically, Vietnam entered a period of isolation from the West (Gainsborough 2010). As a result, until the mid-1980s Vietnam was one of the poorest countries in the world. Per capita growth was negative, famine was spreading, investment was low, and the country was heavily dependent on the former Soviet Union's financial aid (Dollar & Litvack 1998). The GOV attempted to develop the economy by drawing upon collectivised agriculture and subsidised state industries. However, these attempts brought about very modest results (Dollar & Litvack 1998), leading the GOV to adopt the *Renewal Policy* in 1986 to transform the centrally planned economy into a market-oriented one.

The *Renewal Process* was started in agriculture, which was the largest sector of the economy. Agricultural collectives were removed in 1988 and hence farming land was distributed to families. In 1993, a new land law was issued which clarified that farmers reserved the right to use the land allocated to them for 20 years and that they could renew this right (Dollar & Litvack 1998). Reforms were then undertaken in other economic areas. For example, state control over commodity prices was abolished. Prior to the *Renewal Process*, a system of dual pricing had been implemented in Vietnam in which most agricultural and industrial output had to be sold to the GOV at official prices, and the balance could be sold at market prices. The removal of these controlled prices and the system of state procurement encouraged private production of goods and services. By the end of 1989, rapid growth was seen in agriculture, services, and construction – three areas where the private sector responded quickly to state incentives (Dollar & Litvack 1998). In the 1990s, structural reforms were commenced in other areas such as finance and banking.

Reducing the number of poor people was also an important task of the *Renewal Process*. Indeed, the economic growth generated by this process helped reduce Vietnam's poverty rate from 75% in 1990 to 55% in 1993 (Dollar & Litvack 1998). Vietnam was recognised for succeeding in halving its poverty rate between 1990 and 2000 (UNDP 2009; Chapter One). It is now ranked 127th in terms of human development (medium level) (the Human Development Index covers three main dimensions: a long and healthy life, knowledge, and a decent standard of living; UNDP 2013).

Despite its achievements in economic growth and poverty alleviation, Vietnam remains a relatively poor country (GOV 2003; Huxford 2010; Nguyen H.D. 2010; SNV 2007b). Prior to the 2003 *Comprehensive Poverty Reduction and Growth Strategy* (CPRGS), poverty was defined by income and consumption (GOV 2003). Poverty is now defined as “a situation in which a proportion of the population does not enjoy the satisfaction of basic human needs that have been recognised by the society depending on the level of economic and social development and local customs and practices” (GOV 2003, p. 17). It is measured via the poverty lines that are developed by the GSOV for urban and rural areas. These lines are adjusted over time depending on socio-economic changes (GSOV 2010, 2011). The GSOV conducts a household living standards survey every two years (Nguyen H.D. 2010) where poverty rates are estimated by region. Vietnam's poverty rates are shown in Table 5.8.

Table 5.8. Vietnam's poverty rates by region 2004-2011 (Unit: %)

Region \ Year	2004	2006	2008	2010	2011*
Red River Delta	12.9	10.1	8.7	8.4	7.1
North East	23.2	22.2	20.1	24.2	26.7
North West	46.1	39.4	35.9	39.4	
North Central Coast	29.4	26.6	23.1	24.0	18.5
South Central Coast	21.3	17.2	14.7	16.9	
Central Highlands	29.2	24.0	21.0	22.2	20.3
South East	6.1	4.6	3.7	3.4	1.7
Mekong River Delta	15.3	13.0	11.4	12.6	11.6
Whole country	18.1	15.5	13.4	14.2	12.6

* Poverty rate 2010 is calculated by the GOV's poverty lines of VND400,000/person/month (US\$19) in rural area and VND500,000/person/month (US\$23.8) in urban area, while those for the 2011 rate are VND480,000/person/month (US\$22.8) and VND600,000/person/month (US\$28.6), respectively (GSOV 2010, 2011).

Table 5.8 shows that the local poverty rates vary by regions. Rural and mountainous regions are home to the largest number of poor people who are ethnic minorities, including the North West, North East, and Central Highlands. Due to their physically disadvantaged locations, these regions have limited access to information, markets, capital, and infrastructure (GOV 2003). It is noted that Vietnam has 54 ethnic groups, of which the Kinh are the majority, and that the GOV adopts a policy of equality, solidarity, and mutual assistance among ethnic groups (ADB 2002; Duong 2008). In building a united nation, the GOV prohibits any behaviour that sows division among ethnic groups (ADB 2002).

In addition, Table 5.8 suggests that poverty rates are also high in the North and South Central Coasts but are much lower in the Red River Delta and Mekong River Delta. Since these deltas are home to the capital city of Hanoi and Vietnam's largest city of Ho Chi Minh, their residents often have advantages for participating in the growth process. However, urban poverty is found in these regions and is often reflected by non-food and non-income indicators such as social security, housing services, and education (GOV 2003; UNDP 2010).

Many poverty reduction policies and strategies have been implemented. In 1998, the *National Target Programme for Poverty Alleviation 1998-2000* was created, focusing on four main areas: infrastructure development and population reorganisation, resettlement and

creation of New Economic Zones, support for ethnic minority people in disadvantaged areas, and livelihood training for poor people (Nguyen 2009). A similar focus was seen in the *Programme 135* that was also approved in 1998 (Nguyen 2009). These programmes were common in the ultimate goal of increasing economic income for poor people while ignoring other dimensions of poverty such as education and healthcare.

Government poverty strategies also include the *Socio-economic Development Strategy* (SEDS) 1991-2000 and 2001-2010, *Employment and Poverty Alleviation Programme 2001-2005*, *National Target Programme for Poverty Alleviation 2006-2010* (Nguyen 2009), *Socio-economic Programme for Extremely Difficult Communes in Ethnic Minority and Mountainous Areas 2006-2010*, *Rapid and Sustainable Poverty Reduction Programme for 62 Poorest Communes* (UNDP 2009), and CPRGS (GOV 2003). These strategies and plans were aimed to address different dimensions of poverty. For example, the *Employment and Poverty Alleviation Programme 2001-2005* focused on healthcare, education, social security, microloans, and housing support for poor communes. Meanwhile, the *National Target Programme for Poverty Alleviation 2006–2010* expanded to embrace awareness raising and capacity building measures for poor people (Nguyen 2009). This means poverty is perceived as a multi-dimensional issue that is not only limited to a lack of income but also entails a wide range of problems (Chapter Two). Significant achievements were made as indicated by the reduction in the overall poverty rate (Table 5.8 above).

However, research suggested that these poverty strategies overlapped, were broad in scale (e.g. the *Rapid and Sustainable Poverty Reduction Programme* targeting 62 communes nationwide), financially dominated (Nguyen H.D. 2010; UNDP 2009), and were primarily focused on social workers and local authorities who undertook communication and propagation at the communal level (Nguyen 2009). These strategies were also inappropriate to the specific condition of each poor region and group of poor people (GOV 2003). The role of the poor in identifying and solving their own problems was not considered. This was implied by the CPRGS which argued that poverty could be reduced more effectively with the active participation of poor people (GOV 2003). This argument was furthered by Nguyen H.D. (2010) who claimed that previous poverty reduction policies and programs have paid scant attention to the behaviours of poor people who sometimes choose to rely on external aid. Therefore, it is necessary to promote positive attitudinal and behavioural changes in poor people if poverty is to be alleviated sustainably (Nguyen H.D. 2010). To this end, social

marketing (Chapter Three) may have an important role to play. These claims correspond with those of other scholars as discussed in Chapters Two and Four.

Poverty reduction policies and strategies have recognised the importance of various actors (e.g. GOV, international community, governmental and non-governmental organisations, the private sector). The roles of relevant sectors have also been recognised, including agro-forestry and fishing, industry and construction, education, healthcare, and culture and information (GOV 2001, 2003). In addition, given Vietnam's rich natural and cultural resources (Huynh 2011; Nguyen 2002; Vu 2009), the GOV has considered tourism a means of economic growth and poverty alleviation as indicated by the changes in important tourism policies. These policies are examined in more detail in the next section.

5.5. TOURISM POLICIES AND POVERTY ALLEVIATION: A CRITIQUE

Since the 1990s, the GOV has recognised tourism as an important tool of poverty alleviation as already noted. A number of policies and strategies have been formulated to promote tourism development. Major tourism policies and strategies are summarised in Table 5.9.

Table 5.9. Tourism development policies, strategies, and plans

Publication	Year of publication	Main objective	Poverty component
Master Plan for Tourism Development 1995-2010	1994	By 2000: 3.5-3.8 million foreign tourists; 11 million domestic tourists; turnover US\$2.6 billion. By 2010: 9 million foreign tourists; 25 million domestic tourists; turnover US\$11.8 billion.	Sustainable tourism emphasised by protecting tourism resources and creating economic opportunities for disadvantaged regions.
Tourism Ordinance	1999	Tourism considered an important economic industry that improves intellectual standards, creates employment, and contributes to socio-economic development.	Tourism encouraged in socially and economically backward regions.
National Action Plan for Tourism Development 2002-2005	1999	Ensure tourism would be a key economic industry and turn Vietnam into an advanced tourist destination by 2005. Receive 3-3.5 million foreign tourists and 15-16 million domestic tourists by 2005.	Sustainable tourism mentioned, but poverty alleviation neglected.
Socio-economic Development Strategy (SEDS) 2001-2010	2001	Lift the country out of the underdevelopment state, improve local living standards, and lay the foundation for Vietnam to become an industrialised country by 2020.	Efforts encouraged to develop tourism into a spearhead industry, but the task of poverty alleviation ignored.
National Strategy for Tourism Development (NSTD) 2001-2010	2002	Develop tourism into a spearhead industry and turn Vietnam into an important tourist destination in Asia.	Effective use of tourism resources encouraged, but poverty alleviation not mentioned.
Comprehensive Poverty Reduction and Growth Strategy (CPRGS)	2003	SEDS's target repeated: bring the country out of the underdevelopment state and lay the foundation for it to become an industrialised country by 2020.	Rapid and sustainable economic growth emphasised as the best way out of poverty.
Law on Tourism	2005	Policies created to ensure tourism would be a spearhead industry.	Tourism encouraged in remote areas for hunger elimination and poverty reduction.
National Action Plan for Tourism Development 2006-2010	2006	Turn Vietnam into a country with an advanced tourism industry in Asia by 2010. Foreign tourists increase about 10-20% annually. Domestic tourists increase about 15-20% annually.	Poverty alleviation not mentioned.
National Action Plan for Tourism Development 2007-2012	2007	Achieve the targets of the NSTD 2001-2020: develop tourism into a spearhead industry. Receive 5.5-6 million foreign tourists and 25 million domestic tourists.	
National Strategy for Tourism Development (NSTD) to 2020 (Vision 2030)	2011	Affirm tourism is the spearhead industry and use total tourism receipts as the primary indicator of tourism development.	Many action plans made to promote tourism growth, only one single plan proposed for PPT development.

Until the late 1990s, the main orientation for tourism development was “cultural tourism and ecotourism for preservation of good morals and good customs” (translated from Article 3, GOV 1999a). The *Tourism Ordinance* stated that “all tourist activities having negative impacts on the environment, cultural values and traditional customs, national independence and sovereignty, defence and security are forbidden” (translated from Article 8, GOV 1999a). This was because the GOV was afraid of losing its political power in the transitional process and was sensitive to the undesired consequences of tourism. Tourism was thus placed at the national administration level as noted above. The National Steering Committee for Tourism Development established in 1999 was headed by the then Deputy Prime Minister and included the then Deputy Ministers of Public Security and National Defence on its panel (GOV 1999b). However, tourism was still regarded as an important way for Vietnam to integrate into the world economy (Brennan & Nguyen 2000). The *Master Plan for Tourism Development 1995-2010* set the ambitious targets of receiving 3.5-3.8 million foreign visitors and 11 million domestic visitors, with an expected turnover of US\$2.6 billion by 2000 (VNAT 2005). These targets suggested that economic benefits were the most important and tourism was considered a panacea for economic problems facing Vietnam (Cooper 2000). This is true since Vietnam needed a huge amount of foreign currency for industrialisation and modernisation (Cooper 2000; Nguyen 2002). Tourism, as a major foreign exchange earner, was thus developed as much as possible to meet those needs (Nguyen 2002). Understandably, the tourism industry tended to follow the fast track model of Thailand and the Philippines by opening the domestic market to overseas investments and actively promoting inbound tourism (Agrusa & Prideaux 2002). The Plan also indicated a policy transfer from considering tourism a political tool to attaching greater importance to its economic benefits. The Plan was later revised to make its targets more achievable and to include sustainable tourism development as a key goal (Brennan & Nguyen 2000; Cooper 2000).

In the 2000s, Vietnam sought to link tourism with poverty alleviation (Nguyen et al. 2007). Since tourism was perceived to have significant impacts on the broad population, particularly the poor, the GOV incorporated it into various development plans and strategies. For example, under the SEDS 2001-2010, accelerating economic growth for poverty alleviation was considered one of the most significant goals (GOV 2001; Nguyen et al. 2007). By then, tourism had been recognised as a spearhead sector. The strategy signified the need for the “socialisation of tourism” where benefits would be allocated to the wider population and income retained in host communities (Dang 2009). However, the SEDS regarded “fast

and sustainable” economic growth as “the central goal” (translated from GOV 2001, p. 7) and hence more important than poverty alleviation. The strategy stated that the ultimate goal was to “lift the country out of the underdevelopment state; significantly improve people’s living standards; lay the foundation for Vietnam to become an industrialised country by 2020; and heighten the country’s status in the international arena” (translated from GOV 2001, p. 5). Therefore, it set the target of increasing the national foreign currency reserve and doubling the rate of export growth as compared to that of GDP. This implied that economic growth was considered not only necessary but also sufficient for poverty alleviation.

Similarly, the CPRGS, which was considered the cementing of the SEDS 2001-2010, also stated, “the Government of Vietnam believes that a strategy focused on achieving high and sustainable economic growth is key to narrowing down the economic gap between Vietnam and other countries in the region and the world” (GOV 2003, p. 2). The GOV also believed that high economic growth was the best way out of poverty (GOV 2003). This evidence reveals a persistent neoliberal belief (Chapter Two) in Vietnam that as long as the whole country becomes wealthier thanks to economic development, the benefits will eventually “trickle down” to the poor. The growth of the tourism industry as a dominant foreign exchange earner (Mok & Lam 2000) has thus prevailed over poverty alleviation. This is similar to some neoliberal strategies and initiatives that are often advocated by international development agencies (Chapter Two) and tourism policies implemented in developing countries (Blake 2008; Muganda et al. 2010). In addition, special attention was paid to the development in other sectors (e.g. agro-forestry and fishing, industry and construction), while the tourism sector was only grouped in “other services” category. This suggests that tourism was not really a separate sector, let alone a spearhead. Tourism was developed to satisfy the demands of domestic and foreign tourists, but its linkage with poverty alleviation was not mentioned (GOV 2001). The sector was neither included in the six development areas (agriculture, healthcare, education and training, transportation, science and technology, and environmental protection) nor supported by the national target programs set in the CPRGS for the period (Nguyen et al. 2007). This proves that although tourism was regarded as an important tool of economic growth, its pro-poor potential was neglected.

However, it is important to note that the GPRGS also stressed that poverty alleviation was not only the unidirectional support of the GOV or well-off entities but also the task of poor people (GOV 2003). This statement has two important implications. First, poverty would be alleviated more effectively if poor people were active in moving themselves out of

poverty. This means the role of poor people in poverty alleviation is fundamental, which is consistent with the discussion given in Chapter Two. Second, the statement may signify the need to motivate voluntary behaviour change in poor people if poverty is to be alleviated sustainably. To this end, social marketing may be important given its proven successes in encouraging behaviour change in target audience (Chapters Three and Four).

In addition, while tourism was regarded as a spearhead sector and efforts were made to generate more income for local communities, significant legal constraints remained. For example, the 1999 *Tourism Ordinance* had stipulated that to apply for a tour-guiding license, applicants were required to obtain a university/college degree (GOV 1999a). This requirement had indeed prevented a number of poor ethnic minorities (e.g. in Sapa; Nguyen et al. 2007; this will be discussed further in Chapter Nine) from working as tourist guides, which meant they had fewer income earning opportunities. This barrier has not been lifted although the *Law on Tourism* came into effect in 2005 (GOV 2005a). Furthermore, the VNAT has required a deposit of VND50 million (US\$2,380) if a business wishes to provide domestic tours. This amount is VND250 million (US\$11,904) for international tour operations (VNAT 2001). However, per capita income was estimated at about VND600,000 (US\$28.6) in 2000 (GOV 2003) when the *Tourism Ordinance* was approved. It can thus be claimed that these policies have actually marginalised poor people, particularly those in remote areas, given that they could not afford to start their own tour businesses.

After the ninth Party Congress (2001), the NSTD 2001-2010 was approved. It set the target of developing tourism into a spearhead sector (GOV 2002). Specifically, it aimed to achieve an average annual sectoral GDP growth rate of 11%-11.5% and attract 3-3.5 million foreign tourists by 2005 and 5.6-6 million foreign tourists by 2010. It also called for the effective use of tourism resources so that by 2010 Vietnam could be ranked a top 10 regional countries in terms of tourism development (GOV 2002). However, the task of poverty alleviation was neglected. In addition, plans were made to promote tourism in strategic locations (e.g. Hanoi, Hai Phong, Quang Ninh, Nghe An, Hue, Da Nang, Quang Nam, Ho Chi Minh City). Investment projects were called for within major cities (e.g. Ha Long, Da Lat, Sapa). Meanwhile, disadvantaged areas, which might be in greater need, were ignored (GOV 2002). It was implied that promoting tourism growth in these strategic locations and major cities would be much easier and hence generate profits more quickly than in isolated areas that would require intensive funding but be exposed to greater risks.

The NSTD was developed into two national action plans for tourism development. The *National Action Plan for Tourism Development 2002-2005* was aimed at laying the foundation for tourism to become a spearhead sector as determined by the ninth Party Congress. This means the growth of the tourism industry was the most important. The task of poverty alleviation was not a concern. Similarly, the *National Action Plan for Tourism Development 2006-2010* made no mention of poverty alleviation either. It instead aimed to “increase the growth rates of international and domestic visitors from 10% to 20% and from 15% to 20% per annum respectively; improve the quality and diversification of tourism products and services; enhance the position of Vietnam’s tourism sector in the international market; and develop sustainable tourism” (translated from GOV 2006, p. 1). To achieve this goal, different economic sectors were encouraged to invest in developing tourism infrastructure (GOV 2006). The role of local communities and the task of poverty alleviation were ignored. Therefore, numerical data on the actual impacts of these plans on poor people was rare. The evaluation report of the *National Action Plan for Tourism Development 2002-2005* stated that tourism had contributed to improving the living standards of the broader population. However, it neglected to provide any convincing numerical data (VNAT 2006). Questions may be raised if most tourism benefits had actually accrued to powerful stakeholders instead of poor people impacted by tourism. Therefore, it can be claimed that these plans run counter to the *Law on Tourism* which states that tourism is encouraged in “remote and isolated areas and those with socio-economic difficulties” for “hunger elimination and poverty reduction” (GOV 2005a, p. 9; see also Chapter One).

Similarly, the *National Action Plan for Tourism Development 2007-2012* indicated that the impacts of tourism were measured by visitor numbers, GDP growth, and employment creation. Although sustainable development and poverty alleviation were mentioned, they were only considered a means to achieve tourism growth and receipts:

[The tourism sector] strives to attract 5.5-6 million foreign visitors with an average growth rate of 11.4%; attract 25 million domestic visitors...increase tourism revenue to US\$4.0-4.5 billion per year; increase the sector’s GDP growth rate to 5.3% of the national GDP...create 1.4 million jobs, including 350,000 direct jobs (translated from GOV 2007, p. 2).

In 2011, the NSTD up to 2020 (Vision 2030) was approved where the main orientation is to make tourism become a spearhead sector so that it can contribute more to GDP growth and stimulate other developmental areas (GOV 2013). In terms of foreign tourists, the strategy aims to attract 7-7.5 million by 2015, 10-10.5 million by 2020, 14 million by 2025, and 18

million by 2030. With regard to domestic tourists, it sets the target of 35-37 million by 2015, 47-48 million by 2020, 58-60 million by 2025, and 70-72 million by 2030 (GOV 2013). The strategy also states that tourism is developed to create jobs and contribute to poverty alleviation (GOV 2013, p. 46). The NSTD up to 2020 consists of five main component strategies: product-market development, branding, marketing and promotion, human resources development, and investment promotion (GOV 2013). Only one plan is made for poverty alleviation in tourist destinations (GOV 2013). Nevertheless, there is no further indication of how the poverty impact of tourism will be measured. The implicit assumption is that the growth of the tourism industry, as reflected by the expansion of the tourism market and the generation of jobs and incomes, will lead to increased economic growth and hence more benefits for poor people in tourist destinations. It demonstrates that Vietnam, like other developing countries, has not looked beyond tourism as a means of economic growth to focus more on its potential contributions to poverty alleviation.

The above discussion shows that there have been significant changes in the GOV's perceptions of and policies in tourism. Before 1986, tourism was primarily developed to achieve political goals. Since the 1990s, it has been considered an important tool of economic growth that is believed to benefit the wider population. The task of poverty alleviation has often been secondary to tourism growth as proven by the targets of total foreign tourists and tourism receipts sought by tourism strategies and plans. This suggests that neoliberalism remains a dominant approach to tourism development in Vietnam. This finding helps inform the subsequent chapters that examine the perceptions and experiences of local people and key informants regarding tourism as a means of poverty alleviation. It then helps draw some attention to a possible gap in the GOV's and local people's understanding of the roles of tourism in economic growth and poverty alleviation.

5.6. CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has shown that tourism development in Vietnam is divided into three main periods. Tourism mainly served political purposes in the period 1960-1975. It was recognised as a tool of economic growth between 1976 and 1990, although political motivations were still strong. Since 1991, the roles of tourism in economic growth and poverty alleviation have been strongly supported as indicated in many tourism policies and strategies. Vietnam's tourism policies have been examined in terms of demands, decisions, outputs, and impacts.

The GOV has been actively involved in tourism, playing the roles of operator/entrepreneur, regulator, planner, promoter, coordinator, and educator. Given the 2011 poverty rate of 12.6%, poverty alleviation remains an important task in Vietnam. Although the potential of tourism for poverty alleviation has been recognised by the GOV, it has often been considered secondary to tourism growth and hence has been ignored by a number of national and local tourism plans. This represents the neoliberal perspective (Chapter Two) which assumes that increased tourism growth will automatically trickle down benefits to poor people. This chapter has also suggested that poverty reduction strategies need to consider the roles of poor people and their attitudes and behaviours. To this end, social marketing (Chapters Three and Four) may have some important potential. The findings of this chapter will help the subsequent chapters explore the perceptions and experiences of local people and key informants regarding poverty and tourism as a means of poverty alleviation. Attention can then be drawn to a possible gap in understanding the roles of tourism in poverty alleviation between the macro (government) and micro (poor people) levels.

After the literature has been reviewed (Chapters Two and Three), the conceptual framework has been developed (Chapter Four) and the research background provided, it is now appropriate for the next chapter to discuss the selection of research methods and design.

CHAPTER SIX:

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

6.1. INTRODUCTION

Once the literature has been reviewed (Chapters Two and Three), the conceptual framework has been established (Chapter Four), and the research background provided (Chapter Five), it is now possible for this chapter to consider the methods and design required to achieve the objectives that have been outlined in Chapters One and Four. In particular, the first section presents the methodological foundation on which this research is based. The second and third sections describe the use of qualitative and quantitative methods, respectively. The fourth section discusses the selection of the case study area. The chapter then outlines the two-stage research design. The first stage involves a qualitative review of national scale of tourism projects in the light of social marketing theory and practice (Chapter Three), while the second stage employs both qualitative and quantitative methods at a regional (case study) scale. The final section details the ethical considerations that help ensure the quality and integrity of this research, followed by a statement of the researcher's position in the research process. After the research methods have been discussed and the research design chosen, the next chapter will present the findings of the first research stage.

6.2. METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

An important part of any research is clearly indicating the philosophical beliefs on which the selection of research methods and design is based (Creswell 2009). Although philosophical beliefs often influence the ways research is undertaken, they are not always explicitly stated (Creswell 2009) or are even taken for granted (Hesse-Biber 2010). These beliefs are often termed very differently (Milliken 2001), such as “philosophical worldviews” (Creswell 2009), “research frameworks” (Denzin & Lincoln 2003), “research methodologies” (Neuman 2000), or “research paradigms” (Guba & Lincoln 1994; Teddlie & Tashakkori 2011). However, they all present the basic views of the world and hence the nature of research that a researcher holds. The basic views that define research paradigms can be summarised by the answers given to the three fundamental questions of ontology, epistemology, and

methodology (Guba & Lincoln 1994; Hesse-Biber 2010). The ontological question involves the form and nature of reality, and hence what can be known about reality. The epistemological question entails the basic belief about knowledge (e.g. the nature of knowledge creation). The methodological question concerns the ways to understand the nature of knowledge that can be known by the researcher. The responses given to these questions are particularly significant for the selection of research methods. Indeed, Guba and Lincoln (1994, p. 105) stated, “The questions of method are secondary to the questions of paradigm, which...guides the investigator, not only in choices of methods but in ontologically and epistemologically fundamental ways”.

In natural sciences, research paradigms are normally accepted by the majority of the community of scientists in a given discipline. Bhaskar (2008) suggested that there are three main ontological traditions within science: classical empiricism, transcendental idealism, and transcendental realism. Classical empiricism views knowledge and the world as “surfaces whose points are in isomorphic correspondence or in the case of phenomenism, actually fused” (Bhaskar 2008, p. 15). The transcendental idealism tradition considers knowledge as a structure, instead of a surface, and the world becomes a construction of human perceptions or activities. According to the transcendental realism tradition, both knowledge and the world are structured, differentiated and changing, with the latter being independent of the former (Bhaskar 2008). In the social sciences there has been considerable discourse over valid research paradigms (Gordon 2011; Milliken 2001), that is, discourse over the ontological, epistemological, and methodological foundations. Positivism and phenomenology are recognised as the two main research paradigms in the social sciences (McNeill & Chapman 2005; Milliken 2001). Phenomenology considers the world and reality as being socially constructed and given meaning by people (Milliken 2001). Phenomenological research mainly involves the identification of the nature of human experiences. It does not aim to explain, but rather to understand the processes of human beings (McPhail 1995; Yin 2011). Positivism, in contrast, is based on the ontology of realism that assumes the existence of an apprehensible reality driven by natural mechanisms (Guba & Lincoln 1994; McNeill & Chapman 2005). The positivist researcher believes he/she is independent of and hence stays outside of the “world” he/she is investigating. Positivist research thus does not use subjective interventions, but employs objective methods to measure the social world (Creswell 2009; Milliken 2001). While phenomenological research often involves qualitative methods, positivist research mainly uses quantitative methods (Creswell 2009; Guba & Lincoln 1994).

Both positivism and phenomenology are important to this research (Chapters One and Four). The phenomenological approach allows the prospective respondents to voice their perception of poverty that often varies by context (Chapter Two). Insights into their experiences and expectations with respect to tourism as a means of poverty alleviation are gained. Meanwhile, the positivist approach helps ensure a critical look at tourism development in Sapa is taken and allows the researcher to produce generalisable evidence from a reproducible research strategy that is often more accepted by a number of institutional stakeholders in PPT research.

The use of the above research paradigms in the social sciences has triggered a long-lasting debate (Milliken 2001), leading to a mixed methods approach (Hesse-Biber 2010; McNeil & Chapman 2005; Milliken 2001) which is regarded as the third major research paradigm (Johnson et al. 2007; see also Creswell 2011) or the third methodological movement (Teddlie & Tashakkori 2011). It is argued that both qualitative and quantitative methods have their own strengths and weaknesses and thus should be combined to complement each other, rather than be viewed as rivals (Bryman 2004; Veal 2011).

Using both qualitative and quantitative methods to collect and analyse data, the mixed methods paradigm helps generate a comprehensive understanding of the research problem (Denzin & Lincoln 2011; Johnson et al. 2007). Greene et al. (1989) listed five advantages of using mixed methods. First, triangulation, which refers to the use of more than one method to study the same research question, helps researchers fortify and enrich their conclusions. Second, this approach allows qualitative and quantitative data to complement each other. Third, it often works in the development of research projects by creating a synergistic effect and helping develop or inform other methods. Fourth, it often initiates future studies by raising questions or contradictions that require investigation. Fifth, it helps expand the breadth and range of the inquiry, enable future endeavours and allow researchers to continue employing mixed methods to pursue their research questions (see also Denzin & Lincoln 2011; Hesse-Biber 2010; Yin 2011). In short, the combination of multiple research methods assists in verifying and validating research findings (Johnson et al. 2007; Veal 2011; Yin 2011) and revealing opportunities for further research (Teddlie & Tashakkori 2011).

With respect to the objectives of this research, qualitative methods are seen as the most appropriate for three reasons. First, this research examines the barriers to poverty alleviation via tourism. Therefore, a thorough understanding of the perceptions and experiences of relevant stakeholders is required (Chapter One). Strauss and Corbin (1998) and Gillham (2000), who claim that qualitative methods are helpful in revealing what actually lies behind

any phenomenon, are supportive of this. Yin (2011) similarly argues that qualitative methods are appropriate to present the views and perspectives of the participants in the research. Second, qualitative methods are effective in tracking changes (including behaviour change) over time (Veal 2011). Third, human perceptions and behaviours often differ from one person to another and depend on various factors (Gillham 2000; Yin 2011), including some that may be best explained through qualitative methods (Huynh 2011; Yin 2011). This is particularly important given that poverty differs by context and perceptions of poverty (causes) vary from one person/community to another as the previous chapters have suggested. However, the use of quantitative methods is still needed, particularly to elicit information from a large number of respondents. This is especially significant given the paucity of PPT research that permits poor people to voice their experiences and expectations over a broader range of issues as outlined in Chapters One, Two, and Four. Given such a large amount of information, a statistical procedure is normally involved to generate quantitative results. That said, both quantitative and qualitative methods should be combined to examine tourism-related phenomena, events, and processes given their complicated nature (Beeton 2005). These methods are discussed in the next sections.

6.3. QUALITATIVE METHODS

This research employs a number of qualitative methods. Qualitative methods are often used to understand the ways social matters are interpreted, experienced, and/or produced (Denzin & Lincoln 1994; Yin 2011). They are flexible and sensitive to the social context where data is produced (Berg 2001; Neuman 2000; Yin 2011). Proponents of this view argue that each situation is unique and contextually specific. Therefore, from this perspective, much human activity cannot be easily measured by conventional analytical tools, such as surveys, since it occurs in actual day-to-day settings. Qualitative methods are useful in examining the daily lives where people live, work, and interact, and thereby helping identify how people behave, experience, and feel about their own lives (Gillham 2000; Strauss & Corbin 1998; Yin 2011). They may be particularly important in studying a phenomenon such as poverty that is highly contextualised as indicated in the previous chapters.

In the field of tourism, qualitative methods provide useful insights into the perceptions and experiences of people (especially those in host communities) and the meanings they give to phenomena and events (Phillimore & Goodson 2004). Although quantitative methods have

been pervasive in early tourism studies (Tribe 2009), it is increasingly recognised that qualitative methods are advantageous in studying phenomena in their natural settings and allowing the researcher to take the perspective of an “insider” to the studied phenomena (Phillimore & Goodson 2004; Yin 2011). Indeed, tourism is a human activity that involves the interactions between different stakeholders such as tourists, host communities, destination authorities, national governments, and development agencies. These interactions can hardly be thoroughly understood without the researcher’s immersion into their everyday contexts. For Veal (2011), qualitative methods are the most suitable for tourism research for two reasons. First, tourism itself is a social phenomenon and a qualitative experience. Second, qualitative methods are effective in tracking changes over time. The qualitative methods used in this research include participant observation and interviewing.

6.3.1. Participant observation

Participant observation involves the sustained immersion of the researcher to generate a comprehensive understanding of the organisation, community, or context being studied (Bryman 2004). It is most appropriate for collecting behavioural data in natural settings because it provides knowledge of the contexts where behaviours occur (Berg 2001; DeWalt & DeWalt 2002). It means neither what has been written nor said about, but what has actually been done (Gillham 2000; Kemp 2001; Yin 2011). Natural observation is even considered ideal in gathering detailed information about behaviour patterns demonstrated and skills used by many individuals (McKenzie-Mohr 2000; McMurray et al. 2004). It can also be one of the best techniques to measure behaviour changes (McKenzie-Mohr & Smith 1999), which can be further investigated by a survey (McNeill & Chapman 2005). In some cases, participant observation is more effective than interviews in collecting information about a “deviant behaviour” which is possibly not disclosed to the interviewer (Veal 2011). Another advantage of participant observation is that it allows the researcher to perceive the reality from the perspective of the “insider” to the case study (Yin 2014). This is particularly important given that this research is focused on poor people in Sapa that can be considered a community. As stated in Chapter Two, the true face of poverty may be a localised one. It is thus necessary to examine poverty (causes) in a community context if any meaningful poverty measures are to be devised (Holden 2013; Kotler & Lee 2009; Pleumarom 2012). As also noted in Chapter Two, poverty in some cases may be attributed to the attitudes and behaviours of poor people. It is doubtful that these attitudes and behaviours can be clearly explained through direct interview questions. Participant observation may thus be the best technique to examine the

attitudes and behaviours of poor people (and those of other relevant people) in both positively and negatively affecting poverty. Observation findings can also be used to inform or complement other methods (interviews, surveys).

McMurray et al. (2004) suggest some steps to carry out an observation. First, the researcher needs to decide the purpose of the observation. After selecting a location, he/she needs to choose the most suitable point to observe. A schedule is required and the number of observations is decided. Next, the length and the subject of the observation are determined. In case the location is too large, it should be divided into smaller parts. Finally, a record sheet is created and maintained. Some ethical issues should also be considered when using observational techniques. The researcher should be fully aware of what he/she is permitted to observe. Otherwise, the prospective participants may find that their actions are being constrained (Bryman 2004). The researcher also needs to anticipate the possible reactions of the observed participants, who in some cases may alter their behaviour (Gummesson 2000). These issues require the researcher to maintain a high level of patience, precision, and attentiveness to detail when undertaking observation (McNeill & Chapman 2005).

6.3.2. Interviewing

Interviewing is a useful way to gather information in case study research given that most case studies are concerned with human affairs and behaviours (Yin 2014). It is understood as a short-term social communication between two people where one person seeks to obtain specific information from the other (Neuman 2000). Interviews are often classified into structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviews (McNeill & Chapman 2005; Yin 2011), or standardised, non-standardised (Healey & Rawlinson 1994), and semi-standardised interviews (Berg 2001). They can also be divided into respondent interviews and informant interviews (Robson 2002). Structured interviews use questionnaires with a set of pre-determined questions (Jennings 2005; McNeill & Chapman 2005). Semi-structured interviews are often conducted with a list of questions and topics, where questions are asked in various orders depending on how the interviews will be developing. Semi-structured interviews are the most important form in case study research because they can produce a rich source of information (Gillham 2000). Unstructured interviews, meanwhile, are employed to gain deep insights into a topic of interest but do not pre-determine questions that will be covered (McNeill & Chapman 2005). They are effective when the number of prospective interviewees is limited and there are substantial variations in the information to

be obtained (McMurray et al. 2004). They are ideal in exploring the interviewees' opinions about different events and situations.

Interviews have been widely used in social marketing for different purposes. These include identifying barriers facing target audience in rejecting an undesired behaviour (McKenzie-Mohr 2000), gaining insights into social change practitioners' experience in working with customers and social change programs (Previte & Dann 2005), and enabling respondents to provide sensitive details with a greater degree of privacy (MacKintosh et al. 1999; Marshall et al. 2007). Some challenges may be faced in the interviewing stage (and in implementing social marketing programs in general), including the influence of the social marketers on the interviewees which is referred to as "thought control" (Chapter Three). This is particularly the case when western social marketers come to work in less developed countries where cultural values are different (Donovan & Henley 2010).

In this research, interviews are used to explore the perceptions and experiences of local people and key informants in Sapa regarding tourism as a means of poverty alleviation. They will provide a deep understanding of the barriers facing local people in participating in tourism and the obstacles to poverty alleviation overall (Chapters One and Four). Useful insights into local people's opinions on past and present tourism projects will also be gained. This data is particularly important since it will help inform the type of social marketing intervention that may be required (Smith & Strand 2008).

6.4. QUANTITATIVE METHODS

Although qualitative methods are popular, the collection and analysis of quantitative data is often required to complement qualitative results and hence draw comprehensive conclusions about a research problem as noted above. Quantitative methods involve collecting, counting, and measuring facts, observable data and phenomena (Gillham 2000; McMurray et al. 2004). They are often used to generate numeric results and examine potential casual relationships. The collected data can be analysed in various mathematical procedures (Pearce D. 2012). Among quantitative methods, surveys are the most widely used (Bryman 2004). Surveys are defined as a means of "gathering information about the characteristics, actions, or opinions of a large group of people, referred to as a population" (Tanur 1983, p. 2; see also Bernard 2006). They can be conducted to collect information about people's behaviour, expectation, and knowledge (Neuman 2000). Questionnaires are perhaps the most typical in gathering

survey data (Gillham 2000; McNeill & Chapman 2005), which is then classified and analysed statistically for comparison. If questionnaires are properly designed, sampled, and administered, the researcher's influence on the respondents may be relatively slight. Surveys are thus considered objective and reliable (McNeill & Chapman 2005).

In social marketing, surveys are among the most widely used methods to identify barriers facing target audience (Tabanico & Schultz 2007). For example, Smith and Henry (2009) carried out questionnaires to examine their target audience's motivations, everyday lives, experiences, barriers faced, and networks used. Questionnaires were also conducted in other studies of a similar nature (Dinan & Sargeant 2000; George & Frey 2010; Smith 1999). In consideration of this research, a survey is important to complement and verify observation and interview data and hence help draw valid conclusions (Gillham 2000). Although the survey may not provide rich and deep information, it is advantageous in exploring the perceptions of a broader range of respondents regarding a wider spectrum of issues related to tourism as noted above. Importantly, it seeks to allow poor people in Sapa to provide sensitive details with a greater degree of privacy (MacKintosh et al. 1999; Smith & Henry 2009) which may not be revealed through both observations and interviews.

The above sections have discussed both qualitative and quantitative methods. The next section describes the selection of the case study area where these methods are used.

6.5. THE STUDY LOCATION: A CASE STUDY APPROACH

As noted above, qualitative methods entail the examination of social matters in specific situations. Contextualisation is thus often preferred in qualitative methods (Bryman 2004). This signifies a close relationship with case studies that also involve contemporary phenomena in real-life settings (Beeton 2005; Flyvbjerg 2011; Yin 2014). Indeed, Gillham (2000, p. 1) defines a case study as an analysis of “a unit of human activity embedded in the *real world*; which can only be studied or understood *in context*” (emphasis added). A case study approach is thus adopted in this research as a way of bounding the relationship between tourism and poverty. It helps gain insights into a particular social setting, event, group (Berg 2001; Flyvbjerg 2011; Gillham 2000; McNeill & Chapman 2005) or phenomenon (Beeton 2005; Yin 2014). It also helps generate an accurate and comprehensive description of the case (Marczyk et al. 2005). This approach is advantageous in improving our understanding about human behaviour changes and is preferred when “how” or “why” questions are asked. It is

also adopted to compare multiple cases or draw conclusions from a within-case analysis (Beeton 2005; Yin 2014). In the field of tourism and the social sciences overall, the case study has been extensively used for both teaching and research purposes (Flyvbjerg 2011). As Beeton (2005, p. 37) stated, the conduct of a case study is “such a pervasive methodology in tourism research...that it appears that its justification is no longer deemed necessary”.

Following this line of inquiry, this research takes the district of Sapa, Vietnam as the case study area. First, the district is home to Sapa town and communes that are among the most popular tourist sites in Vietnam (Nguyen V.T. 2010). It is located in the north-western region with the highest poverty rate of the whole country (Chapter Five) and is home to some ethnic minority groups. Poverty alleviation is thus a critical issue in Sapa (Nguyen V.T. 2010; SPC 2009; Chapter One). Second, although tourism has developed for years in Sapa, the income gap between the poor and less poor groups has continued to widen, resulting in conflicts of interest among various stakeholders. A number of poor people still depend on readily available (forest) resources for food and income (Frontier Vietnam 2003; Nguyen et al. 2007; Nguyen V.T. 2010; Pham et al. 1999; Sage & Nguyen 2001; SNV 2004). These issues are the subjects of this research. Third, Sapa is an appropriate place to examine the roles of social marketing in tourism projects since it has been a focus of NGO socio-economic development related projects (Dang 2009; Huxford 2010; Chapters One, Seven, and Eight). This means that more insights into project approaches, interventions, achievements, and shortcomings will be gained from such a research setting. Fourth, the researcher has visited Sapa several times and hence has been relatively familiar with local people and culture. Finally, and most importantly, while substantial research attention has been paid to the pro-poor contribution of tourism in different destinations, relatively limited studies have allowed poor people to express their opinions and experiences (Holden et al. 2011; Pleumarom 2012; Chapters One, Two, and Four). This is despite tourism having developed for years in Sapa as noted above and hence local poor people having had time to perceive and evaluate the impacts of tourism on their lives. For these reasons, by taking Sapa as a case study area and allowing the voices of poor people in Sapa to be heard, the objectives of this research (Chapters One and Four) would be best achieved, which also help distinguish this research from previous PPT studies.

Several limitations to the case study approach need to be considered. Despite its popularity in tourism research as already noted, the case study has been critiqued as unreliable, too specific, and thus difficult to be replicated or generalised (Beeton 2005; Yin

2014; see also Flyvbjerg 2011). As discussed above, a useful way to ameliorate these constraints is to combine a number of research methods, whereby research findings are verified by one another (Beeton 2005; Bryman 2004). Once research findings are robust, they can provide insightful understanding about similar case studies (Berg 2001).

6.6. RESEARCH DESIGN AND IMPLEMENTATION

Although it has been widely used in research studies, the term “research design” has a variety of interpretations. It may mean the entire research process, but it may also describe in detail the process of data collection and analysis only (Harwell 2011). In this research, it is used in the second context and consists of two stages (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1. Summary of research design

Stage	Description
1	Content analysis of tourism projects in Vietnam: social marketing characteristics and results => Research questions 1 and 2 answered
2	Case study of Sapa: observations, interviews, and questionnaire survey => Research questions 3 and 4 answered

6.6.1. Stage One: Content analysis of tourism projects in Vietnam

This stage was conducted to examine the social marketing characteristics of tourism projects in Vietnam in the light of the content analysis method. It also sought to investigate the barriers to poverty alleviation as identified by these projects and outlined in Chapters One and Four and hence contribute to setting the scene for the second stage. In addition, this stage was important in that it examined Vietnam’s tourism projects and their connection to social marketing, which had not been explored by any previous studies to the researcher’s best knowledge. This stage started with a systematic search strategy where some key terms and phrases (e.g. tourism projects, social marketing) were combined to identify project documents. The sought documents were project factsheets, baseline study reports, mid-term and final evaluation reports. The main source of these documents was electronic databases (e.g. Google Search, Google Scholar, the Mekong Tourism Coordinating Office and the Mekong Info Portals). The online libraries of major funding and consulting agencies (e.g. WB, IMF) were also important sources. However, not all project documents were available

online or the documents obtained were too brief to provide sufficient information for analysis. Email correspondence was also conducted with six project organisations in Vietnam. Since it was not easy to get their responses, particularly when their projects were then in progress, trust was built first through either social ties or clear statements of the research purpose and the intended use of the project documents. It was also difficult to contact a number of project organisations because their projects had been completed, they did not establish representative offices in Vietnam (as will be indicated in Chapter Seven), or they had closed their tourism program (e.g. SNV; Chapter Two). The search strategy continued up to the end of July 2012 with documents of 45 tourism-related projects being retrieved. These projects were implemented in a range of contexts in different regions in Vietnam.

The next step was to establish appropriate criteria for labelling and evaluating genuine social marketing interventions. This was difficult for two main reasons. First, social marketing is a relatively new concept in the tourism literature as noted in Chapter Four. Second, the labelling and evaluation of social marketing interventions has thus far attracted scant attention of social marketing scholars and practitioners (Chapter Three). Therefore, the set of six social marketing benchmarks, which was proposed by Andreasen (2002) and applied by some scholars (e.g. Stead et al. 2007; Chapter Three), was employed. The final evaluation reports of the identified tourism projects were analysed. In case those final evaluation reports were not available, project factsheets, baseline study reports, and mid-term reports were consulted. The findings of this stage are presented in Chapter Seven.

6.6.2. Stage Two: Case study of Sapa

The primary data for this research was collected in Vietnam from August 31st to November 22nd 2012. The researcher spent two weeks in the capital city of Hanoi conducting semi-structured interviews with staff members of development agencies and NGOs. The rest of the fieldtrip was spent in Sapa town and Ta Phin, Lao Chai and Ta Van communes where observations, interviews, and a questionnaire survey were conducted. These communes are home to most poor households in Sapa (Lao Cai Provincial People's Committee (LCPC) 2010). Besides Sapa town, more tourism activities are focused and hence tourism impacts are stronger in these communes than in others (Nguyen et al. 2007; Pham et al. 1999). These communes are also close to Sapa town and, importantly, are home to two main ethnic groups (H'Mong, Red Dzao), many of whom are poor.

In the first two weeks in Hanoi, the researcher conducted semi-structured interviews (Appendix 4) with three tourism consultants. One of them was a foreigner who had worked in development projects in Vietnam for eight years before leaving for a current project in Cambodia. Since this consultant was then not based in Vietnam, the interview was conducted in English via Skype and notes were taken in as much detail as possible. The interviewee was requested to check the transcript and supplement information that was otherwise missing. The other two consultants were locals, who had valuable experience in tourism projects in Sapa. These two interviews were conducted face-to-face in Vietnamese and were audio-recorded. The consultants were chosen based on the search results of the first stage (Chapter Seven). Information about the research and interview questions was provided to the consultants in advance (see Information Sheet (Appendix 2) and Invitation Letter (Appendix 3)). The three interviews ranged from 40 minutes to over one hour. The interviewees reserved the right to decide their preferred time and venues. The first interview was conducted online as noted. The second took place in a local café, while the third was at the interviewee's workplace.

The researcher also had discussions with colleagues at Department of Tourism and Hospitality, National Economics University, staff members of VNAT and local development agencies. Although these discussions took place out of the interview context, they helped complement interview data and provided valuable advice regarding the researcher's upcoming fieldtrip to Sapa. One of the consultants advised the researcher to talk more with local women and members of the local Women's Union because they are sensitive to financial issues and hence clearly understand their families' living conditions, and that approach was adopted. The researcher was also advised to hire an ethnic guide who could speak both Vietnamese and the ethnic minority language. The researcher thus hired one as an "assistant" for the entire fieldtrip. In fact, the guide was more helpful in identifying poor households in local villages than interpreting what the researcher wanted to say because most local people could speak basic Vietnamese. In addition, the researcher's colleagues recommended several points where observations could be conducted in Sapa.

After Hanoi, the researcher did the fieldwork in Sapa as noted above. In particular, the researcher spent two weeks in Sapa town where he stayed in a local hotel. Then he headed to Ta Van, Lao Chai, and Ta Phin, where he stayed with local households (one week in each commune). The last five weeks were spent on doing the survey that will be described below.

- *Participant observations*

First, observations were carried out as an exploratory step (DeWalt & DeWalt 2002; Gillham 2000; see Appendix 5). The reason was that although the researcher is Vietnamese, he belongs to the majority Kinh group and hence is culturally and linguistically different from the local residents in Sapa who are mostly ethnic minorities. Undertaking the observations helped the researcher avoid the cultural shocks that an outsider often encounters when he/she enters a local community (DeWalt & DeWalt 2002). The observations were his first step to integrate into the life of the locals and be acquainted with them, before inviting them to be interviewees. The researcher found that his previous personal visits to Sapa helped him get used to the local environment more quickly and easily.

In Sapa town, the researcher chose Sapa Square and Sapa Market as locations for observational research. The Square and Market are located in the town centre. They are also close to the popular attraction of Sapa Cathedral. The reason was that the market is the centre where local people trade their wares, while the square is where local women sell handicrafts. The researcher was allowed to stay with local handicraft sellers and he could observe and ask them when appropriate. Observations were also conducted in Lao Chai, Ta Van, and Ta Phin. In Ta Phin, the commune's bus terminal was chosen as it is the first place of arrival for tourists and is the trading venue of local women. The intersection between Ta Van and Lao Chai was selected for observing local people's behaviours both in and out of the tourism context. These locations could be considered the "hot spots" (Kemp 2001) for observations in Sapa as the researcher was able to gain deep insights into local people's lives, attitudes, and behaviours. In addition, observations were conducted while the researcher stayed with local families (homestays) and visited other households where he could immerse himself in their everyday life and work. The researcher found that living with local people not only allowed him to understand their way of communication but also shaped the way he would interpret his observations (DeWalt & DeWalt 2002). While the observations conducted in the market and square mostly involved local women, those undertaken in local homestays involved both local men and women. The role of the researcher was explicitly stated to the locals, whose consent was given orally. The researcher was willing to answer questions about his research since he understood that if he wanted the locals to tell the truth, he should also be truthful to them (Yin 2011). The observations were limited to issues related to poverty and tourism and those arising out of the poverty-tourism relationship that are the focus of this research.

Notes were taken as soon as the observations were completed, that is, when the researcher's memory was fresh. Although photos were also taken, the researcher found taking

notes the most appropriate since local people's activities being observed were (virtually) not affected. Field notes were recorded with details about date, time, and place of observation as well as basic participant information. These notes were then reviewed, divided into key themes, and used to enrich the interview data (which was also thematically coded for consistency as outlined below). Although it was challenging to ensure the objectivity of the observations (Kemp 2001), the inclusion of multiple observations at different times and places and with different participants helped enhance the validity of the obtained findings (Yin 2011).

▪ *Semi-structured interviews*

To examine local people's perceptions of poverty and tourism as a means of poverty alleviation, poor people in Sapa were selected given that they are the ones who experience poverty. Among these, local women were preferred because they are often the heads of their families and are sensitive to financial matters as noted above. A number of poor people, including those who had participated in the observations, were invited to be interviewees based on their being below the official national poverty lines (GSOV 2010; LCPC 2010; SPC 2009). Others suggested by the local guide hired and a member of the local Women's Union might not be included in the poverty data. There were two main reasons for this selection. First, local people might perceive poverty very differently from the government (as will be analysed in Chapter Nine). Second, it acknowledges that although income is important, other factors (e.g. vulnerability to shocks, access to social services) also need to be considered in identifying poor people whom official poverty lines may not capture (Mitchell & Ashley 2010; Chapter Two). The chosen respondents reserved the right to refuse to participate in the interviews. They could also delay the interviews if they were too busy.

Besides local women and handicraft sellers, local men, village chiefs, agricultural workers, drivers, staff members of local tourism businesses and development agencies were also interviewed. Local authorities were not covered since this research seeks to give voice to local people as previously mentioned (this will also be discussed in Chapter Twelve). In Vietnam, communication is normally easier if the researcher is introduced formally by a community member (Huxford 2010). For this reason, the local guide was an asset. In the case of interviewing staff members of local businesses and homestay owners, the researcher had almost no difficulty since he lived with them and they were willing to share their thoughts. Furthermore, notes were taken from conversations with foreign tourists to understand their experience of Sapa in general and of local people in particular. The interviews with local people were conducted in Vietnamese at their workplaces (e.g. rice fields) or in their houses.

In some cases, two or three local people were interviewed at the same time, particularly when they worked together or lived close to one another. Although some interviews with the locals were more “social conversations” than “formal interviews”, the researcher found that they proved a useful means to gain deep insights into how the locals live their lives and interpret their (poverty) situation. While their “objectivity” or “reliability” might be suspected in the academic sense, these conversations could be considered trustworthy in the context of doing research in Vietnam. As Gillen (2011, p. 200) argues, “Informality and off-the-record interaction is a key component of research and knowledge attainment in a place like Vietnam” (see also Huxford 2010).

The conversations with foreign tourists were held in English at local cafés and homestays and were recorded with their prior consent. Although the interviews primarily examined the perceptions and experiences of poor people in Sapa as outlined in the previous chapters, the experiences and reactions of tourists would be important in setting the scene and providing further insights for this research. This is significant given a lack of research attention paid to tourists’ reactions towards poverty issues in host destinations (Pearce P. 2012). Overall, the inclusion of a wide range of interviewees sought to gain differing perspectives on the same issue as noted earlier. It was also expected to create a comprehensive portrait of the studied community (Leopold 2011). The interviews were conducted until a certain saturation point was reached, i.e. the responses to the interview questions became relatively homogenous. In total, 47 local people were interviewed, 39 of which were audio-recorded while the others were note-taken depending on the interviewees’ choice and the specific situations in the field (see Appendix 6 for the Interview Guide).

Most interviews were transcribed within a few days of being recorded. The transcription was supplemented by field notes. Sometimes it was difficult to get detailed information given that, in a limited number of cases, some interviewees simply answered “yes” or “no” and were unable to elaborate their opinions due to their poor command of Vietnamese. Field notes, especially on-site explanations from the local guide, were thus extremely helpful. In addition, it was challenging to understand what they wanted to say when their answers were discursive. Therefore, the researcher found it important to transcribe the interviews when his memory was still fresh. It was also important to take notes in as much detail as possible.

The researcher started to analyse the interviews as soon as he arrived back in New Zealand. This process was conducted through reading, re-reading and coding. The transcripts were coded with key themes (e.g. perception of poverty, perception of poverty causes) that

were highlighted with separate colours in the transcripts. The thematic analysis approach assisted in identifying and analysing key patterns within the data set (Braun & Clarke 2006; Pearce D. 2012). The key themes were identified not only due to their prevalence in the interview transcripts, but also because of their importance to providing answers to the research questions (Chapters One and Four). Multiple readings and re-readings were conducted of the transcripts to ensure that valuable information was not omitted. The findings of the observations and interviews are presented in Chapter Nine.

▪ *Questionnaire survey*

A questionnaire had been prepared in English and translated into Vietnamese before the researcher left for Vietnam. Originally, it included 24 questions where 22 were closed and two were open-ended. The questions were based on the literature review (Chapters Two to Four). They were also informed by the poverty criteria and data presented in Chapter Five. Most importantly, the questions were based on the findings obtained in Chapter Seven, where questionnaires developed by project organisations (e.g. GIZ 2005) were consulted.

Twenty questionnaires were delivered to the participants in the observations and interviews. The respondents stated that the word “confidential”, which was translated into Vietnamese as “bảo mật”, was not understandable. In their opinion, if you plan to keep something “confidential”, it is possible that you are attempting to do it “illegally”, or not for good causes. Instead, they suggested the word “bí mật” in Vietnamese or “secret” in English. Although “bảo mật” and “bí mật” are similar in meaning in Vietnamese, the latter sounds more understandable to the local ethnic minorities. Changes were also made to the second question regarding the level of education that the locals had attained. Most local people, particularly the older generation, did not receive formal education, or otherwise they just finished primary school. The highest level of education attained was largely high school. Therefore, the options of “university graduates” and “postgraduates” were combined. In addition, the fourth and ninth questions were revised regarding the main occupations and income sources of the locals. The respondents responded that growing medicinal fruit (“thảo quả” in Vietnamese) is an important income source for some local families apart from growing rice. This was also consistent with the observations and interviews conducted. The “growing medicinal fruit” option was thus added to these questions.

After necessary revisions had been made, the researcher asked his local guide and homestay owners to review the questionnaire (Appendices 7a, 7b). Then 220 copies were

delivered to the prospective respondents, equating to about 6% of the total households in Sapa's poorest communes (LCPC 2010). This percentage can be considered a representative sample of the research population in studies of a similar nature (e.g. Muganda et al. 2010). The selection of respondents was informed by the observations and interviews. While some respondents had already participated in the interviews, most of the others were identified by a member of the local Women's Union and the local guide hired given their understanding of poor people in Sapa. The questionnaires were administered in a five-week period, involving visits to local families in the evenings since they often worked in rice fields in the daytime. Some local people were able to fill in the questionnaire by themselves while others found it hard to complete in a reasonable time. For the latter, the questions were read out. Some respondents were not comfortable with questions that involved using forest resources and chasing tourists to sell handicrafts. However, they were willing to complete the questionnaire after being reassured that their personal particulars and responses would not be disclosed.

Of the 220 questionnaires delivered, 201 questionnaires were collected, giving a favourable response rate of 91.4%. These questionnaires were then reviewed, resulting in the exclusion of 14 questionnaires due to a high number of incomplete answers. Therefore, data from 187 valid questionnaires was coded and entered into a Microsoft Excel worksheet and then converted into SPSS version 20 for analysis. Analysed data is presented as percentages, frequencies, and cross-tabulations and is incorporated in Chapter Ten. Similar to the interview data, respondents' personal particulars were omitted for privacy.

6.7. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethics is fundamental to research, particularly in the social sciences (Berg 2001; Yin 2011). Researchers need to conduct their research with quality and integrity, so ethics should be considered at every stage of the research process (Creswell 2009; Hesse-Biber 2010; Yin 2011). To ensure the reliability of the research findings, both the researchers and respondents involved should be fully informed of the purposes, objectives, and methods of the research and the anticipated use or application of the research findings. Prospective respondents, after being informed, reserve the right to decide if they want to participate in the research or not. This means that their participation in the research is completely voluntary (Yin 2014).

Human Ethics Committee

Prior to starting the fieldwork in Vietnam, the researcher obtained approval from the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee (Appendix 8). Like other higher education institutions, the University requires that any research study involving human subjects needs to satisfy its Human Ethics Committee through a formal written application. The Human Ethics Committee requires researchers to detail the nature of the study they are undertaking, the country where their study is undertaken, the nature of the prospective participants and how they will be recruited, how consent information will be obtained as well as how confidentiality will be maintained during and after the research process.

Ethical considerations in the field

Some ethical considerations arise out of this research. Before the interviews, participants were advised of the nature of the research and the intended use of the findings. They were informed that the interviews would be audio-recorded. Their written consent was obtained. They were also assured of the confidentiality of their personal particulars and the information they would provide (Berg 2001; Yin 2014). Project consultants were willing to sign off the Consent Form after reading through it. Their willingness could be ascribed to their familiarity with field interviews, prior email correspondence, and social relationships made by the researcher. For people with a poorer level of reading comprehension, i.e. ethnic minorities, it took some time for them to understand and sign off the form. It was easier with the younger generations who were better educated than their parents. As stated above, some interviews took place in rice fields or market where local people were working, it seemed extremely inappropriate to give out the Consent Form for them to sign since they were not familiar with such a procedure and, more importantly, had a low level of literacy. Therefore, the researcher introduced himself and explained his position and purpose of visit. Then he proceeded to explain their role as the participants and asked for their consent orally.

Ethics was also considered in the observation process. Prior consent of local people was obtained with a clear explanation of their roles. Given that behaviours vary by time and context, four locations and different time points were chosen as noted. With both temporal and spatial considerations, it is expected that reliable conclusions could be drawn.

Regarding the questionnaire survey, each questionnaire started with an opening paragraph, which clearly stated the purpose of the research and assured of the confidentiality of the respondents' personal particulars. The respondents were also assured that the

questionnaires would be maintained within 10 years of the research and that they reserved the right to withdraw from the research before February 2013 when the data is processed.

In addition, ethical considerations continued after the data had been collected. When the interviews were transcribed, the interviewees' wordings were maintained as if they were experts in their own lives. In case their responses to the interview questions were too long and discursive, meaningless words were omitted. Yet, the overall meaning of the responses was maintained as original as possible. Pseudonyms were used instead of the interviewees' real names. Other personal particulars were also removed for privacy and confidentiality.

Furthermore, the researcher plans to share his research findings with the residents (as well as other tourism stakeholders) in Sapa. Members of the local Women's Union may assist the researcher given the language barrier between him and the local ethnic minorities as already discussed. Other local organisations, such as Sapa O'Chau (which will be discussed in Chapters 9 and 10), may also help the researcher communicate his findings to the wider community of Sapa. This is an important part of the research process because the researcher understands that he benefits from the information given by the locals and therefore he should be responsible for reporting his research findings to them at some stage.

6.8. THE RESEARCHER'S POSITION IN THIS RESEARCH

As noted, researchers are required to conduct their research with quality and integrity. To achieve this, objectivity is a fundamental prerequisite. Yet, objectivity is often considered elusive (Berg 2001; McNeill & Chapman 2005) and can hardly be captured (Denzin & Lincoln 2011; Flyvbjerg 2011) as we all have some form of bias even when we objectively look at the very facts of life (Gillen 2011). That means the very facts we examine may not be objective at all because of our somewhat preconceived notions of what the research will reveal. Our research is often framed within specific paradigms that reflect our own view of the world as discussed earlier. Even in quantitative research, a decision to determine an acceptable level of statistical reliability may be regarded as subjective. Meanwhile, objectivity is actually closely linked with replication (Berg 2001), that is, how a researcher may articulate his/her research procedures so that they can be repeated by other researchers.

During the research process, the researcher considered himself a critical advocate of tourism as a tool of economic growth and poverty alleviation. That the researcher positioned himself as an advocate of tourism was because he is a tourism major, who worked in the

tourism sector for some years before becoming an academic. He tends to support tourism growth since he understands that it is impossible for tourism to assist host communities if it is not a growing sector. However, the researcher tried to maintain a “critical” look at the development of tourism so that he could identify its “negative impacts” on the local communities and hence he could avoid biased conclusions. In addition, the research process required the researcher to maintain certain interactions with local people. Therefore, at some stage he thought of himself as being an “insider”, a “local”, who sympathised with the living conditions of the local poor (this is also a strength of the case study approach, Yin 2011; see also Beeton 2005). As a citizen of a developing country, the researcher was able to share his thoughts and feelings with local people in Sapa. To some extent, the divides between the researcher (a member of the majority Kinh) and the local minorities became blurred. This was particularly the case when the researcher stayed in local homestays and therefore he could immerse himself into the lives of the locals. Meanwhile, adopting a “critical” perspective allowed him to maintain certain “objectivity” that an “outsider” had to during the research process in order to ensure the quality of the research findings.

While the researcher was in the field, most often he was identified by local people as a Vietnamese tourist or a Vietnamese student. Therefore, it did not take time for him to communicate with them at the first stage. Although some local people had difficulties in expressing their thoughts (due to their relatively poor command of the Vietnamese language) and the researcher struggled at times to understand their discursive elaborations (because he could not speak the ethnic minority language) as noted above, local people did not feel uncomfortable when talking about the negative impacts and the main beneficiaries of tourism development. This experience is thus contrary to that of some “white”, “western” researchers doing fieldwork in Vietnam (e.g. Huxford 2010). However, some of the locals seemed hesitant to talk about their use of the resources of the Hoang Lien Son mountain range (e.g. cutting forest trees for burning wood). Indeed, one local woman asked if the researcher was a reporter. He then had to present his student card to reassure her.

A particular advantage of the research design was that it allowed the researcher to communicate verbally with the locals through the semi-structured interviews. Some realities of their living conditions, which had often been missing in the tourism literature, were identified. Stories were told and experiences shared. The researcher thus got a better understanding of the locals, their poverty experiences and hence their daily attitudes and behaviours. As already discussed, the respondents and key informants were informed of the

purpose of the research and the intended use of the research findings. They also reserved the right to refuse to participate in the research. At the end of the data collection process, they were reminded that they could contact the researcher in case they wished to review the research findings. His personal and institutional contact information in both Vietnam and New Zealand was given to those who were interested. These efforts were to ensure that the influence of the researcher on the respondents was minimal and that the respondents were comfortable when participating in the research.

6.9. CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has presented the methodological approach to this research. It indicates that the mixed methods approach is the most appropriate because it allows qualitative methods to complement quantitative methods and vice versa. Qualitative methods help gain deep insights into the perceptions and experiences of the target audience being studied, their behavioural patterns, the barriers they face in adopting a proposed behaviour, and the change in their behaviour. Quantitative methods, meanwhile, are useful in eliciting information from a large number of respondents, although the information is not as rich as that obtained from qualitative methods. Both qualitative and quantitative methods have thus been discussed. The research design has also been chosen, which consists of two stages. First, local tourism projects were searched and analysed in the light of the social marketing concept. Second, both qualitative and quantitative methods were employed to explore the perceptions and experiences of poor people and key informants in Sapa regarding the barriers to their participation in tourism and the roles of tourism as a means of poverty alleviation. The ethical aspects of this research have also been noted and the researcher's position stated. The findings of the first research stage will be presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN:

RESULTS – CONTENT ANALYSIS

7.1. INTRODUCTION

As noted in Chapter Six, this research is designed in two stages. The first examines the roles of social marketing in tourism projects implemented in Vietnam. The second investigates the perceptions and experiences of local people and key informants in Sapa regarding tourism as a means of poverty alleviation. This chapter reports and discusses findings of the first stage. First, it highlights the importance of foreign NGOs in Vietnam's development process, including in the fields of poverty alleviation and sustainable tourism. It indicates that foreign NGOs have mainly played the roles of sponsors and consultants in development- and tourism-related projects. Next, a search strategy is described where some terms and phrases are combined to identify tourism-related projects. Forty-five projects were identified, which were then assessed against the six social marketing benchmarks given in Chapter Three. Twenty-one projects match all the criteria, where different evaluation measures are noted. No project labelled itself in social marketing terms. The social marketing label is thus not effective in identifying social marketing interventions in tourism-related projects. It is suggested that social marketing may be effective in solving social issues in tourism development such as natural resource conservation and poverty alleviation.

7.2. SOCIAL MARKETING ANALYSIS OF TOURISM-RELATED PROJECTS

Prior to examining the social marketing characteristics of tourism-related projects in Vietnam, it is necessary to discuss the roles of foreign NGOs in these projects as well as their importance in the development of Vietnam overall. In this research, NGOs are defined as private organisations which are established to meet some social objectives, are non-profit focused and independent of formal state systems (Dang 2009; Gray 2003).

Following the American War (Chapter Five), Vietnam did not recognise civil society organisations, including NGOs, as independent entities until after the 1986 *Renewal Process*. It was in the 1990s that foreign NGOs formally started to operate in Vietnam (ADB 2011; Dang 2009; Gray 2003). They were considered important actors in the development arena for

several reasons. First, Vietnam was seeking rural development initiatives. Second, it needed foreign aid and funding for industrialisation and modernisation (Dang 2009). Third, the collapse of the former Soviet Union resulted in less financial support for Vietnam while it was suffering from US economic sanctions (Agrusa & Prideaux 2002; Dang 2009). Vietnam thus saw the need to promote the operation of foreign NGOs. Indeed, these organisations grew so fast that the GOV failed to regulate their operations with formal laws.

Since the late 1990s, more foreign NGOs have started to operate in Vietnam, shifting from providing relief aid to alleviating poverty and sponsoring or implementing development projects (Dang 2009). In the poverty alleviation field, foreign NGOs have contributed significantly to strengthening capacity for other civil society organisations, redefining poverty and making it a policy priority. They are among the first to introduce the notion of public participation in governance in Vietnam (Nguyen 2006), thereby creating opportunities for the public to voice their opinions on policies and decisions shaping their lives. The success of foreign NGOs can be attributed to their independence from state structures, wide community outreach, and ability to work creatively and negotiate with the GOV. These features help distinguish foreign NGOs from other civil society organisations such as local NGOs and mass organisations (Nguyen 2006). The difference between local NGOs and mass organisations is debatable because some mass organisations such as Women's Union are established and run by government funding. Yet, they are often referred to as local NGOs (Dang 2009). As of 2009, over 500 foreign NGOs were operating in Vietnam, representing more than 28 countries and territories (ADB 2011; Dang 2009). Some of them have established their own representative offices but most have only funded and implemented development projects. Overall, their position in Vietnam's development is well recognised, which includes formal representation in consulting and funding processes (ADB 2011).

In tourism, foreign NGOs have primarily played the roles of sponsors and consultants in many projects implemented nationwide. In the early 1990s, these organisations introduced and funded a number of Integrated Conservation and Development projects (ICDPs) that mainly targeted at protected areas (PAs; e.g. NPs, NRs) where natural resources were threatened and stakeholder conflicts were serious (Sage & Nguyen 2001). Over 20 ICDPs have since been funded nationwide (Table 7.1).

Table 7.1. List of ICDPs

Location	Donor/Implementer	Duration
Ba Be NP/Na Hang NR	UNDP, Scott Wilson	1999
Ke Go NR	Centre for Natural Resources and Environmental Studies (CRES), Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA)	2001
Mu Cang Chai Forest	Various, FFI	2001
Tam Dao NP	GEF, GIZ, MARD	2001
Ke Go NR	DANIDA, Bird Life International	2001
Song Thanh NR	WWF	2001
Ba Vi NP	Quakers, JICA, & Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency	1992-1998
Bach Ma NP	Netherlands, WWF, FFI & SNV	1994-1997
Vu Quang NR	Netherlands, WWF	1995-2000
Cuc Phuong NP	BP & Statoil, ARA & Australia, Canada & Great Britain/FFI	1996-2000
Pu Mat NR	EU, MARD	1997-2003
Cat Tien NP	Netherlands, WWF	1998-2004
Na Hang NR	Munster Zoo, GEF, IUCN	1997-2004
U Minh Thuong NR	Danida, Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere	1998-2003
Phong Nha NR	DFID, WWF	1998-2002
Ba Be NP & Ke Go NR	IUCN, Eco-Eco & CRES	1998-2003
Yok Don NP	UNDP, GEF, IUCN, MARD	1999-2004
Cat Tien NP	WB, MARD	1999-2003
Chu Mom Ray NR	WB, MARD	1999-2003
Cat Ba NP	Canada & Great Britain, FFI	2000-2002
Hon Mun PA	GEF, DANIDA, IUCN	2001-2005
Pu Luong NR	WB/FFI	2001-2005

Source: Updated from Sage & Nguyen (2001)

In the following years, a growing number of foreign NGOs focus on poverty alleviation and sustainable tourism (Dang 2009). GIZ, SNV, UNDP, Fauna and Flora International (FFI), and Global Environment Facility (GEF) are among the most active in providing funding and technical assistance for many tourism-related projects countrywide. However, no systematic assessment of these projects has been conducted with most assessments instead focusing on individual projects (Choegyal & Clark 2000; Dickinson & Hoang 2008; Frontier Vietnam 2003). Therefore, to analyse the contents of these projects, a systematic search for project documents was made.

7.2.1. Search strategy

As stated in Chapter Six, the first step involved a search for tourism projects and project documents, where some key terms and phrases were combined (e.g. tourism projects, environmental protection, social marketing, behaviour change). The sought documents included project factsheets, baseline study reports, mid-term and final evaluation reports. The main source for these documents was electronic databases, which included Google Search, Google Scholar, the Mekong Tourism Coordinating Office website, Mekong Info Portal, and the library portals of major funding/consulting agencies (e.g. WB, IMF, SNV). Personal email correspondence was also made with tourism scholars and project organisations in Vietnam to obtain any project documents that were otherwise not available online. Forty-five projects were found with factsheets, baseline study reports, mid-term and/or final evaluation reports, while other projects with too little data were excluded (e.g. Economic and Cultural Heritage Development project in Hai Duong province). To analyse these projects in the light of social marketing, a set of key criteria was formulated.

7.2.2. Social marketing benchmarks

The second step aimed to determine whether these projects could be considered social marketing interventions (Chapter Six). It is important to investigate what constitutes a social marketing intervention. Andreasen (2002) proposed a set of six benchmarks for labelling and evaluating social marketing interventions: behaviour change as the bottom line, audience research, audience segmentation, use of a social marketing mix, exchanges, and competition (Chapter Three). It is, however, argued that a sole focus on individuals (downstream level) would limit social marketing's effectiveness (Buchanan et al. 1994; Dholakia 1984; Smith & Strand 2008) because in some cases individuals are not the only ones to be blamed for their own behaviours (Hastings et al. 2000). The notion of targeting "upstream level" is thus suggested as a constituent of social marketing (Donovan & Henley 2010; Goldberg 1995; Gordon 2011; Hastings et al. 2000; Kotler & Lee 2008; Smith 1998; see Chapter Three) and is included in this chapter. In addition, the two criteria of audience research and audience segmentation are combined given their close relationship. Therefore, the set of six social marketing benchmarks used in this chapter includes behaviour change goal, audience research and segmentation, use of a social marketing mix, exchanges, upstream targeting, and competition. The set is described in detail in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2. Social marketing benchmark criteria

Benchmarks	Description
1. Behaviour change goal	Program interventions consider behaviour change as an objective and adopt measures for evaluation.
2. Audience research and segmentation	Interventions are designed on basis of understanding of audience needs and wants. Formative research is conducted to achieve this target. Intervention elements are pretested. The audience are divided into homogenous segments.
3. Social marketing mix	Interventions attempt to use the set of four Ps in the traditional marketing mix. This includes Product, Price, Place, and Promotion. Interventions that only use the Promotion element are social advertising or communications. Other Ps may include People and Policy. The use of these elements should be flexible.
4. Exchange	Something the target audience are interested in or want is offered to motivate behaviour change. It may be tangible (financial incentives, rewards) or intangible (emotional satisfaction, community pride).
5. Upstream targeting	Program interventions seek to influence other people relating to the target audience (e.g. local authorities, professional organisations, policy-makers).
6. Competition	Competing behaviours are considered by program interventions. They include internal (e.g. the target audience's current behaviour) and/or external factors (e.g. weak policies). Strategies are used to eliminate or minimise these factors.

Sources: Adapted from Andreassen (2002); McDermott et al. (2005); Stead et al. (2007)

7.2.3. Results and discussion

The final evaluation reports of the 45 tourism-related projects were analysed given that they provided full information about project background, rationale, objectives, timeframe, main activities, and achieved results. Project factsheets, baseline studies, and mid-term reports were consulted in case these final reports were not available or otherwise missing. The documents were assessed against the criteria proposed in Table 7.2. Twenty-one projects were judged to pass the six social marketing benchmarks. This means they had to:

- (1) Have a behaviour change goal. This goal included preventing or mitigating illegal logging, hunting, forest burning; promoting the conservation of natural resources in tourist destinations; encouraging environmentally and socially responsible/sustainable tourism; motivating local people to actively participate in tourism; improving stakeholder cooperation; motivating local authorities to establish and implement conservation laws and regulations.

- (2) Have used audience research and segmentation. Projects demonstrated the implementation of community needs assessment, training assessment, interviews, focus groups, or piloting of project interventions. Segmentation typically included activities tailored to specific ethnic minority groups, communities, or villages.
- (3) Have used more than one element of the social marketing mix. This mix included Product, Price, Place, and Promotion. It might also include People and Policy.
- (4) Have considered what motivates people to change their behaviour (exchange). The exchanges might be tangible (new farming techniques, new rice varieties) or intangible (community pride and empowerment).
- (5) Have targeted upstream level. This included the participation of local authorities, PA management boards and staff members in project activities, the use of advocacy activities for policy formulation and implementation.
- (6) Have considered barriers to behaviour change and adopted measures to eliminate or minimise these barriers (competition). The barriers might be internal and/or external. Measures might thus be taken to eliminate or minimise these barriers.

These projects are listed in date-commenced order, with Table 7.3 providing their background information and Table 7.4 presenting their social marketing characteristics.

Table 7.3. Tourism-related projects: Description

Project details	Sponsors/Implementers	Location and participants	Core approach
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Name: Creating Protected Areas for Resource Conservation Using Landscape Ecology (PARC) - Duration: 1998-2003 - Reference: Choegyal & Clark (2000); UNDP (2004) 	UNDP, IUCN, GEF, GIZ, Ministry of Agriculture & Rural Development (MARD), VNAT	Be Ba NP, Na Hang NR, and Yok Don NP are popular tourist destinations. They are home to some ethnic minority groups who depend on natural resources for food and income.	Participatory landscape ecology
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Name: Forest Protection and Rural Development - Duration: 1998-2004 - Reference: WB (2007) 	WB, Dutch Government, MARD	This project focused on Cat Tien NP and Chu Mom Ray NR and the natural forests outside these areas.	Integrated conservation and development
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Name: Contributing to Biodiversity Conservation in Cat Ba NP through Community Activity - Duration: 2000-2003 - Reference: UNDP Vietnam 	UNDP, GEF, local Women's Union	The project focused on Gia Luan and Viet Hai communes which are situated in the core and buffer zone of the Park. The Park's natural resources are depleted by local people.	Participatory
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Name: Support to Sustainable Tourism in Sapa - Duration: 2001-2003 - Reference: SNV (2004) 	SNV, IUCN, local people's committees	Sapa was chosen by this project for its abundant natural and cultural values. It has attracted large numbers of domestic and foreign tourists.	Participatory CBT development
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Name: Bai Tu Long NP Biodiversity Awareness - Duration: 2001-2004 - Reference: Bottrill et al. (2003, 2004) 	Darwin Initiative, Frontier Vietnam	The NP was established in 2001 with a total area of 13,000 ha. The most serious problems facing the NP include ineffective management and continued depletion of natural resources.	Environmental education and awareness raising
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Name: Sapa Integrated Environmental Education - Duration: 2001-2004 - Reference: Frontier Vietnam (2003) 	The Dutch Embassy, Frontier Vietnam, local people's committee, local schools	This project was conducted in Sapa district that is home to the tourist town of Sapa and the Hoang Lien Son NP. A number of the local residents are poor ethnic minorities.	Education and training
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Name: Developing a Community Project to Contribute to Conserving Biodiversity and Natural Resources of Van Long NR - Duration: 2002-2004 - Reference: UNDP Vietnam 	UNDP, local farmers' association	Located in the northern province of Ninh Binh, the NR is home to a variety of the most endangered primate species. Its biodiversity values are significantly reduced due to local people's consumption.	Participatory conservation and development

Project details	Sponsors/Implementers	Location and participants	Core approach
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Name: Community-based Conservation of Hoang Lien Son Mountain Ecosystem - Duration: 2002-2005 - Reference: FFI (n.d.) 	European Commission, FFI, local forest protection departments	The Hoang Lien Son mountain range is rich in both natural and cultural resources. It is home to a variety of significant flora and fauna. It is also home to poor ethnic minorities who rely on forest resources for subsistence.	Community participation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Name: Ecotourism project in Pu Luong NR - Duration: 2002-2007 - Reference: N.Q. Nguyen, (former) Project Manager, FFI Vietnam, personal correspondence, October 2011 	Irish Aid, FFI	Located in the central province of Thanh Hoa, Pu Luong NR is known for its outstanding natural beauty and cultural diversity. Most local people are Thai and Muong ethnic minorities who place severe pressures on forest resources.	Community-based ecotourism
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Name: Cultural Conservation and Poverty Reduction - Duration: 2003-2004 - Reference: SNV (2007a) 	SNV, local tourism department	Located in Nam Dong district, Kazan hamlet is home to 26 ethnic minority households. It is considered among the poorest hamlets in Vietnam where local people rely on extraction of forest resources.	CBT development
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Name: Tam Dao NP and Buffer Zone Management - Duration: 2003-2009 - Reference: GIZ (2005) 	GIZ, MARD, local provinces	Established in 1996, the NP is home to a wide range of valuable flora and fauna. Its buffer zone is situated in the provinces of Vinh Phuc, Thai Nguyen, and Tuyen Quang.	Participatory
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Name: The Green Corridor – Meeting Global Conservation Targets in a Productive Landscape - Duration: 2004-2008 - References: Dickinson & Hoang (2008); Dickinson & Le (2008) 	WWF, SNV, GEF	The corridor is located between Phong Dien NR and Bach Ma NP in central Vietnam covering 134,000 ha. It is home to some ethnic minority groups who live in poverty and use forest resources for food and income.	Conservation and development
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Name: Ngoc Son Ngo Luong project - Duration: 2006-2010 - Reference: Mekong Tourism Coordinating Office Portal 	Spanish Agency for International Cooperation and Development, local forest protection department	The project site is home to the Ngoc Son Ngo Luong NR that was declared in 2004. Most local inhabitants are ethnic minorities, over 50% of whom are poor.	Participatory management planning
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Name: Nature Conservation and Sustainable Management of Natural Resources in Phong Nha-Ke Bang NP - Duration: 2007-2010; 2011-2013 - Reference: GIZ Vietnam 	GIZ, KfW Bank, local people's committee	Located in the central province of Quang Binh, the NP is rich in biodiversity value and is a popular UNESCO recognised tourist site. Natural resources here are depleted by poor people and unsustainable tourism development.	Multi-sectoral planning and integrated conservation and development
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Name: Conservation and Development of Kien Giang Biosphere Reserve 	GIZ, Australian Agency for International Development, local	The project is conducted in the southern province of Kien Giang. Local people live in low-lying areas and expose to the threats of	Participatory

Project details	Sponsors/Implementers	Location and participants	Core approach
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Duration: 2008-2011; 2012-2016 - Reference: Alexander (2009); GIZ (2011); Mackay (2009); Sebastian (2008) 	people's committee	rising sea levels and the effects of natural disasters.	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Name: Responsible Travel Pilot - Duration: 2009-2012 - References: Mekong Tourism Coordinating Office Portal; P.L. Nguyen (2010) 	The Dutch Government, VNAT, local people's committees	This project is implemented in Hanoi and three central provinces of Hue, Quang Tri, and Quang Nam.	PPT value chain development
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Name: Pro-poor Tourism in Ha Giang province - Duration: 2009-2013 - Reference: Mekong Tourism Coordinating Office Portal 	Caritas Luxembourg, Caritas Switzerland and Misereor	Ha Giang is among the poorest provinces in Vietnam. Over 80% of its population is ethnic minorities who live on agriculture and deforestation.	PPT
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Name: Pro-poor Partnerships for Agro-forestry Development - Duration: 2009-2015 - Reference: N.Q. Nguyen, (former) Project Manager, FFI Vietnam, personal correspondence, October 2011 	International Fund for Agricultural Development, GEF, local government	This project follows on the success of the PARC project above. It is carried out in Bac Kan that is among the poorest provinces and home to some ethnic minority groups.	Participatory
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Name: Strengthening the Community-based Management Capacity of Bidup Nui Ba NP - Duration: 2011-2013 - Reference: Mekong Tourism Coordinating Office Portal 	Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), local government	The Park covers an area of 70,038 ha with abundant biodiversity values. Most local people living around the Park are ethnic minorities who maintain traditional farming practices.	Community-based ecotourism
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Name: Promote Self-sustaining Community Development in Vietnam through Heritage Tourism - Duration: 2011-2014 - Reference: Mekong Tourism Coordinating Office Portal 	JICA, local partners	Cultural resources, including traditional villages, may vanish if they are not preserved properly. The three villages of Duong Lam (Hanoi), Phuoc Tich (Hue), and Dong Huong Hoa (Tien Giang) are located in three main regions in Vietnam.	CBT development
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Name: Environmentally and Socially Responsible Tourism Capacity Development - Duration: 2011-2015 - Reference: Mekong Tourism Coordinating Office Portal 	European Union (EU), local people's committees	Funded by the EU Developing Countries Instrument, this project covers popular tourist destinations in the capital city of Hanoi and provinces in northern, southern, and central Vietnam.	Responsible tourism

Table 7.4. Tourism-related projects: Social marketing characteristics

Project	Social marketing characteristics
PARC	<p>(1) Behaviour change goal: promote biodiversity conservation in PAs. Prevent illegal hunting and depletion of forest resources.</p> <p>(2) Audience research and segmentation: site visits, surveys, hotspot analysis, local needs assessment, socio-economic analysis.</p> <p>(3) Marketing mix: buffer zone development plan, visitor information brochure, NP regulations brochure, environmental curricula introduced into local schools, local people's awareness raising, training in biodiversity conservation and tour guiding, Village Forestry Clubs and Lake Management Cooperative establishment, stakeholder workshops, community discussions.</p> <p>(4) Exchange: include local representatives on management boards and site rangers; improve local livelihoods; introduce quality rice varieties and livestock breeds in exchange for hunting guns, provide sustainable farming methods and benefits from ecotourism.</p> <p>(5) Upstream targeting: local authorities participated in designing management tools and regulations; local restaurants committed not to selling wild animals, other stakeholders trained in conservation.</p> <p>(6) Competition: local people's belief in losing rights to access forest resources; population immigration; infrastructure development.</p>
Forest Protection and Rural Development	<p>(1) Behaviour change goal: prevent illegal harvesting and transport of forest products, reduce forest fire, and reduce local people's dependence on forest resources.</p> <p>(2) Audience research and segmentation: participatory rural appraisal, community consultation, socio-economic and biodiversity baseline surveys conducted.</p> <p>(3) Marketing mix: ecotourism programs, awareness campaigns taught community members and school pupils, staff training, community advisory and community working groups, commune forest protection groups, management regulations.</p> <p>(4) Exchange: diversified livelihood options (new farming techniques, crops, livestock, farm management skills), ecotourism benefits.</p> <p>(5) Upstream targeting: provincial and district authorities, social and cultural institutions.</p> <p>(6) Competition: population growth and migration, expansion of arable land.</p>
Contributing to Biodiversity Conservation in Cat Ba NP through Community Activity	<p>(1) Behaviour change goal: reduce overuse of Park resources.</p> <p>(2) Audience research and segmentation: surveys identified threats to forest resources, major barriers to conservation, and target audience in two communes.</p> <p>(3) Marketing mix: farming skills training courses, community policy dialogue, student exchange, advocacy activities, study tours, conservation regulations.</p> <p>(4) Exchange: new agricultural production models and alternative income opportunities included indigenous orange varieties, vegetable plantation, bee keeping, and financial loans.</p> <p>(5) Upstream targeting: local authorities, Women's Union, and relevant agencies. Advocacy for environmental protection was undertaken by local Women's Union.</p> <p>(6) Competition: population growth, low living standards, unclear responsibilities among government organisations, local people's poor knowledge of conservation, long-lasting dependence on natural resources, uncontrolled tourism development.</p>
Support Sustainable	<p>(1) Behaviour change goal: promote the active participation of local people in tourism development.</p> <p>(2) Audience research and segmentation: organisation of community workshops, identification of community needs and activities, inventory and resource</p>

Project	Social marketing characteristics
Tourism in Sapa	<p>assessment.</p> <p>(3) Marketing mix: trekking trail, tourism service and information centre, cultural house, tourist fee system, guides training, community discussions and agreements, school paintings, tree planting, rubbish collection, study tours, English classes, Australian and American teachers.</p> <p>(4) Exchange: increased benefit sharing and employment, reduced negative impacts of tourism, sense of ownership.</p> <p>(5) Upstream targeting: tourism stakeholders, national and provincial authorities.</p> <p>(6) Competition: local people's passive role in tourism, negative impacts of tourism, poor communication among tourism stakeholders and management levels.</p>
Bai Tu Long NP Biodiversity Awareness	<p>(1) Behaviour change goal: reduce illegal logging, hunting, and dynamite fishing within the NP; enhance management capacity of local authorities.</p> <p>(2) Audience research and segmentation: community meetings held to prioritise management needs; informal interviews and discussions; socio-economic and biodiversity baseline surveys.</p> <p>(3) Marketing mix: community environmental awareness program, sustainable tourism, biodiversity information boards, biodiversity interpretation centre, newsletters, field guides, and posters. Classroom training for NP staff members and postgraduate students. School environmental education, local radio and TV, Park Law, study tours.</p> <p>(4) Exchange: curricula taught environmental protection lessons; study tours created opportunities to learn awareness raising experiences.</p> <p>(5) Upstream targeting: Park authority and staff training; linkages with professional organisations.</p> <p>(6) Competition: traditional dependence on forest for lifestyle and livelihood. Law implemented.</p>
Sapa Integrated Environmental Education	<p>(1) Behaviour change goal: reduce tourism stakeholders' consumption of natural resources (including local residents).</p> <p>(2) Audience research and segmentation: focus group meetings, school visits and assessment, pilot project interventions made.</p> <p>(3) Marketing mix: local teachers taught in environmental education workshops, environmental education booklet, manual, and workbook, environmental poster campaign and competition, leaflets, local schools, study tours, training programs.</p> <p>(4) Exchange: ecotourism benefits, direct income, nature trail, medical plants.</p> <p>(5) Upstream targeting: teachers, local Department of Education and Training, tourists, other tourism stakeholders, Youth Union, Women's Union.</p> <p>(6) Competition: curricula taught conservation knowledge and skills.</p>
Developing Community Project to Contribute to Conserving Biodiversity and Natural Resources of Van Long NR	<p>(1) Behaviour change goal: prevent illegal use of natural resources by local people.</p> <p>(2) Audience research and segmentation: conservation needs assessed, threats identified, residents in buffer zone selected, socio-economic baseline study conducted.</p> <p>(3) Marketing mix: environmental education curricula taught in schools, local people and authorities trained in management skills, seven buffer zone communes, radio broadcasts, training workshops, study tours.</p> <p>(4) Exchange: alternative livelihood options (biogas instalment and operations, bee keeping, fish farming, gardening, bamboo mat making), financial loans.</p> <p>(5) Upstream targeting: community leaders, NR management board, hamlet chiefs, forest rangers, forestry committees.</p> <p>(6) Competition: local people's poor understanding of conservation needs, low living standards, unsustainable tourism, weak law enforcement.</p>

Project	Social marketing characteristics
Community-based Conservation of Hoang Lien Son Mountain Ecosystem	<p>(1) Behaviour change goal: prevent illegal logging and widespread hunting.</p> <p>(2) Audience research and segmentation: participatory land use planning and participatory zoning conducted to understand local livelihoods, resource use, and agricultural knowledge and practices; biodiversity threat assessment.</p> <p>(3) Marketing mix: forest co-management plan, tourism development plan, small medical plants, local people training, cattle keeping methods, community rangers communicate key conservation messages, multi-stakeholder forest protection councils, awareness raising activities, study tours, printed materials, local radio.</p> <p>(4) Exchange: community participation in planning, decision-making and management; employment for ex-hunters and ex-loggers; alternative income opportunities (bee keeping, nursery, tourism benefits).</p> <p>(5) Upstream targeting: Park authorities and staff, local authorities, rangers, government officials, mass organisations.</p> <p>(6) Competition: traditional farming practices, fast population growth, local people's poor perception of conservation needs, traditional top-down management.</p>
Ecotourism project in Pu Luong NR	<p>(1) Behaviour change goal: reduce local people's dependence on forest resources, promote sustainable ecotourism practices.</p> <p>(2) Audience research and segmentation: survey conducted to assess local needs and resources in 43 villages; feasibility study carried out to inform project interventions.</p> <p>(3) Marketing mix: stakeholder consultations, community ecotourism meetings, community commitment, study tours, drawing competition, local people and rangers trained in guiding, benefit-sharing regulations, multimedia exhibitions, TV documentaries, radio broadcasts.</p> <p>(4) Exchange: sustainable ecotourism model, community fund, economic incentives, alternative livelihoods.</p> <p>(5) Upstream targeting: management board, mass organisations, local authorities, tour operators.</p> <p>(6) Competition: weak institutional capacity, unsustainable tourism, poor stakeholder cooperation, local people as outsiders of tourism development.</p>
Cultural Conservation and Poverty Reduction	<p>(1) Behaviour change goal: stop extracting forest resources for sustainable tourism.</p> <p>(2) Audience research and segmentation: appreciative participative planning and action to identify community tourism potential and interests; community organisation activities.</p> <p>(3) Marketing mix: cultural performances, dance performances, traditional community house, community development fund, tourism service teams, community tourism management board, tourism infrastructure and facilities, community seminars, study tours, exchange visits, community activities, skills training.</p> <p>(4) Exchange: tourism product, increased income opportunities, equitable distribution of tourism benefits, sense of empowerment and community pride.</p> <p>(5) Upstream targeting: local people's committee, tourism college, tour companies, Youth Union.</p> <p>(6) Competition: local people were not used to thinking about long-term benefits and sustainability, the sustainable tourism concept was new to the locals.</p>
Tam Dao NP and Buffer Zone Management	<p>(1) Behaviour change goal: reduce illegal hunting, wood extraction, plant collection, and mining.</p> <p>(2) Audience research and segmentation: baseline survey (with interviews, focus groups, questionnaires, and case studies) piloted and conducted to identify socio-economic and environmental characteristics of the target residents.</p> <p>(3) Marketing mix: resource use planning model, medical plant gardens, agro-forestry model, training programs, incentives for participation, forest school with information centre, education and awareness raising activities, mass media, information posting in villages, study tours, multidisciplinary working groups.</p>

Project	Social marketing characteristics
	<p>(4) Exchange: alternative income earning options, credit access, agricultural extension services, tourism activities and facilities.</p> <p>(5) Upstream targeting: NP board and staff, key government agencies and authorities.</p> <p>(6) Competition: population growth, weak management, poor cooperation between authorities and communities, poor environmental awareness, local people's dependence on forest resources.</p>
<p>The Green Corridor – Meeting Global Conservation Targets in a Productive Landscape</p>	<p>(1) Behaviour change goal: reduce illegal logging, hunting, and forest burning; increase community commitments to conservation.</p> <p>(2) Audience research and segmentation: site surveys conducted to identify target groups, major threats, and hotspots; socio-economic baseline analysis.</p> <p>(3) Marketing mix: PPT program, information networks, education and awareness raising, effective regulations, community workshops, forest rangers training, local teachers and students, photo exhibitions and competitions, brochures, leaflets, posters, species school book, radio and TV.</p> <p>(4) Exchange: incentives through forest bee keeping and fruit gardens, better land use rights and benefits, tourism benefits.</p> <p>(5) Upstream targeting: local authorities cooperate with local people; local restaurants' commitment to stop trading wildlife meat; conservation rules implemented.</p> <p>(6) Competition: easy access to forest resources due to road expansion, traditional farming practices, ineffective law enforcement and integration with local communities.</p>
<p>Ngoc Son Ngo Luong project</p>	<p>(1) Behaviour change goal: enhance good practices in the NP.</p> <p>(2) Audience research and segmentation: socio-economic and biodiversity surveys, ecotourism workshops and study trips, ecotourism forum, piloted institutional agreement.</p> <p>(3) Marketing mix: ecotourism development plan, forest management plan, villa development plan, field personnel training, training workshops, environmental education in local schools and mass organisations, printed materials (brochures, calendars, maps), mass media, study tours, stakeholder meetings, code of practice.</p> <p>(4) Exchange: training local people in farming, ecotourism, and forest management, ecotourism benefits, alternative socio-economic activities.</p> <p>(5) Upstream targeting: strengthening the capacity of NR authorities and staff members, development agencies, mass organisations, tour operators, tourists.</p> <p>(6) Competition: NR legal framework not fully developed. Environmental regulations established.</p>
<p>Nature Conservation and Sustainable Management of Natural Resources in Phong Nha-Ke Bang NP</p>	<p>(1) Behaviour change goal: improve the conservation and management of forest resources.</p> <p>(2) Audience research and segmentation: socio-economic baseline study with interviews, group discussions, surveys, and case studies; value chains study in 13 communes.</p> <p>(3) Marketing mix: sustainable tourism development plan, sustainable land use planning employed with adequate training, educated trainers provide training for other people, tourist guide training, stakeholder meetings, consultation workshops, seminars, study tours.</p> <p>(4) Exchange: forestland allocation techniques, sustainable planning methods, ecotourism benefits, resource-friendly utilisation and management methods, alternative livelihoods.</p> <p>(5) Upstream targeting: awareness raising and advocacy activities aimed at provincial decision-makers and managers, tour operators, tourists.</p> <p>(6) Competition: inadequate non-agricultural jobs, uncontrolled tourism development, and poor management mechanisms.</p>

Project	Social marketing characteristics
Conservation and Development of Kien Giang Biosphere Reserve	<p>(1) Behaviour change goal: promote sustainable use of natural resources in the Reserve.</p> <p>(2) Audience research and segmentation: biodiversity audits conducted to inform target interventions. Participatory socio-economic survey carried out to understand current situation of targeted areas. Different training programs designed to suit local capacity and resources. Livelihood interventions piloted.</p> <p>(3) Marketing mix: training programs, primary school teachers, trainers, community groups, printed materials disseminated by local agencies, radio and TV, community events, drawing competitions and environmental education programs in commune schools.</p> <p>(4) Exchange: new livelihood activities, sustainable methods of production.</p> <p>(5) Upstream targeting: government officials, local Women's Union, Youth Union, and NP staff.</p> <p>(6) Competition: low environmental awareness, high population density, lack of alternative employment.</p>
Responsible Travel Pilot	<p>(1) Behaviour change goal: promote socially responsible tourism practices.</p> <p>(2) Audience research and segmentation: tourism resources assessed, training needs evaluated, market research conducted.</p> <p>(3) Marketing mix: responsible tourism initiative/model, value chain development, responsible travel clubs, skills training, national workshops, media coverage, awareness raising activities.</p> <p>(4) Exchange: responsible tourism certification, access to socially responsible tourism marketplace, tourism benefits.</p> <p>(5) Upstream targeting: tourism administrations, tour operators, hotels, travel associations, tourists.</p> <p>(6) Competition: inadequate stakeholder cooperation, poor management capacity, inadequate understanding of sustainable tourism practices.</p>
Pro-poor in Ha Giang province	<p>(1) Behaviour change goal: use natural and cultural resources sustainably for poverty alleviation.</p> <p>(2) Audience research and segmentation: poor villages and households identified. Tour operators selected. Three remote villages targeted first, five others follow.</p> <p>(3) Marketing mix: memorandum of PPT understanding, forest management schemes, vocational training, training programs and materials, study tours, poorest farmers and women, tree planting.</p> <p>(4) Exchange: PPT development; community development fund; tourism infrastructure, facilities, and benefits.</p> <p>(5) Upstream targeting: local authorities, tour operators, homestay and hotel staff members.</p> <p>(6) Competition: population pressure on land, water scarcity.</p>
Pro-poor Partnerships for Agro-forestry Development	<p>(1) Behaviour change goal: promote biodiversity conservation, equitable forest management, and sustainable ecotourism.</p> <p>(2) Audience research and segmentation: survey conducted. Three districts chosen as target locations where poor upland residents, particularly women, identified as target segments.</p> <p>(3) Marketing mix: community development fund, ecotourism strategy, environmental manuals, codes of conduct, community workshops, training courses in villages and schools, site visits, environmental awareness program, village forest management boards, women's interest groups.</p> <p>(4) Exchange: alternative livelihood options, pro-poor ecotourism benefits.</p> <p>(5) Upstream targeting: local and foreign NGOs, government agencies and staff members.</p> <p>(6) Competition: local people's dependence on forest, limited livelihoods, poor management of environmental resources and cultural heritages.</p>

Project	Social marketing characteristics
Strengthening the Community-based Management Capacity of Bidup Nui Ba NP	<p>(1) Behaviour change goal: reduce local people's dependence on natural resources.</p> <p>(2) Audience research and segmentation: survey conducted (2007) reveals target audience and major threats. Formulation of intervention plans and piloting of target communes.</p> <p>(3) Marketing mix: ecotourism trail, infrastructure and facilities; centre for ecotourism and environmental education; Japanese experts and consultants, and community stakeholders; training and awareness raising activities, stakeholder discussions, rubbish collection campaign, study tours, brochures, website, conservation rules and regulations.</p> <p>(4) Exchange: benefits of community-based ecotourism, alternative livelihood options (e.g. coffee processing techniques, healthy vegetable planting), community development fund, local cultural pride.</p> <p>(5) Upstream targeting: Park management board and staff, relevant tourism stakeholders.</p> <p>(6) Competition: poor management mechanisms, weak cooperation between local people and authorities.</p>
Promote Self-sustaining Community Development in Vietnam through Heritage Tourism	<p>(1) Behaviour change goal: promote the preservation of traditional villages through heritage tourism.</p> <p>(2) Audience research and segmentation: community-based groups formed to evaluate local resources and develop action plans.</p> <p>(3) Marketing mix: rural heritage/eco-tourism programs, local inhabitants, maps, brochures, information centres, community meetings, study tours, local universities.</p> <p>(4) Exchange: training in guiding skills, advice on revival of local resources and industries, tourism benefits.</p> <p>(5) Upstream targeting: staff members of local mass organisations, tour companies, and administrations.</p> <p>(6) Competition: local people's inadequate appreciation of local cultural values.</p>
Environmentally and Socially Responsible Tourism Capacity Development	<p>(1) Behaviour change goal: promote environmentally and socially responsible tourism practices.</p> <p>(2) Audience research and segmentation: training needs assessed, pilot initiatives conducted, tourism policies and initiatives reviewed and assessed.</p> <p>(3) Marketing mix: tourism information system, sector performance framework, tourism occupational skills standards, training of trainers, workshops, education and awareness raising, public-private sector dialogue and partnership, tourism schools.</p> <p>(4) Exchange: environmental and social standards for tourism projects, voluntary environmental standard for hotels, sustainable benefits for entire sector.</p> <p>(5) Upstream targeting: VNAT, Institute for Tourism Development Research, local administrators, professional associations, tour operators, hotels.</p> <p>(6) Competition: fast tourism growth, high poverty rate, conflicting policies and stakeholder interests.</p>

These projects differ considerably by locations, objectives, duration, and funding sources. In total, 14 projects were based in PAs. The remaining seven projects were focused on popular tourist destinations (e.g. Sapa, Ha Giang, Hue, Quang Tri, Quang Nam) and traditional villages (e.g. Duong Lam, Phuoc Tich, Duong Huong Hoa). While the 14 projects were mainly targeted at mitigating local residents' dependence on forest resources, the other seven projects were aimed at promoting community residents' participation in tourism, enhancing stakeholder partnerships, motivating responsible tourism practices, and encouraging tourism stakeholders to reduce resource consumption. These 21 projects were common in following on the success of ICDPs (Table 7.1) by targeting at poor ethnic minorities residing within PAs and tourist destinations, and adopting a participatory approach to project design, implementation, and evaluation. The most popular competing factors identified were local people's poor perception of conservation needs, traditional dependence on forest resources (internal), stakeholder conflicts, weak policies, and poor management mechanisms (external). Socio-economic baseline studies were the most widely used to gain insights into the living conditions of the target audience.

Regarding the exchange element, most projects used tangible incentives such as tourism benefits and alternative livelihoods (e.g. sustainable farming techniques, quality rice varieties) to motivate behaviour change in the target audience. Only three projects used intangible factors (community pride and empowerment) in exchange for the proposed behaviour (Bidup Nui Ba NP project, Cultural Conservation and Poverty Alleviation project, Support to Sustainable Tourism in Sapa project). While physical benefits seemed to have immediate behavioural impacts on the target audience, intangible benefits might lead to long-term cognitive effectiveness on a broader (community-wide) scale. For instance, the Cultural Conservation and Poverty Alleviation project provided direct employment benefits to only 39 local people. However, the promotion of community pride through cultural revitalisation resulted in the local community's increased belief in the positive effects of tourism. It also gave local people more pride in their own community (SNV 2007a).

Social marketing is not a theory in itself (Kotler & Zaltman 1971; MacFadyen et al. 1999). It instead combines several theories and models to motivate behaviour change (Donovan & Henley 2010; Smith 2000; Chapter Three). Some projects were underpinned by theories of community organisation and participation. Community activities were organised by these projects including drawing competitions, community consultations, community meetings, and community training (e.g. projects in Bai Tu Long NP, Kien Giang Biosphere

Reserve, Pu Luong NR, Promoting Self-sustaining Community Development project, Cultural Conservation and Poverty Alleviation project). A range of community members was encouraged to participate, including local men and women, village chiefs, teachers, and schoolchildren. Attention was also paid to the roles of local Women's Unions and, to a lesser extent, Youth Unions, in community organisation (e.g. projects in Cat Ba NP and Sapa).

Social learning theory also appeared to be used. Social learning theorists believe that people tend to repeat behaviours that are rewarded and do not repeat those that are punished. They also believe that some new behaviours can be learned by practically experiencing social reinforcements or by observing social reinforcements delivered to other people (Donovan & Henley 2010). Examples of this theory include the offering of financial rewards to encourage local people to cease hunting and logging, or to contribute towards the organisation of domestic and/or foreign study tours by most projects (Table 7.4). The formulation of community groups and clubs (e.g. PARC project, Responsible Travel Pilot project, Kien Giang Biosphere Reserve project) not only made local people, ex-hunters, and ex-loggers more responsible for conserving tourism resources, but also allowed them to learn from practical experience and act as role models. In addition, the formation of these groups suggests the importance of establishing community partnerships in promoting behaviour change with respect to resource conservation and responsible tourism. Although these theories were used, they were not actually described in project documents.

Mass media and advocacy activities were used in five out of the 21 projects, particularly when policy and regulation adjustments were required. For example, local radio and TV channels were used in the Ngoc Son Ngo Luong project because the local legal framework was not fully developed. Similar media channels were employed in the Bai Tu Long Bay project where poor mechanisms for conservation enforcement were identified. A number of TV documentaries and radio broadcasts were also used in the Pu Luong project due to the local authorities' weak capacity in making and implementing conservation policies.

The use of evaluation methods varies among these projects. Behaviour change results were reported in five projects (Kien Giang Biosphere Reserve, Cat Tien NP and Chu Mom Ray NR, PARC project, Hoang Lien Son ecosystem, and the Green Corridor project). These results were measured by the decrease in the number of violating behaviours such as illegal hunting, logging, and forest burning after interventions were made. Seven of these projects measured their impacts in terms of increased environmental/conservation awareness (Bai Tu Long, Ngoc Son Ngo Luong, Tam Dao, Phong Nha-Ke Bang, Cat Ba, Van Long). Self-

completion questionnaires were administered in the Sapa Integrated Environmental Education project where environmental awareness scores were used to measure the target audience's change before and after interventions. The measure of increased participants in the proposed behaviours was employed by six projects (Nam Dong, Tam Dao, Pu Luong, Responsible Travel Pilot, Van Long, Support to Sustainable Tourism project in Sapa). Results are not available in five projects (Self-sustaining Community Development project, Bidup Nui Ba project, Ha Giang project, Environmentally and Socially Responsible Tourism project, and Bac Kan project) because they are still in progress. Table 7.5 describes the areas and methods of evaluation used in these projects and their results. It indicates that some projects combined more than one area in their evaluations. Most projects were assessed using the Pre- and Post-intervention Model of Effect (Chapter Three) where surveys were conducted on the same target audience before and after project interventions. No project compared the change in attitude, awareness, or behaviour of the target audience with that of the non-target audience. In addition, almost all project evaluations were activity-based, that is, they were made in accordance with the activities outlined in project time logs.

Table 7.5. Project evaluation – Areas, methods and results

Evaluation areas	Projects	Evaluation methods	Results
Behaviour change	Kien Giang Biosphere Reserve Conservation		Community environmental awareness was low (< 3% in 2008) but improved significantly (77% in 2011), leading to positive behaviour: over 2,000 participants in tree planting, 2,000 in environment cleaning, and 1,000 in training programs. Local people apply new methods of production. NP staff use skills in fire and water management and biodiversity monitoring.
	Forest Protection and Rural Development	Pre-project baseline surveys vs. post-project surveys	Illegal harvesting and transport of forest products reduced to zero. Forest fires reduced by 50%. Increased conservation awareness seen in 100% government staff, 70% farmer families, and 80% youngsters. No conservation agreement reached before the project. Yet, after the project, violations were reported at 0.7% in the buffer zone of Cat Tien NP and 0.6% in that of Chu Mom Ray NR.
	The Green Corridor		Conservation attitudes enhanced in 70% households in 2008 vs. 30% in 2006. 80% households were not dependent on forest. Illegal activities decreased, leading to reduced threats to forest resources. Total number of violations by district showed significant difference (ANOVA, $n = 21.755$, $p = 0.0001$). Forest fires also remarkably reduced by districts ($p = 0.0001$).
	PARC	Participatory evaluation with mixed tools (mid-term reviews, audit reports, independent evaluations).	20,746 people trained in 42 courses. Nine environmental education courses taught in local schools. Hunting and livestock grazing reduced (marginal level). Forest fire ceased in Yok Don (unsatisfactory level). Illegal logging, mining, cultivation and dynamite fishing ceased (satisfactory level).
	Hoang Lien Son Mountain Ecosystem	Non-indicator Most Significant Change method used both qualitative and quantitative measures.	Local residents are an active force in forest protection. Community rangers demonstrate responsibility for conservation. Threats to biodiversity decreased. Pressure from hunting reduced by 40%. Conflicts between Park authority and local residents were eased. Local authorities considered communities an important force in forest protection.
Awareness change	Ngoc Son Ngo Luong	Project impacts were measured by the increased awareness of local communities and authorities, and the improved relationship between local communities and rangers.	Local community showed increased awareness of and responsibility for the NR conservation. Conservation contract signed with local people. 51 villages inside the NR now select alternative activities, alongside tourism, for sustainable conservation and development.
	Bai Tu Long NP Biodiversity Awareness	Environmental Education concept used for evaluations. Main indicators: alternative livelihood methods, training workshops, environmental education programs,	Project impacts and outcomes were measured by the increased awareness of the target audience through training and awareness activities. Behaviour change was not reported (Bottrill et al. 2004).
	Cat Ba NP Biodiversity		Key participants and beneficiaries showed increased awareness of the importance of conservation. Use of Park resources significantly reduced with alternative livelihood options. Fruit planting

Evaluation areas	Projects	Evaluation methods	Results
	Conservation	newsletters, posters, communication channels.	techniques applied by 81 households. Bee keeping model adopted by 10 households. Four vegetable plantation models developed.
	Tam Dao NP and Buffer Zone Management	Participatory evaluation approach	Over 80 village-based resource use plans applied by local people and authorities. Increased environmental awareness seen in all stakeholders. Sustainable cultivation model attracted 36 households, organised nine training classes with 450 participants; 19 classes organised by local Farmers' Association for 1,500 participants. Crop pattern change model attracted 60 households.
	Van Long NR Biodiversity Conservation		Increased awareness of nature conservation seen in local people. More households engaged in alternative livelihood options such as bee keeping (33), fish farming (91), and fruit tree gardening (50). Cooperation between various stakeholders improved. Pressure on natural resources reduced.
	Nature Conservation in Phong Nha-Ke Bang	Pre-project surveys vs. post-project surveys	Community residents show positive attitudes towards conservation and participate more actively in planning and consulting tourism development. All relevant stakeholders are supportive of conservation efforts. The project is still in progress, so a detailed evaluation is not available yet.
	Sapa Integrated Environmental Education		Self-completion questionnaire administered on 557 third grade students in six local schools. Follow-up at six months. Taught students showed better awareness of conservation and reduced rubbish emission. Average awareness scores: 7.2 (after) vs. 4.8 (before) in Ta Van school; 6.0 (after) vs. 5.4 (before) in Ban Ho school.
Increased participation	Cultural Conservation and Poverty Alleviation	Questionnaire surveys combined with interviews and/or community meetings and workshops.	More local people involve in cultural activities, resulting in fewer people relying on natural resources. Traditional houses and dance performances revitalised. Cultural activities restored including weaving and musical instrument making; 58 out of 110 households enjoy new income sources.
	Pu Luong Ecotourism		Conservation awareness increased in local people who actively participated in ecotourism planning, community meetings, and fund management. Their roles and responsibilities in ecotourism management defined. Forest violations reduced significantly. Stakeholder cooperation improved.
	Responsible Travel Pilot		Responsible Travel Club and Responsible Travel Group formed. Responsible Travel Action Plan made. Green criteria applied by local hotels in water and power management. Green office guidelines followed by local tour operators.
	Support to Sustainable Tourism in Sapa		Local people actively support tourism in their villages and manage its benefits. They are better at identifying and developing tourism resources. Overall, they hold an active role in developing tourism.

Socio-economic baseline surveys were conducted to gain insights into the target audience's living conditions, needs, and wants (audience research) as noted earlier. Surveys were also administered to identify barriers facing the target audience in adopting the proposed behaviours (competition) and forces that motivated them to adopt such behaviours (exchange). In addition, surveys were used to evaluate the effectiveness of project interventions. The evidence suggests that surveys are among the most widely used methods in social marketing (Redmond & Griffith 2006; Tabanico & Schultz 2007; Chapters Four and Six). The use of surveys to measure changes in knowledge, attitude, awareness, and behaviour of the target audience was also consistent with the incorporation of various theories and models aimed to conceptualise behavioural influences as discussed above.

The 21 projects were judged to have adopted the social marketing principles in their design and implementation, that is, they sought to achieve behaviour change objectives, conducted surveys or other methods to understand their target audience's needs and wants, and considered dividing their target audience into different segments on which interventions were made. They also considered factors that motivated awareness and behaviour change in the target audience (exchange). In addition, they demonstrated the use of different elements of the social marketing mix and addressed internal and/or external barriers to behaviour change (competition). Finally, they attached importance to the upstream level that included tourism stakeholders, local authorities, professional organisations, and government bodies.

Some projects did not prove to have "specific" behaviour change objectives (e.g. projects in Cat Ba NP, Cat Tien NP and Chu Mom Ray NR). This means the objectives of behaviour change in target audience were not stated in the "Objectives" section of these projects. However, they actually attempted to address behaviour change which could be found elsewhere in project factsheets and evaluation reports (e.g. project indicators), or could be inferred from these documents. Some projects only considered behaviour change as one of a number of core objectives (e.g. Sustainable Tourism project in Sapa). Meanwhile, other projects identified specific barriers and enablers to behaviour change (e.g. Kien Giang Reserve project; Sebastian 2008). That said, behaviour change was not always an explicitly stated project objective. Behaviour change outcomes were thus often combined with other results or reported by the improved awareness in the target audience as noted above.

This chapter aims neither to evaluate the effectiveness of social marketing in tourism-related projects in Vietnam nor to compare social marketing with other approaches. It instead

seeks to identify the social marketing components in these projects and add to the evidence base of social marketing within tourism. It indicates that although some tourism-related projects used all elements of the social marketing concept, they did not refer it to the field. No project labelled itself in “social marketing” terms. Therefore, the social marketing label was not useful in the search for project documents, even if social marketing criteria were being applied. This finding is consistent with that of public health-related projects (Stead et al. 2007; Chapter Three) and programs implemented by commercial banks (e.g. Grameen Bank; Chapter Four). Generally, the reported positive results suggest projects that are developed using social marketing principles may be effective. Although most projects were conducted over several years, and in many cases were supposedly designed with respect to contributing to long-term socio-economic change, their effects seemed to be assessed as soon as they finished. Often long-term effects were not reported. Many of these projects seemed to have had major influences on the upstream level, evidenced by the increased participation of local authorities and the use of mass media for advocacy activities.

These projects should be considered in light of some limitations. As noted, some projects did not consider behaviour change a specific objective and their outcomes were thus reported by qualitative indicators such as increased awareness and/or participation. Quantitative indicators were untypical. A solid monitoring and evaluation system was often lacking, which actually was a weakness in most projects (D. Hainsworth, former SNV Vietnam Tourism Advisor, personal correspondence, October 2011). Another important issue is quality of implementation. There were cases where the “exchange” element was not properly applied. For example, the PARC project implemented in Ba Be NP offered financial incentives for every hunting gun exchanged (UNDP 2004). However, the incentives were low as perceived by local people, who felt that they were almost forced to exchange their guns (Zingerli 2005). This highlights three issues. First, the perceived cost of exchanging guns was higher than the perceived benefit of incentives. Second, the exchange was not voluntary. Third, the evidence might indicate the power imbalance (Chapter Three) between the project organisation and local people, where the former had financial and technical resources and support from the local authorities while the latter was mostly poor people. These issues actually limited the project’s effectiveness as evidenced by the worsened relationships between the local authorities and communities. Local people thus sold their guns in nearby markets for higher prices (Zingerli 2005). These guns might be repurchased and used for hunting purposes again, which might result in more hunting and logging. In addition, the Ba Be Lake

Management Cooperative was established in 2004 to link tourism activities with conservation efforts in the area (UNDP 2004). This Cooperative, however, is not working any more, or is working on an occasional basis (anonymous informant, personal correspondence, October 2011). That means there is no or very little coordination between tourism activities and resource conservation efforts. Another example is the Sustainable Tourism project in Sapa that offered benefit sharing in exchange for the active participation/support of the local people. Leakage and corruption was reported in the local tourism fee collecting system (SNV 2004). It might reduce the benefits that the locals were entitled to, increase scepticism among them, and hence discourage them from supporting and participating in tourism.

Despite these caveats, this chapter offers some suggestions for funding and consulting agencies. First, the notion of voluntary behaviour change should be adhered to as the bottom line of project interventions. That means it should be considered a project objective and outcome. The change should be voluntary. To do this, the target audience need to be offered something they really need so that they volitionally adopt the proposed behaviour (Chapter Three). Second, the analysis supports the importance of audience research and segmentation in understanding the perceptions, needs, and wants of the target audience, as well as the barriers they face in adopting the proposed behaviour. This suggestion thus confirms the importance of identifying and eliminating the “competition” element. Projects are considered social marketing if they demonstrate consideration of the competing behaviours or forces that prevent the target audience from adopting the proposed behaviour. These may be internal or external or both. The competition to the termination of hunting, logging, and forest burning may be the local people’s poor understanding, their traditional dependence on natural resources for food and livelihood (internal), or the weak management capacity of the local authorities (external). To eliminate external barriers, the advocacy of policy-makers, authorities, and professional organisations – the upstream level, is very important (Chapter Three). Overall, it is suggested that social marketing may be a promising approach to addressing social issues in tourism development such as resource conservation and poverty alleviation. It can be applied to a range of audiences, at both individual and institutional levels, and in different tourist destinations.

Finally, it is noted that to label and evaluate social marketing interventions largely depends on the applicable criteria. This is a challenge for two reasons. First, a widely accepted definition of social marketing is lacking (McDermott et al. 2005; Stead et al. 2007). Second, scant attention has been paid to the labelling and evaluation of social marketing

interventions, including their underlying assumptions about behaviour change (Andreasen 1994b, 2002; Doner 2003; Forthorfer 1999; Redmond & Griffith 2006; Chapter Three). Future research into this issue is thus needed.

7.3. CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has reported findings obtained from the first stage of research which examines the social marketing characteristics of tourism-related projects in Vietnam. Based on the six social marketing benchmark criteria given in Chapter Three, a search strategy was implemented which resulted in 45 tourism-related projects. Twenty-one projects were found to meet all the six social marketing criteria. This chapter indicates that a majority of projects were conducted in NPs and NRs that are home to poor ethnic minorities. Typical objectives included preventing or mitigating local people's dependence on natural resources for food and income, and promoting their active participation in tourism. Most projects adopted the participatory approach in their design and implementation. Project interventions were underpinned by theories of social learning, community participation and organisation, although these theories were not explicitly stated in project documents. This chapter also indicates that behaviour change was not always a specific or sole objective in tourism-related projects. Therefore, behaviour change outcomes often were not reported clearly. Most projects were evaluated on the same target audience. The perceived benefits of the proposed behaviour were sometimes lower than its perceived costs, which actually reduced project effectiveness. The chapter suggests that social marketing may help conserve natural resources and alleviate poverty through tourism. It can be adopted to promote voluntary behaviour change at both downstream and upstream levels and in different tourist destinations. Furthermore, this chapter highlights the roles of foreign NGOs as actors of poverty alleviation, which will be added to the conceptual framework developed in Chapter Four.

This chapter has discussed the outcomes of the first stage of research. Attention therefore now turns to the second stage that involves the case study of Sapa. Background information about Sapa will be provided in Chapter Eight. Then, the perceptions and experiences of local people and key informants in Sapa regarding tourism as a tool of poverty alleviation will be examined in Chapters Nine and Ten where research findings will also be discussed in relation to the findings obtained in this chapter.

CHAPTER EIGHT:

SAPA - THE CASE STUDY AREA

8.1. INTRODUCTION

This research investigates the interrelationships between tourism, poverty alleviation, and social marketing, taking Sapa as a case study area (Chapters One and Four). After the research methods have been selected and the research design created (Chapter Six), Chapter Seven has analysed the social marketing characteristics of tourism projects in Vietnam, indicating that social marketing may help the tourism sector alleviate poverty and conserve natural resources more effectively. Before examining the perceptions and experiences of poor people and key informants regarding tourism as a contributor to poverty alleviation, this chapter provides an overview of Sapa. First, some background information is given. Second, the development of Sapa's tourism is chronicled. Third, Sapa's poverty situation is analysed, followed by a critique of its tourism plans with respect to poverty alleviation. This chapter indicates that poverty alleviation remains a major challenge in Sapa, although significant achievements have been made in economic development and tourism growth. It is suggested that a greater emphasis should be placed on poor people if Sapa's tourism sector is to develop sustainably. Throughout this chapter and the rest of the thesis, "Sapa" refers to the name of the district as noted in Chapter One, unless otherwise stated. Where the term "local" is used, it primarily indicates the spatial scope of entities that are based in Sapa. "Local people" and "ethnic minorities" are used interchangeably given that the local poor ethnic minorities account for a majority of the research population.

8.2. SAPA: AN OVERVIEW

Sapa is located in the mountainous province of Lao Cai, 38km from the Lao Cai city centre and 400km from Vietnam's capital city of Hanoi. The district covers an area of about 68,329ha and is 1,600m above sea level. It is known for a temperate climate with colourful rice fields, forested mountains, and exotic flora and fauna (Nguyen 1999; Nguyen et al. 2007). The rainy season lasting from May to October brings cool weather to Sapa with an

average temperature of 18⁰C-20⁰C. The average temperature ranges from 12⁰C to 10⁰C during the winter months that last between November and April.

As noted in Chapters One and Six, Sapa is home to the famed tourist town of Sapa and 17 communes with a population of 53,549 inhabitants (GSOV 2010). Each commune has a people's committee and a people's council that control several villages. Each village consists of a number of households and is headed by a village chief. Some mass organisations are often established and run by government funding to assist communal authorities (e.g. Women's Union; Chapter Seven). In terms of ethnicity, besides the majority Kinh people (lowland Vietnamese) who account for 17.91% of population, Sapa is home to some ethnic minority groups: H'Mong (51.65%), Red Dzaio (23.04%), Tay (4.74%), Dzay (1.36%), Xa Pho (1.06%), and other ethnic groups (0.24%). These minority groups are considered by the government as an integral part of Vietnam as a united nation (ADB 2002; Duong 2008; Chapter Five). Most local people in Sapa live in the rural area and work in the agro-forestry sector. Sapa's population density is recorded at 198 people/km² (SPC 2009), while Vietnam's population density is estimated at 267 people/km² (GSOV 2012).

Apart from its beautiful terraced rice fields and waterfalls, Sapa is home to the Fansipan peak that is considered the "roof of Indochina" and has been proposed to be recognised as a UNESCO World Heritage site (Vu & Sato 2010). The Hoang Lien Son NP, established in 1994, is also one of the main tourist attractions (Chapter Seven). Alongside the terraced rice fields and old carved stones, the Hoang Lien Son NP has been submitted for inclusion on the UNESCO's World Heritage list (Vu & Sato 2010). Furthermore, Sapa is known for its ethnic minority cultures (Pham et al. 1999). Given that the local ethnic minorities often reside in remote villages, their cultural identities are still kept intact. Their traditional farming practices and other socio-economic activities are substantially different from the rest of Vietnam and thus often make strong impressions on both domestic and foreign tourists (Huxford 2010; Pham et al. 1999). These natural and cultural values have turned Sapa into a recognised tourist destination, which is featured in Vietnam's international tourism marketing (see www.vietnamtourism.gov.vn). The development of Sapa's tourism is presented next.

8.3. TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

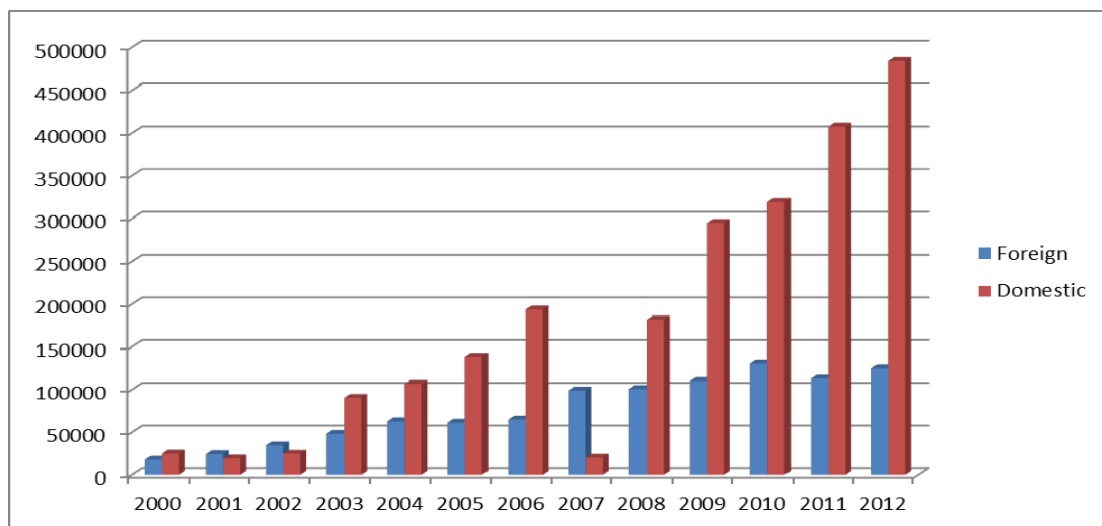
Tourism began in Sapa in the 1900s when the French arrived and established the area as a hill station. Although it was turned into a known health resort and recreation centre in 1903, it

was a regular station for a few military troops only (Michaud & Turner 2006). In 1913, a sanatorium was completed to house sick military officers and foreigners. In 1914, all public offices were moved from Hanoi to Sapa. A tourist office was opened in 1917, followed by several villas in 1918 to host top-ranked military officers. The town had 80km of footpaths by 1925, offering a great variety of hiking trips. More privately owned villas were built in nearby areas from 1920 to 1940 (Michaud & Turner 2006; Vu & Sato 2010). By the late 1930s, Sapa had reached its peak with an increased influx of military officers on holiday.

In 1909, the Cha Pa (as Sapa was then called) hotel was opened to the east of the hill station, while the Fansipan hotel was not built until 1924. The luxurious Métropole hotel was constructed (1932) at the foot of the Ham Rong mountain with 50 rooms and 10 suites. The Hôtel du Centre, a smaller establishment, was built in 1937. During the French War (1945-1954), the area was severely damaged. Military installations, hotels, villas, and public buildings were destroyed and hence tourism activities were terminated (Vu & Sato 2010). Only a small number of Vietnamese people arrived in Sapa during this period as part of the GOV's *New Economic Zone* program which was aimed to reduce overpopulation in urban and rural areas. In the 1990s, a railway network was built to connect Sapa with Hanoi and other provinces, facilitating favourable conditions for tourism development (Duong 2008).

In 1990, the *Vietnam's Tourism Year* campaign was launched (Chapter Five). Three years later, Sapa was officially reopened to tourists (Vu & Sato 2010). Since then, Sapa has witnessed increasing numbers of tourists (Figure 8.1).

Figure 8.1. Sapa's tourist arrivals 2000-2012

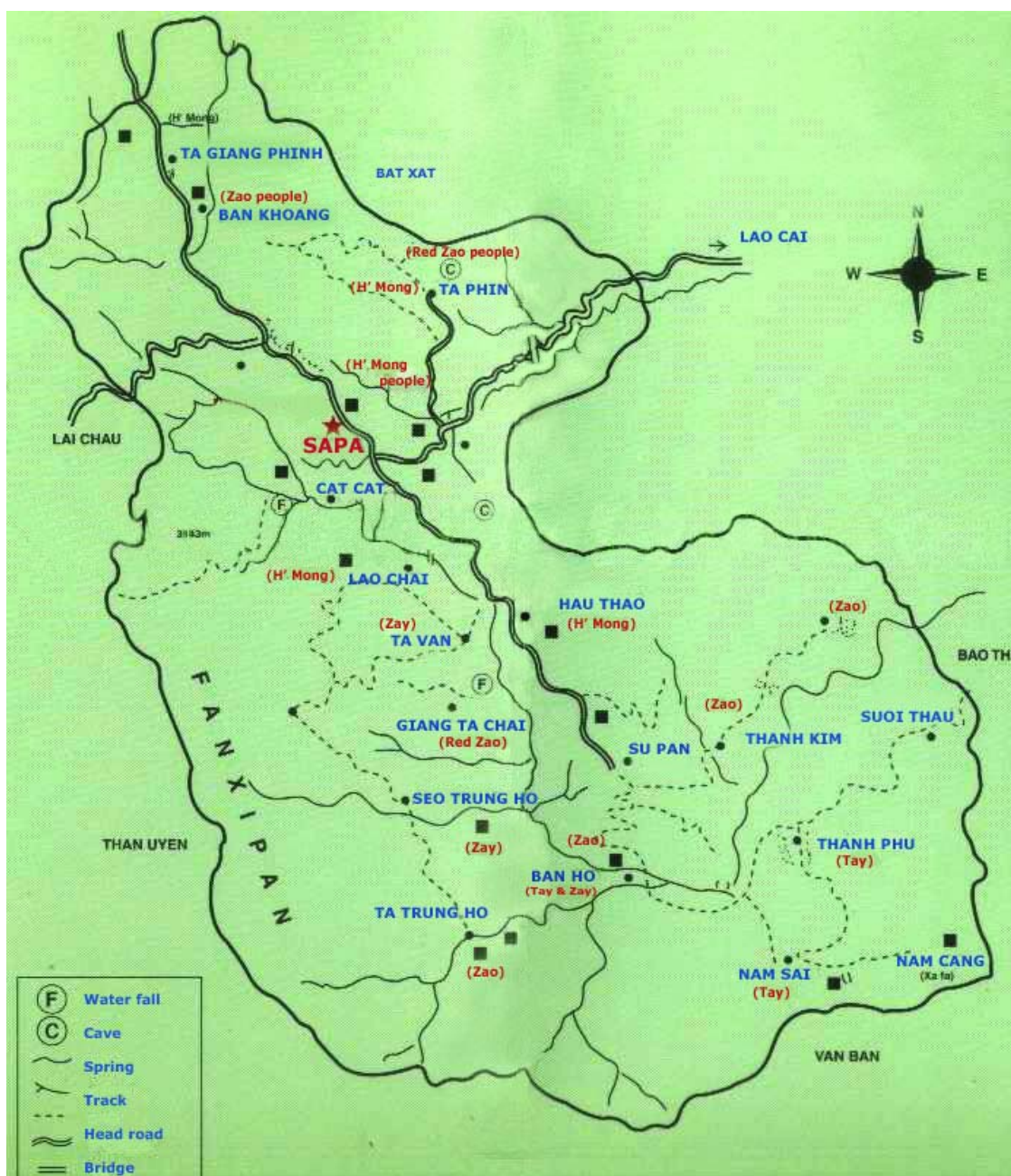


Sources: Le (2010); SPC (2009); personal correspondence with Sapa's Culture and Tourism Office, April 2013

Figure 8.1 indicates that domestic tourists far outweigh foreign tourists in Sapa. This is largely due to Sapa's temperate climate which is different from the tropical climate in other regions in Vietnam (Huxford 2010; Michaud & Turner 2006). Vietnamese tourists have considered Sapa an appropriate retreat from the hot summer months that typically last from May to October (SPC 2009). Meanwhile, foreign tourists appear to be more attracted by the scenic landscapes and ethnic cultures of Sapa (Huxford 2010; Nguyen et al. 2007).

On the one hand, tourism has generated economic benefits, employment, and business opportunities. Souvenir shops, motorbike rental services, and homestays have emerged. Local ethnic minorities who can speak foreign languages become tourist guides (Nguyen 1999). Therefore, Sapa's authority has embarked on a fast track development plan by shifting from agro-forestry to tourism and services (Nguyen 1999). Since 1993, tourism has been regarded as a spearhead in Sapa's economy (Pham et al. 1999; SPC 2009). A number of communes have been open to tourists and trekking routes constructed (Figure 8.2).

On the other hand, tourism has also had negative impacts on the local environment, including lost traditional identities, a decline in natural resources, and increased stakeholder competition. Some prior research has suggested that tourism in Sapa has caused more damage to local ethnic minorities than the benefits it has generated (Grindley 1997; Nicholson 1997). DiGregorio et al. (1996) indicated that local people were removed from the market chain. They depleted natural resources to supply to hotels and restaurants, most often at low prices. However, they were the first to suffer from environmental degradation. Very few of them benefited from direct tourism activities such as providing homestays or participating in traditional art performances (DiGregorio et al. 1996). The time and skills required by local women to produce handicrafts far outweighed the money they were paid (Nicholson 1997). Therefore, the income gaps between different groups of people continued to widen in Sapa (DiGregori et al. 1996; Nguyen et al. 2007).



When responsible forms of tourism (e.g. ecotourism, sustainable tourism) were introduced, they were adopted by Sapa's authority and were mentioned frequently in workshops and meetings (Nguyen 1999). However, they were not properly comprehended. Ecotourism and sustainable tourism were often construed as being free of rubbish and deforestation (Nguyen 1999), or being connected to natural areas (UNDP 2004). Therefore, large-scale facilities were constructed (e.g. hotels, restaurants, state buildings) (Michaud & Turner 2006; UNDP 2004), which did not cater to the needs of local residents, but instead to those of the local authority. Little attention was given to preserving historical buildings. The evidence suggests that tourism development in Sapa was lacking proper planning and effective management (Nguyen et al. 2007) and that the cooperation among various tourism stakeholders was relatively weak (Nguyen 1999). In addition, Sapa has been a destination of PPT initiatives such as those of SNV (Hummel & van der Dium 2012; Chapter Seven). However, tourism has not been significantly connected with poverty alleviation (Nguyen et al. 2007). Conflicts of interest are found between the local authorities and local residents. Local people's dependence on natural resources for food and income is still common (DiGregorio et al. 1996; Grindley 1997; Nguyen et al. 2007; Pham et al. 1999). As a result, alleviating poverty through tourism remains a challenge in Sapa.

8.4. POVERTY IN SAPA

Sapa witnessed a rapid 8.5% economic growth rate in the period 1991-1995. The annual growth rate decreased to 6.8% between 1996 and 2000 due to the regional economic crisis, but increased to 7.6% in 2000 and 7.8% in 2001. Sapa's economy has shifted from decreasing the proportions of agro-forestry and fishing to increasing those of tourism and services. Sapa's economic structure in the period 2000-2010 is presented in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1. Sapa's economic structure 2000-2010 (Unit: %)

Year	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Agro-forestry & fishing	44,68	44,18	39,13	38,27	36,39	34,25	33,1	32,8	33,14	31,58	29,83
Industry & construction	6,46	5,84	6,05	6,57	6,03	5,76	5,7	7,53	9,25	10,4	11,49
Tourism & services	48,86	49,98	54,82	55,16	57,58	59,99	61,2	59,67	57,61	58,02	58,68

Source: SPC (2005, 2011)

In 2000, Sapa's total production value was recorded at VND36.56 billion (US\$1.7 million) and GDP per capita was VND2.3 million (US\$111). In 2005, the total production value increased by 2.5 times, while GDP per capita was recorded at VND6.9 million (US\$330) (Nguyen et al. 2007). Although growth was seen in all economic sectors, the services sector (including tourism) contributed the highest added value with about VND134.5 million (US\$6,404), followed by agro-forestry and fishing (VND76.4 million, about US\$3,638) and industry and construction (VND13.2 million, about US\$628) (SPC 2005). According to a report by SPC (2009), poor households decreased from 48.7% in 2005 to 26.91% in 2009 partly due to Sapa's socio-economic achievements. Although the local living standards have been improved, Sapa is facing difficulties in further developing its economy and improving local people's quality of life. These include poor infrastructure and low per capita income. A number of remote communes are home to poor ethnic minorities, who primarily work in the agricultural sector that is subject to natural upheavals. The local ethnic minorities also lack knowledge and skills that are required to participate in development processes (SPC 2009). Table 8.2 presents Sapa's poorest communes as of 2010.

Table 8.2. Sapa's poorest communes 2010

Commune	No. of villages	Population	No. of household	Poor households	
				Quantity	% total
Ta Van	7	3,152	547	228	41.6
Trung Trai	7	3,379	533	213	39.9
Lao Chai	5	3,152	512	206	40.2
Ta Phin	6	2,704	451	193	42.7
Hau Thao	4	2,458	398	176	44.2
Su Pan	4	2,254	405	169	41.7
Nam Sai	5	1,668	304	103	33.8
Ban Phung	6	1,598	238	99	41.5
Thanh Kim	3	1,659	247	89	36

Source: LCPC (2010)

Under its *Socio-economic Development Plan* up to 2020, Sapa strives to become a socio-economic and cultural centre of provincial significance. The district also aims to become a national tourist centre, where socio-economic and environmental sustainability is maintained (SPC 2011). By 2015, Sapa's economy is expected to consist of 21.5% construction and industry, 21.5% agro-forestry and fishing, and 57% tourism and services. By 2020, this structure is expected to reach 25.4%, 14.3%, and 60.7%, respectively. The local poverty rate is predicted to reduce below 5% by 2020 (SPC 2011). These figures suggest the importance

of the tourism sector to the local economy. The next section examines Sapa's socio-economic and tourism development policies with respect to poverty alleviation.

8.5. TOURISM POLICIES AND POVERTY ALLEVIATION

Aware of the substantial economic benefits of tourism, the authority of Lao Cai has attached great importance to tourism development. The formation of Sapa Department of Trade and Tourism and the Inter-sectoral Management Board was part of these efforts, which has contributed to strengthening the local regulations over tourism and raising public awareness regarding tourism rules and regulations (Nguyen et al. 2007). A number of tourism-related policies and plans have also been issued, which are summarised in Table 8.3.

As already noted, tourism has been considered an important tool of economic development and poverty alleviation by the authorities of Sapa and Lao Cai overall since 1993. This is consistent with the orientation of the GOV as discussed in Chapter Five, that is, tourism is primarily developed to generate economic profits in order to meet Vietnam's demands for industrialisation and modernisation. Early efforts were made to preserve traditional cultures, particularly those of the local ethnic minorities. The *Lao Cai Cultural Conservation and Development Plan 2001-2005* was aimed to identify and preserve local cultural identities (LCPC 2002a). The ultimate goal of this plan was to make use of these cultural values for socio-economic development and tourism promotion. Local families and villages were considered the "environment" for the preservation of local cultural identities (LCPC 2002a, p. 5). However, the task of poverty alleviation and the participation of poor people were not considered. Also in the period 2001-2005, the *Lao Cai Poverty Alleviation and Hunger Elimination Plan* was endorsed (LCPC 2002b). As the title stated, this plan placed the task of poverty alleviation a top priority. To achieve this aim, a number of measures were taken (e.g. social, economic, educational, managerial) which embraced a range of target audience (e.g. poor households, poor schoolchildren). Nevertheless, the linkage between poverty alleviation and tourism development was neglected. The evidence suggests that tourism was not connected with poverty alleviation (and vice versa), although its potential for economic growth and poverty alleviation was perceived by the authority of Lao Cai. It also suggests that (ethnic) cultural tourism was important given that Lao Cai is home to a number of ethnic groups whose traditional cultures are still preserved. This resonates with the *Tourism Ordinance* (GOV 1999a) which attached great importance to cultural tourism (alongside ecotourism) and stipulated that tourism activities having negative impacts on traditional cultures and customs should be prohibited (Chapter Five).

Table 8.3. Tourism-related policies and plans

Publication	Year	Main objective	Poverty component
Lao Cai Cultural Conservation and Development Plan 2001-2005 (LCPC 2002a)	2002	Identify locally unique cultural identities, particularly those of the local ethnic minorities, for conservation and socio-economic and tourism development.	The traditional cultures of ethnic minorities were the primary goal of the plan. Poverty alleviation was not stated.
Lao Cai Poverty Alleviation and Hunger Elimination Plan 2001-2005 (LCPC 2002b)	2002	Connect poverty alleviation with socio-economic development; create favourable conditions for poor people in local communes to lift out of poverty.	The plan aimed to provide direct support to poor households (e.g. agricultural promotion, support poor schoolchildren, free healthcare) and training in management skills. The linkage with the tourism sector was not mentioned.
Lao Cai Cultural Conservation and Development Plan 2006-2010 (LCPC 2006a)	2006	Conserve traditional cultural identities; eliminate backward cultural practices; improve local cultural standards. Bring into play ethnic cultures for poverty alleviation and sustainable economic development.	Alleviating poverty through socio-economic development and tourism growth.
Lao Cai Sustainable Poverty Alleviation Plan 2006-2010 (LCPC 2006b)	2006	Reduce poverty rate from 43% (2005) to 20% (2010); provide free education poor schoolchildren; supply preferential bank loans to all poor households; provide skills training.	Poverty alleviation was the focus of the plan. Proposed measures included sectoral collaboration (e.g. banking, agro-forestry and fishing). The tourism sector was ignored.
Sapa Focus Plan 2006-2010 (SPC 2006)	2006	The plan was divided into five main programs: agriculture and rural development, sustainable tourism development, socio-cultural development, human resources development, and national security and defences. The sustainable tourism program consists of four components: infrastructure upgradation, tour routes development, urban and tourism management, tourism promotion.	Tourism development and poverty alleviation were separated.
Sapa Socio-economic Development Plan to 2020 (SPC 2011)	2011	Sapa strives to become a national tourism centre, a significant location for socio-economic development of Lao Cai province.	Sectoral growth rate per annum: 18.5% (industry and construction), 6.2% (agro-forestry and fishing), 15.5% (tourism and services). Poverty rate to be reduced to below 5% by 2020.

Sources: LCPC (2002a, 2002b, 2006a, 2006b); SPC (2006, 2011)

Two similar plans were formulated between 2006 and 2010. Under the *Lao Cai Cultural Conservation and Development Plan 2006-2010* (LCPC 2006a), ethnic cultures were again emphasised as an important source for tourism growth and socio-economic development overall, which in turn would contribute to poverty alleviation. However, in the *Lao Cai Sustainable Poverty Alleviation Plan 2006-2010* the roles of tourism in poverty alleviation were ignored while those of other sectors (e.g. agro-forestry, banking) were regarded as being important (LCPC 2006b). By then the GOV had recognised tourism as a crucial contributor to poverty alleviation as outlined in Chapter Five and the authorities of Lao Cai and Sapa had attempted to place a greater focus on tourism and services and reduce the proportions of agro-forestry and fishing as noted earlier. This confirms that although the pro-poor potential of tourism has been perceived, it has been neglected in important policies and plans (see also Chapter Five), suggesting that less attention and resources would be allocated to improve tourism's contribution to poverty alleviation. It is thus not surprising that tourism has often been promoted for economic growth. For instance, under the *Sapa Focus Plan 2006-2010* (SPC 2006), the notion of sustainable tourism was stressed and measures taken to improve infrastructure, establish trekking routes, and enhance promotional activities. The task of poverty alleviation was not considered. Therefore, the voices of poor people impacted by tourism might have been ignored as well. Instead, particular efforts have been made to turn Sapa into a tourism centre of national significance (SPC 2011). The direction of the authorities of Lao Cai and Sapa towards tourism growth is understandable given the neoliberal tourism policies and strategies promulgated by the GOV (Chapter Five). In other words, the orientation of the authorities of Lao Cai and Sapa towards tourism growth is arguably the cementing at the local level of national tourism policies and strategies that are approved by the GOV. An equally important reason for advocating increased tourism growth is that Sapa and Lao Cai do not want to miss out the economic profits generated by tourism, but instead strive to embrace tourism as an important way to bridge the (economic) gap between Sapa and the other lowlands in Vietnam (Michaud & Turner 2006).

8.6. CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has provided an overview of Sapa as the case study area in this research. Given its unique natural and cultural values, Sapa has attracted increased numbers of both domestic and foreign visitors. Significant achievements have also been seen in economic development

and poverty alleviation in Sapa. However, poverty is still a challenge facing the district to date. Although tourism has been considered an important economic sector as indicated by the promulgation of a number of relevant policies and plans, the task of poverty alleviation has not been significantly connected with the sector. Little attention has been given to the voices of poor residents, that is, how they interpret poverty and tourism as a means of poverty alleviation. The next chapter thus seeks to allow poor people in Sapa to voice their concerns and expectations based on the research methods chosen in Chapter Six.

CHAPTER NINE:

RESULTS – INTERVIEWS AND OBSERVATIONS

9.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter reports and discusses findings from semi-structured interviews and participant observations conducted with local people and key informants in Sapa. It considers the important issue of local people's perceptions of poverty and tourism as a means of poverty alleviation. The chapter also explores local people's interpretation of the causes of poverty and hence the barriers to poverty alleviation. As outlined in Chapter Two, it is necessary to investigate the causes of poverty before any appropriate poverty reduction measures can be designed. This suggests that poverty is a localised issue and thus its causes are subject to differing interpretations. Throughout this chapter to Chapter Twelve, the term "local" is used to indicate entities that are based in Sapa as stated in Chapter Eight. "Local people" and "ethnic minorities" are used interchangeably since the local poor ethnic minorities account for a large majority of the research population.

A phenomenological approach is used throughout this chapter, as outlined in Chapter Six, since it allows exploration of the living conditions of local residents. The use of this approach seeks to allow local people to "voice" their opinions and experiences of poverty. Interview results are complemented by field notes taken during participant observations and fieldwork. This chapter opens with a (re)description of the interviewee selection process, followed by details about the interviewees. Then it proceeds to draw on fieldwork to present the lived experiences of local people, which are illustrated by extracts from their responses to the interview questions. Throughout this chapter, research findings are considered in relation to the previous findings given in Chapters Two to Eight.

9.2. INTERVIEWEE SELECTION

As stated in Chapter Six, the collection of primary data for this research commenced with semi-structured interviews conducted with tourism consultants in Hanoi. This was followed by discussions with staff members of VNAT, local universities and development agencies out of the interview context. Valuable advice was obtained regarding appropriate places and

participants for observations. During observations, notes were taken to enrich the interview data. Some participants were invited to be interviewees, while others were selected with reference to national poverty data (GSOV 2010, 2011), local poor household data (LCPC 2010; SPC 2009), and suggestions given by a local guide and a member of the local Women's Union. Using this data, a list of prospective interviewees was made, which included rice farmers, handicraft weavers and sellers. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 47 local people and five tourism consultants. Notes were also taken from conversations with foreign tourists. Details of the interviewees are given below.

9.3. INTERVIEW RESPONDENTS' PROFILES

As Table 9.1 shows, of the 47 interviewees, 36 are female (76.1%) and 11 are male (23.9%). Local women were a majority in the interview sample because they are often the heads of their families (as informed by one of the consultants interviewed; Chapter Six). They are thus sensitive to financial matters and clearly understand the living conditions of their families. This was supported by participant observations, which revealed that local women are the principal money earners in their families. On average, the interviewees were 36 years old at the time of interview. The average age of female interviewees was 37 and males 31.

Table 9.1. Interview respondents' profiles

No.	Name pseudonym	Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Residency	No.	Name pseudonym	Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Residency
1	Hai	Male	30	Kinh	Ta Phin	25	My	Female	22	Dzay	Ta Van
2	Minh	Male	46	H'Mong	Lao Chai	26	Chien	Male	22	Kinh	Sapa town
3	Dzung	Male	32	H'Mong	Lao Chai	27	Van	Female	41	H'Mong	Si Pan
4	Chan	Female	71	H'Mong	Hau Thao	28	Huong	Female	31	Red Dzao	Ta Van
5	Sinh	Female	70	H'Mong	San Xa Ho	29	Sen	Female	31	Red Dzao	Ta Van
6	Lu	Female	45	H'Mong	San Xa Ho	30	Thuy	Female	42	Red Dzao	Ta Van
7	Hang	Female	64	Kinh	Sapa town	31	Phuong	Female	25	H'Mong	Hau Thao
8	Chung	Male	71	H'Mong	Lao Chai	32	Hiep	Female	20	H'Mong	Hau Thao
9	Pham	Female	42	Dzay	Ta Van	33	Thao	Female	32	Red Dzao	Ta Phin
10	Cao	Female	45	H'Mong	San Xa Ho	34	Huan	Female	37	Red Dzao	Ta Phin
11	Menh	Female	34	Red Dzao	Ta Phin	35	Tan	Female	29	Red Dzao	Thanh Kim
12	Shan	Female	32	H'Mong	Lao Chai	36	May	Female	34	Red Dzao	Thanh Kim
13	Thanh	Female	37	H'Mong	Lao Chai	37	Sang	Male	15	H'Mong	Ta Van
14	Kim	Female	42	Red Dzao	Ta Van	38	Su	Male	13	H'Mong	Ta Van
15	Tuyen	Female	30	H'Mong	Lao Chai	39	Sung	Female	30	H'Mong	Hau Thao
16	Tuyet	Female	46	Red Dzao	Thanh Kim	40	Do	Male	27	H'Mong	San Xa Ho
17	Lien	Female	20	Red Dzao	San Xa Ho	41	Hoai	Female	28	Red Dzao	Ta Phin
18	Linh	Female	31	Red Dzao	Ta Van	42	Thu	Female	29	Red Dzao	Ta Phin
19	Nu	Female	40	Red Dzao	Ta Phin	43	Tiep	Female	49	Red Dzao	Ta Phin
20	Hoa	Female	41	Red Dzao	Ta Van	44	Binh	Female	73	Kinh	Ta Phin
21	Thuyen	Female	35	Kinh	Sapa town	45	Lan	Female	28	Red Dzao	Ta Phin
22	Chin	Male	51	Dzay	Ta Van	46	Lam	Male	17	H'Mong	San Xa Ho
23	Dzo	Male	22	H'Mong	Sapa town	47	Tam	Female	25	Kinh	Sapa town
24	Ly	Female	15	H'Mong	San Xa Ho						

In terms of ethnicity, 20 are H'Mong, 18 are Red Dzao, six are Kinh, and three are Dzay. H'Mong people account for the largest population of all local ethnic groups, followed by Red Dzao and Kinh people as outlined in Chapter Eight. Eleven people are based in Ta Van, 10 in Ta Phin, six in Lao Chai, and five in Sapa town. The remaining 15 people are in other communes. Although these people live in communes that are not covered by this research, their experiences are valuable since they also participate in tourism in the study location, often by selling handicrafts. The locals' perception of poverty is discussed first.

9.4. WHAT DOES POVERTY MEAN TO LOCAL PEOPLE?

As stated in Chapter Eight, Sapa has witnessed a drastic change in its economic structure since 2000. Between 2000 and 2010, the proportional contribution of agro-forestry and fishing to Sapa's economy reduced from 44.68% to 29.83%, while that of tourism and services increased from 48.86% to 58.68%. Of the 47 interviewees, 36 stated that they are rice farmers. Some of them indicated that they also grow corn and medicinal fruit. Medicinal fruit (Chapter Six; see Appendix 9) is grown under forest trees and is often exported to China for medical production. However, these respondents all revealed that growing rice is their main occupation and thus it generates most income for their families. Understandably, their perception of poverty is closely related to the amount of rice they produce per year. Thirty-one people were asked what the term "poverty" means, a majority of them said poverty meant not producing enough rice to feed their families throughout the year:

I think poverty means having a lack of rice. I do not know the poverty criteria that are applied by the local authority (Linh, Ta Van).

We still grow rice and have enough rice for the whole year. We earn money to buy things everyday... Our perception of poverty is not based on income (Lien, San Xa Ho).

We do not have enough rice to eat...Normally the rice we produce is enough for four months only. We thus have to buy rice for the rest of the eight months (Chung, Lao Chai).

My family has limited arable land. Therefore, we produce very little rice, which is just sufficient for five months. We have to buy rice for the remaining seven months (Thanh, Lao Chai).

Other people indicated that poverty is associated with a lack of income. Although they may have enough rice to feed their families throughout the year, they still think of themselves as being poor if they have no or little money to buy things that meet their daily needs. Some of them even distinguish "hunger" from "poverty". If they do not have enough

rice to feed their families throughout the year, they suffer hunger. They consider themselves “poor” if they produce enough rice but have no money to buy vegetables and meat, as highlighted in the following statements:

My family has enough rice to eat but we are still poor because we do not have money (Dzung, Lao Chai).

People here think of poverty as not having enough rice...However, my family has enough rice for the whole year but we still consider ourselves poor. If we do not have enough rice to eat, we call ourselves hunger sufferers (Pham, Ta Van).

Local people’s perception of poverty partly depends on their level of education. The ones defining poverty as a lack of rice are rice farmers, who often do not receive formal education. Younger and more educated respondents have more holistic views of poverty:

Poor people are those who lack economic resources. Local people here often define poverty based on the amount of rice produced. People who do not have enough rice to eat throughout the year are called poor. Those who do not have money to buy instruments and facilities for their families are also called poor (My, Ta Van, secondary school teacher).

I think poverty is identified by the farming land area, the number of people in a family and total income. In general, many factors can be used to define a poor family (Do, Sapa town, university graduate).

However, these holistic views of poverty are not widespread. Most local people think of poverty as something closely related and integral to their lives, i.e. rice to feed their families. This understanding is similar to that of poor people in other developing countries, such as Laos (Harrison & Schipani 2007), although it is different from the perception of poverty as a lack of income and/or opportunities as indicated in Holden et al.’s (2011) study in Ghana. The evidence reinforces the view that poverty is a complex and multi-dimensional issue that is specific to particular locations and experiences (Chapters Two and Four). In addition, the interviews revealed that local men and women hold a relatively similar view of poverty, although the money earning responsibility is taken by women as noted above.

No interviewee understands the poverty criteria that are applied by the local authority. Nor does he/she have any idea about the poverty lines established by the GOV (Chapter Five). While this may be attributed to local people’s level of education, it also suggests that academic and governmental views of poverty are significantly different from those of poor people. This is also true within the tourism context. As Chapter Two has indicated, although what it means to be “poor” has triggered a longstanding debate among development scholars and practitioners, in the tourism literature poverty measures have often been based on income

and/or job generation (Pleumarom 2012). Criticising the use of the term “poverty” or “poor” is neither to deny the hardships from which local poor people suffer nor to undermine efforts to estimate the number of poor people. Rather, it emphasises that poor people often comprehend poverty very differently from non-poor people (Huxford 2010). This suggests that any poverty measures need to start from an understanding of poverty and poverty causes at a local level. The next section thus explores the locals’ perception of the causes of poverty.

9.5. WHAT ARE THE MAIN CAUSES OF POVERTY IN SAPA?

Of the 38 local people asked to explain main poverty causes, 14 people attributed poverty to external causes, where limited arable land and bad weather were often cited. Ten people blamed internal causes for poverty, including overpopulation, poor education, and a hesitancy to change. The remaining 14 people ascribed poverty to both external and internal causes.

As noted above, a majority of local inhabitants are rice farmers. It is thus understandable that limited farming land is cited as the most important cause of poverty. This is worsened by bad weather, as exemplified in the following comments:

We are poor because we have very little land. We used to have a lot of land, which, however, has been distributed to children as they grow up. Meanwhile, we can grow only one rice crop per year due to bad weather. In the dry season, there is no water for the rice fields. Fog and cold wind also prevents rice from growing. In winter, we cannot even grow vegetables (Thao & Huan, Ta Phin).

There is only one crop per year here. Previously we grew a local rice variety with low productivity, so we did not have enough rice to eat. Recently, we have grown a new rice variety that produces higher productivity and hence our lives have been better. In uphill communes, people cannot even grow corn. In fact, we still have some more land, but we cannot grow rice because of bad weather (Chung, Lao Chai).

Sapa is situated in a mountainous area and is embraced by the Hoang Lien Son mountain range (Chapters Seven and Eight). This location creates favourable conditions for Sapa to develop as a tourist destination, among which the mountainous landscapes and climate are an asset. However, it is also a challenge for agriculture. The terraced fields can accommodate only one rice crop per year (April-October). During winter (November-March), it is extremely difficult to grow either rice or corn. There is often a shortage of water for the uphill terraced fields in the dry season. This suggests that local people’s employment is seasonal and hence their income is not only small but also unstable.

The local poverty condition is also exacerbated by high population growth, resulting in increased demands for farming land. Indeed, the number of families having more than three children accounted for 17-22% in Sapa as of 2012 (LCPC 2012). The northern midlands and mountain region, where the province of Lao Cai and the district of Sapa are situated, had the third highest fertility rate out of the main regions in Vietnam in 2012 (GSOV 2012; see Appendix 10). Traditionally, local ethnic minorities got married when they were very young and had large families. This practice is still maintained, particularly among H'Mong people, as commented by one of the interviewees:

Red Dzao people used to give many births. However, each family now has 1-2 children. I do not know why H'Mong people still have many children. A family may have 10-12 children. They get married very early, at about 14-15 years old (Kim, Ta Van).

This perhaps helps explain why H'Mong people account for the largest proportion of the local population as noted in Chapter Eight. When young children grow up, their parents' farming land is distributed equally. The land given to each of them becomes much smaller and thus produces much less rice. Indeed, population growth has placed considerable pressures on local land use demands, as illustrated in the following quotes:

In the areas I worked, the local people often lack farming land. Population growth is also a major factor influencing the local poverty condition (Michael, former FFI tourism consultant).

We are poor because we have limited land. For example, after I got married, I was given very little farming land because my parents-in-law had eight children, four boys and four girls (Lan, Ta Phin).

Furthermore, some respondents attributed poverty to the peripheral location, increased commodity prices, and ineffective poverty reduction policies. Hoa, a Red Dzao woman in Ta Van, stated that although her family is considered poor by the local authority, she has never received the government's aid. This also happened to Kim in the same commune:

My family has applied for recognition of being poor. Yet, the government's aid has mostly benefited the communal authority. Poor people have received nothing. Schoolchildren in other communes are given VND350,000 (US\$16.7) [as the New Year comes]. Those who do not get books are given VND400,000 (US\$19). However, schoolchildren in my commune have never received anything.

Local poor people want to be recognised as poor in order to receive the GOV's aid, which often comes in the forms of financial assistance and free provision of power and rice. However, for some reasons the actual poor are not considered poor. Even if they are recognised as poor families, they are excluded from the GOV's support as illustrated above. This suggests that the GOV's poverty reduction policies have been dominated by a monetary

approach and have primarily focused at the communal level, instead of reaching the actual poor (Chapter Five). While this argument holds, some respondents claimed that the poor are poor because they have many children although the GOV has attempted to implement a policy of 1-2 children per family by giving financial punishments to families that give birth to more than two children. Although this policy has been observed by Red Dzao and Dzay people, it has been ignored by most H'Mong people who continue to have a number of children per family. This may be attributed to their low level of education and traditional culture. However, there is also a suggestion that they are not open to changes:

It is very difficult to encourage local people to start anything new. They do not listen. A few years ago, a new rice variety was introduced but the locals did not trust it. A small group of people thus had to lead the way, demonstrating that this rice variety could generate higher productivity. Then the locals believed and started growing the new rice variety (Chung, Lao Chai).

Local people's hesitance may be because they only trust those whom they "admire", instead of government officials (My, Ta Van). However, Shu (Sapa town) disagreed, arguing that government officials explain nothing to the locals, who are culturally different. Shu's argument may hold since there are considerable cultural differences between the majority Kinh and ethnic minorities in Sapa. This indicates that the GOV's approach to poverty alleviation may not have fully considered the different cultural contexts and gaps between groups of people (Chapter Five). However, the subsistence lifestyle also makes local people more hesitant to changes. For example, although the GOV offers free education for young children from grades one to nine, attending school remains new to many of the locals:

I think education is a new thing for these cultures. They have not been in school for a long time. Even for the new generations, they are getting more educated for sure but the old generations do not really understand the value of education. That is why they do not encourage their children to go to school to realise that potential (Peter, development agency).

Many local parents keep their children working in rice fields or selling handicrafts to earn immediate income for the family. Going to school may be good but does not bring about food and money. This way of thinking presents a great challenge for a local teacher like My, who often visits local families and encourages parents to send children to school. However, My has had little success because local children often run away when they see her coming. This situation may lead some young children's lives and futures to replicate those of their parents.

Even when children aspire to attend school, they often have to give this up as in the case of Sang and Su, two H'Mong children in Ta Van:

We want to go to school but we cannot because our families are so poor. Our parents do not allow us to attend school. Rather, they want us to work in rice fields or sell handicrafts.

However, local children like Sang and Su are not typical in Sapa. Many children whom the researcher talked to or observed during the fieldwork wish to become tourist guides to earn money, rather than complete secondary school or higher. This is somewhat comprehensible given that a majority of local people are poor rice farmers. They thus focus on immediate income benefits because of concerns over risk. This finding resonates with that of other scholars, who claimed that poor people tend to choose safe options although they may get fewer benefits (Kotler et al. 2006; Kotler & Lee 2009; Chapter Two).

Some interviewees ascribed poverty to poor people's laziness or lack of business knowledge. As Hang, a member of the local Women's Union, commented:

H'Mong people's lives have improved because the government has provided a lot of support. The main point is they are very lazy. If they have some money, they will spend until their pockets are empty.

Meanwhile, a H'Mong woman stated, *"some people remain poor because they do not know how to do business. If they know how to do business, they will not be poor. They like playing around and following tourists to sell handicrafts"* (Shan, Lao Chai). Shan's family used to be very poor. Both her own parents and parents-in-law passed away when she and her husband were small. However, they have worked hard in their rice fields and have now built their own house, a homestay and a handicraft shop. Shan ceased following tourists to sell handicrafts because it was unstable and exhausting. Meanwhile, other respondents stated that poor people are poor because they are not smart and uneducated (Lam, San Xa Ho), do not save money (Chien, Sapa town) or lack information (Peter, development agency).

To conclude this section, most poor people in Sapa define poverty as a lack of rice and/or income. They often perceive poverty as being caused by limited arable land and unfavourable climatic conditions. However, there are factors that are inherent in poor people themselves. The next section explores local people's perception of the main beneficiaries of tourism.

9.6. TOURISM DEVELOPMENT: WHO BENEFITS?

To date, poverty alleviation remains a crucial task in Sapa (Chapters One to Eight). Since the 1900s, Sapa has been known for its unique ethnic cultures and beautiful landscapes. Sapa's authority has thus promoted tourism as a tool of economic growth and poverty alleviation as noted in Chapter Eight. This is consistent with the perspective of the GOV and is similar to

that of other developing countries (Chapters Two to Five). However, little is known of how local poor people perceive the distribution of tourism benefits.

Research suggests that the main beneficiaries of tourism development are the private sector that includes hotels and tour operators (Chapter Two). This is also true in Sapa. Of the 20 people asked, 19 stated that tourism has mostly benefited private businesses which are run by Kinh people. Only one respondent was “unsure” about this. Kinh people are often perceived as business owners and hence economically richer than ethnic minorities.

Business owners are only concerned about their own interests. Most of them are Kinh people. Local ethnic minorities can only sell handicrafts (Do, Sapa town).

Eight out of 10 tourism businesses in town are run by people who come from other areas. The other two are locals. However, they are all Kinh people. None of them is ethnic minority. Private businesses are just private businesses, that is, they only care about their own interests. For example, if they already have one hotel, then they wish to have more hotels. If they have enough money to buy a house in Sapa, then they want more money to buy a house in Hanoi (Tam, hotel staff, Sapa town).

The above quotes show that tourism has been perceived to be of little benefit to local poor ethnic minorities, who have lived on the periphery of developments that are based on their own land and cultures. For example, Sinh, a H'Mong woman in Cat Cat village, is paid VND1million a month (US\$47.6) by private companies to weave crafts in front of her house for tourists to see. She works from 8am to 4pm six days a week, but the pay is far too little to feed herself, let alone her family.

Apart from the private sector, local ticket counters are the main beneficiary of tourism as commented by one of the interviewees:

I think the tourist ticket counters earn most money. Each tourist has to pay VND40,000/ticket to visit a village. There are thousands of tourists each day. They keep saying that the ticket fees belong to the villagers but I have seen nothing. Meanwhile, everything in Sapa is now very expensive due to tourism development. For example, three years ago a bunch of vegetables only cost VND3,000 [US\$0.1]. However, now a similar bunch may cost VND6-7,000 [US\$0.3] (Lien, San Xa Ho).

The ticket counters are actually the small posts established at village entrances. The current price per ticket is VND40,000 (US\$1.9) for Cat Cat and VND20,000 (US\$0.9) for Ta Phin. This fee system is a result of the Support to Sustainable Tourism project collaborated between SNV, IUCN and Sapa's authority (SNV n.d.; Chapter Seven). Theoretically, the entrance fees are used to develop the villages. However, there is a widespread perception among respondents and beyond that these fees have not served the interests of local villagers impacted by tourism. The above response may imply that the ticket fees have been leaked to

other stakeholders than local villagers (e.g. in Ta Phin and Cat Cat). This problem was also perceived and reported by SNV as discussed in Chapter Seven.

In addition, if PPT proponents believe tourism can benefit poor people through linkages with the agricultural sector where local products are provided to hotels and restaurants (Mitchell & Ashley 2010; Torres & Momsen 2004), evidence suggests that this is not true in Sapa. Given limited farming land, local people may only have enough rice to feed their families. The adverse climatic conditions prevent them from growing vegetables in winter. That said, when poor people face a shortage of staple food, it is impossible for them to provide locally produced food to the tourism industry and earn income. As will be analysed below, even the existing homestay owners, who seem able to provide some local food, are only allowed to cook the food purchased by their partners in Sapa town.

9.7. STREET VENDORS

Often local villagers have no alternative livelihood outside of the main rice crop. Most local women have thus got involved in tourism informally by following tourists to sell handicrafts. Foreign tourists are the primary target of local handicraft sellers because they are perceived to be “richer” than domestic tourists (Tan & May, Thanh Kim). The fieldwork took place from August to November (Chapter Six). By then, some local families had completed harvesting their rice. While men stay at home, women travel to Sapa town and nearby communes. They wait for tourists in Sapa square, Sapa market or at village entrances. Upon arrival, tourists are often approached by five to seven women who introduce themselves and then follow the tourists on their treks. Some women wait for tourists in front of hotels and sell handicrafts in the same way. At the end of the day, they often ask tourists to buy handicrafts. When asked why they follow tourists to sell handicrafts, a common response is that it is because they are poor and that they have harvested their rice and hence have much free time. They need to earn money to buy food for their families and fertiliser for the next crop:

I have to take my son with me to sell handicrafts because I have nothing to eat. During the crop, I worked in the field. Now the crop is over, I sell handicrafts to earn some money (Thanh, Lao Chai).

We do not have money to buy oil, salt, and food. If we sell rice to buy such things, we will not have enough to feed the family. Thus, we travel to town to sell handicrafts (Sen & Thuy, Ta Van).

If they are lucky, they can earn some money to buy food for their families. However, there are days they sell nothing. Some cannot even sell anything in a whole week. This

indicates that selling handicrafts in the streets does not generate a stable income. It is also extremely exhausting since they often follow tourists from Sapa town to local villages and back, a total travel distance of up to 20-24km. This consumes much of their energy and some are even *“too tired to have dinner at the end of the day”* (Menh, Ta Phin). Some women know tourists are not happy with being followed:

We can see some tourists are not happy when we follow them. Some may allow us to follow if their tourist guide agrees. Otherwise, we cannot follow (Tan & May, Thanh Kim).

I think selling handicrafts like this is so bad and tourists are not happy. However, I have to do it because I do not have money (Van, Si Pan).

Others think some tourists may feel curious at first, but they are not comfortable once they realise that local women are following them the whole way (Lam, San Xa Ho). At the end of the day, they may feel forced to buy handicrafts for those who have followed them:

When going on a trek here about four days ago, we were followed by people who expected that once we arrived in their village, we would buy things. Although I did not need anything, I felt as though I should buy something. I just did not anticipate but I felt guilty...My purpose was to go on a trek, then I did not like to be hassled and the other people I was trekking with felt all the same. There were five of us and everyone said they felt unhappy for being approached (Eleanor, Australian tourist).

Other tourists may be more critical and hence they are extremely unhappy when they are followed by local women. Chrissie, a Canadian tourist, stated that she would not have visited Sapa had she known she would be followed:

The other day I planned to go into a very beautiful store, but I could not because I was so scared if they say, “you buy for me, you buy for me”. Some of the other tourists said, “we want to go in but we are afraid of them saying ‘you buy for me, you buy for me.’” I hate it when I am followed. I hate it. I cannot stand it. Nobody can stand it...It is bizarre.

This is possibly because Chrissie comes from a developed society and hence she does not understand the local poverty condition. However, her opinion still holds in that it reflects a tourist’s impression of local people, suggesting that some measures may be required to stop local women from approaching tourists to sell handicrafts.

Indeed, Sapa’s authority has attempted to stop local women from following tourists. Some spaces are allocated on the second floor of Sapa market, where local women can sell handicrafts. Sapa square, which was a stadium and a performing stage, is also dedicated to handicraft sellers. To get a place in the market, interested people need to register at a local office. Regarding the square, all sellers can come to sell their products. A token fee applies on

weekends only. A Code of Conduct team was formed to oversee handicraft sellers. However, the number of street vendors has not decreased. If today a group of women coming from a commune is fined, the next day other groups from other communes will still sell handicrafts in town. Meanwhile, the fined group travels to other communes that the team does not oversee.

When asked why they did not want to stay in the Market and Square, some women stated that they could not get a space (Tan & May, Thanh Kim). This is true because only some spaces on the second floor of the market are allocated to ethnic minorities. Most spaces are occupied by Kinh people. Meanwhile, the Sapa square is an unroofed outdoor space, where handicraft sellers cannot stay on either sunny or rainy days. This suggests that the options given by Sapa's authority are much less beneficial than following tourists. However, the overall profits that handicraft sellers gain are doubtful:

In fact, this is a habit of H'Mong people. They do not want to sit in the market and wait for tourists.

They instead prefer following tourists because they can sell more (Do, Sapa town).

Some development agencies have been involved in promoting tourism in Sapa. Of these, SNV has been the most active with a number of projects implemented since the 1990s (Chapter Seven). To stop local women from following tourists, SNV collaborated with other development agencies and Sapa's authority in the Support to Sustainable Tourism project. As part of the project, a fee collection system was established as noted above. A community market was also built in Ta Phin where local women could sell handicrafts. However, this market was abandoned. Local handicraft sellers did not want to stay in the market because they could not sell anything. The market was built at the edge of the commune where few tourists came (Figure 9.1). The market was also small and did not have enough spaces for all sellers. Those who did not get a space kept following tourists and could sell more handicrafts. Therefore, those staying in the market were jealous and decided to leave. Furthermore, although the market was roofed, most of the spaces were exposed to moisture that could damage handicrafts. Other markets in Lao Chai and Ta Van were also abandoned, the main reason being that they were not situated in the best location (Chin, Ta Van). The other reason, which is no less important, is that local sellers are used to following tourists. Some local women already have about 15-17 years of experience as handicraft sellers. The evidence suggests that this is a longstanding practice of local women and thus difficult to change.



Figure 9.1. Handicraft market in Ta Phin (*Photo courtesy: author*)

Handicraft sellers include not only poor but also better-off women. Even those who are given a place in Sapa market also have their spouses working as street vendors. For example, Sung (Hau Thao) has enough rice for the whole year and her husband owns a shop in Sapa market. However, she keeps following tourists to sell handicrafts. The same can be found in the case of Tiep (Ta Phin). Her family is not poor and two of her daughters are tourist guides. However, she still wants to follow tourists to earn more money. This indicates that the local authority's and development agencies' failure to stop local women from following tourists can be attributed to both the economically less attractive alternatives offered and the longstanding practices of local women.

As noted, often a tourist is followed by five to seven local women. Sometimes this number may increase up to 10-15. This is common in Sapa town and several communes, notably Lao Chai, Ta Van, and Ta Phin. Of these, Ta Phin is notorious for aggressive sellers who even verbally abuse tourists that refuse to purchase handicrafts (Hai, driver, Ta Phin). Some local women may wait at the entrance of their village. Once independent tourists arrive, they invite them to visit their families. At the end of the visit, they often ask tourists to purchase handicrafts. Tour operators and hotels in Sapa have stopped sending their guests to stay overnight in Ta Phin (Thuyen, tour operator; Tam, hotel staff, Sapa town). It now becomes clear that fewer tourists visit Ta Phin (Hai, driver, Ta Phin). As a result, a number of families have decided not to build homestays because they are afraid they cannot earn money from the limited number of tourists. The situation that Ta Phin is facing is problematic:

I think if this kind of behaviour [following tourists] does not cease, it will possibly result in a crisis. I mean the commune will be boycotted by tourism businesses (Thang, tourism consultant, Hanoi).

This “crisis” can perhaps be seen in Ta Phin now. Menh, the owner of the homestay where the researcher stayed, stated that she used to host tourists every night. However, she now can host overnight tourists very occasionally. Thus, although she thinks tourism can lift her family out of poverty, she relies on growing rice and medicinal fruit as her main income.

9.8. WHAT ARE THE CURRENT CONFLICTS OF INTEREST?

Some conflicts exist between various participants in tourism in Sapa. As noted, the Code of Conduct team was formed to oversee handicraft sellers. If a seller is caught following tourists and trying to sell them handicrafts, she will have to pay a fine of VND100-200,000 (US\$4.7-9.5) and/or her products will be confiscated. Normally her goods will be taken to the team's

office situated near Sapa square. A fine of VND100-200,000 may be equivalent to the total income she can earn in a day or even a week. Arguments are thus relatively common:

We are not allowed to follow tourists in the streets. Some sellers may talk bad words to tourists who refuse to buy handicrafts. They may argue with or even hit the security staff (Sung, Hau Thao).

Although the interviewees are “scared” of the team, they keep following tourists, particularly when the team is out of sight. In addition, the team is only focusing on Sapa town. Other tourist communes (e.g. Lao Chai, Ta Van, Ta Phin) are left unattended. As a result, the number of handicraft sellers has not reduced, and if anything it has increased.

Tensions are also seen among handicraft sellers of different ethnic groups. As noted, H’Mong people are the largest ethnic community in Sapa. Hence, more H’Mong people work as handicraft sellers and tourist guides than other ethnic groups. They have established their own way of “cooperation” in following tourists. For example, if the tourist guide who leads a group of tourists is H’Mong, then the handicraft sellers who follow are also H’Mong. Sellers of other ethnic groups are not permitted to follow. Otherwise, an argument will take place:

H’Mong people often earn more money than Red Dzao people because more H’Mong people work as tourist guides. They often support H’Mong people. Red Dzao people are not allowed to follow their tourists. Therefore, H’Mong people sometimes argue with Red Dzao people (Hoa, Ta Van).

Some H’Mong tourist guides allow their sisters and/or mothers to follow the group of tourists led by them. They even invite tourists to visit their families so that their mothers can sell handicrafts. In addition, given that most local families have at least one member selling handicrafts, there are too many sellers in both Sapa town and other communes. In some cases, there are not enough tourists for all sellers, especially during the low season. Many sellers thus keep lowering prices so that they can sell more handicrafts (Peter, development agency). Competition may be even fiercer as local handicrafts are also available in hotels, where hoteliers ask their guides to recommend guests to avoid street vendors so that they would buy hotels’ handicrafts when they return at the end of the day. This leads to potential conflicts between handicraft sellers and hotel guides as well as hoteliers.

Furthermore, some conflicts of interest are found between local people and the development agencies. In 2010, the Canadian Capilano University and the Hanoi Open University launched the Community-based Tourism Project in Ta Phin. The project focused on supporting local families in setting up homestays with sanitation such as hot water showers and septic tanks. However, only a few local families were chosen to participate, whereas many of the others were excluded. Menh built up her own homestay with no financial assistance from

the project. This was possibly because her family was not recognised as poor by the local authority. Instead, she was only trained in the English language and guest hosting skills.

The Handicraft for Women project was also launched in Ta Phin by these universities. Most women in Ta Phin indicated that they had participated in community meetings to express their opinions and expectations. They were also trained in handicraft weaving. However, those in Lao Chai and Ta Van neither heard about this project nor participated in any other projects and community meetings. A small handicraft store was set up on the first floor of Sapa Museum, where a group of five to six women sell their handicrafts. These women are happy with the store because they do not have to follow tourists. They can also weave handicrafts even in case of rainy or sunny weather because the store is well-roofed. This store was a result of the Sapa Fair Trade Network collaboration between Oxfam Italy, CTM Altromercato, Craft Link and the local Women's Union. However, these women revealed that they were not allowed to sell there until the project had already been completed (Thao & Huan, Ta Phin). That means they did not participate in any part of that project. This corresponds with Peter's (development agency) comment on the exclusion of some local people from development plans formulated by local authority and development agencies.

Even those who participated in the Handicrafts for Women project expressed their discontent with the way the project benefits were shared. They all indicated that they were paid much less than they should have been, based on the handicrafts they produced. As a result, most women in Ta Phin left this project, as exemplified in the following quote:

From outside, that project looks good. However, it is so bad inside. We work full time but we are underpaid. Last year I worked for it but I do not work now. We are paid about VND50,000 (US\$2.4) per day and lunch is provided. If we complete a piece of handicraft, we are paid VND10-12,000 (US\$0.5). Meanwhile, the minimum actual market price is VND50,000 (Hoai, Ta Phin).

Chung (Lao Chai) revealed that his daughter was a group leader of that project. However, her group's members left as they realised that their handicrafts were under-priced and that they could not earn enough money to feed their families. The project perhaps aimed to provide local women with a common space where they could weave handicrafts instead of following tourists. However, this was poorly achieved due to the distribution of benefits. Local women abandoned the project to follow tourists again. The number of handicraft sellers in Lao Chai, Ta Van, and Ta Phin is even greater than that in Sapa town because, as noted earlier, the Code of Conduct team does not work in these communes. Instead of selling authentic "handicrafts", some local women prefer purchasing Chinese imports (Shu,

development agency). This means that they do not have to spend long hours weaving crafts by hand and thus can earn money more quickly. This comes as no surprise since they are often exhausted after following tourists a whole day.

9.9. TOURISM DEVELOPMENT: A TOOL OF POVERTY ALLEVIATION?

Of the 36 people asked, 23 stated that they would consider tourism a potential means of poverty alleviation. The other 13 indicated that tourism could not alleviate poverty. Among those who regarded tourism as a contributor to poverty alleviation, over half are currently involved in tourism as homestay owners, shop owners, handicraft weavers, and tourist guides. The other people benefit from tourism in some way and these mainly include those who earn money by following tourists and those who are aware of the economic potential of tourism:

My husband is learning to become a tourist guide and I am selling handicrafts. Generally, our living conditions are better. By selling handicrafts, I can earn enough money to buy food (Lien, San Xa Ho).

Tourism has helped us move out of poverty. Previously there were some very poor families. However, thanks to tourism, some families are not poor anymore because they can earn money from tourists visiting the villages (Thao & Huan, Ta Phin).

Although these people considered tourism a potential or actual contributor to poverty alleviation, they still regarded growing rice, corn and/or medicinal fruit as their main source of income. No interviewee relied on tourism as a sole contributor to his/her family's income. This suggests that although tourism has benefited these respondents and contributed to improving their living conditions, it is not the main income generator and hence it should be viewed as only one of the contributors to poverty alleviation.

The people who did not regard tourism as a contributor to poverty alleviation indicated that they could not get involved in tourism formally (e.g. providing homestay services, finding tourism jobs) due to their remote location and limited land, education and knowledge:

If I can participate in tourism, I want to do homestay. However, I live in Giang Ta Chai village, and that is very far and thus tourists do not come (Hoa, Ta Van).

We want to work in tourism. However, we have too little land, so we cannot build homestays. We have already sold our land and spent all the money (Tan & May, Thanh Kim).

Even those who have worked in tourism also stated that tourism could not alleviate poverty. Tam, a staff member of a local hotel, is an example. Every day she works long hours, often from early morning to late afternoon. Sometimes she works until most of the hotel's

guests have gone to bed to make sure that nothing is wrong. However, her salary remains low, and the evening hours are not paid. To her, the private sector primarily cares about its own interests. She also commented that generally the living conditions of most ethnic minorities are not improved no matter how much tourism is developed. Handicraft sellers can only earn a meagre income since too many of them sell similar products and hence it is very difficult for them to move out of poverty. The evidence shows that for a number of local people, tourism has generated a small amount of income but it has failed to lift them out of poverty. This suggests that tourism cannot economically benefit all residents of a tourist destination and that local people's perceptions of tourism largely depend on the incomes they earn from tourism. The more incomes people earn from tourism, the more positive their perceptions of tourism tend to be (Akyeampong 2011; see Chapter Two).

9.10. WHAT ARE THE MAIN BARRIERS TO PARTICIPATION IN TOURISM?

Of the 40 local people asked, all stated that they would like to participate in tourism, including those who did not think tourism could help them move out of poverty. Nobody suggested that he/she does not wish to get involved in tourism. This has two important implications. First, tourism has some potential to improve the local living conditions, even if it is perceived as being unable to alleviate poverty. Second, most local people consider tourism the only alternative income generator outside of the main rice crop.

The two jobs that are most desired by local people are those of homestay owners and tourist guides. The former was chosen by 31 respondents, most of whom are married. The latter was indicated by seven respondents aged between 15 and 22. One respondent is already a hotel staff member, while the other respondent is unsure about what she wants to do in tourism.

Of the 31 people wishing to provide homestay services, only six people currently run their own homestays and one person owns both a tourist shop and a homestay. The remaining 24 respondents have not been able to build their own homestays, the most important barrier being the lack of capital required to purchase wood and other building material:

I wish to open a homestay but I am too scared to apply for bank loans. The interest rates are so high. I am afraid I will be in debt if I cannot pay back to the bank. Thus, I continue to follow tourists to sell handicrafts. I can earn money quickly this way without having to pay interest (Pham, Ta Van).

Many people here want to do it but they do not know how to do it. They do not have money either. Building a homestay requires a lot of money (Chung, Lao Chai).

The above quotes show that many local people in Sapa have a lack of funds to establish their own homestays. This is because most of them are poor farmers, who can only produce rice to feed their families. The GOV has actually provided a number of preferential bank loans with low rates or no rate of interest (Do, Sapa town; Hang, Sapa town; My, Ta Van) that local people can borrow. However, most of them do not want to borrow because they are afraid they cannot repay the banks. Although monthly interest rates are low or very low (Do, Sapa town), they are still regarded by most local women as being high:

We used to borrow VND5 million (US\$238) from a bank and paid it back already. We wanted to pay because we did not want to pay the interest, which was VND110,000/month (US\$5.2). This rate was low. However, the total interest we paid in two years was quite a lot (Sung, Hau Thao).

That local people lack capital but do not borrow bank loans can be ascribed to their poverty condition. They also lack education and knowledge required to start up a business. It also suggests local people often prefer low risk and low profit options to high profit and high risk options as claimed by Kotler and Lee (2009) (Chapter Two). They continue to grow rice and sell handicrafts to earn money, although the earned money is only enough for them to live from hand to mouth. However, it is notable that not all communes are visited by tourists due to their remote location as mentioned above or poor infrastructure or both. As stated in Chapter Six, apart from Sapa town, current tourist communes include Lao Chai, Ta Van and Ta Phin. Other communes (e.g. Thanh Kim, Hau Thao) are unheard of. Therefore, even if local villagers borrow bank loans to open their own homestays, perhaps they cannot repay the banks. This is even true with a tourist commune like Ta Phin:

My family does not have a homestay service. Other families lack money to build homestays. In addition, there are not enough tourists if all families have their own homestays because tourists do not visit every day and not all of them stay overnight here (Nu, Ta Phin).

That Ta Phin becomes less attractive is partly due to the number of handicraft sellers who follow tourists on their treks. Tour operators and hotels in Sapa have thus avoided sending their guests to stay overnight in Ta Phin as noted above.

The existing homestay owners whom the researcher had talked to indicated that they could earn a modest amount of income from providing homestay services. Menh, a homestay owner in Ta Phin, revealed that at first she could host a number of tourists every night. However, fewer tourists now visit Ta Phin and hence she can only host overnight tourists very occasionally. Indeed, the researcher was the only one who stayed in her house at the time of interview and the days afterwards. However, the number of overnight tourists is not

necessarily associated with substantial incomes as Chin, a homestay owner in Ta Van, revealed that to host tourists, he has cooperated with a hotel (which also runs a travel agency) in Sapa town. This hotel requires him not to receive guests from any other hotels or tour operators in order to guarantee that there are always rooms available for their own guests. Every day the hotel is responsible for purchasing food in town. Chin needs to cook the food for guests and receive the accommodation fee only. The accommodation fee, at the time of interview, is VND70,000/person/night (US\$3.3), accounting for about 1/3 of the total fees that an average guest has to pay (VND200,000/night, about US\$9.5). Chin indicated that tourism has brought about some additional income to his family but that he still considered growing rice and medicinal fruit as his main income source. Chin also stated that there are several other homestays in his commune that are run by Kinh people coming from either Sapa town or elsewhere. These people have business ties with hotels and tour operators in Sapa and Hanoi, so they often have more overnight guests. This suggests that the lack of business connections is also a barrier that hinders local people from enjoying the benefits of tourism.

Local people also indicated that insufficient business knowledge is another factor that prevents them from getting involved in tourism. Only one respondent mentioned the lack of experience. This is perhaps because most ethnic minorities, particularly those of the older generations, did not receive formal education. All of them can speak their own ethnic language and basic Vietnamese as noted earlier. Most local women and children can speak basic English, although they cannot write in English. Among the local ethnic groups, the H'Mong are said to be able to learn English quickly and speak good English (Hang, Sapa town). They have thus been involved in tourism informally as soon as tourism started to develop in Sapa, often as tourist guides and handicraft sellers.

Regarding the respondents who wish to become tourist guides, the most important hindrance is foreign language proficiency. "Foreign language" means the English language and "proficiency" is synonymous with "speaking fluently". Both written Vietnamese and English are almost out of the question for many of the local ethnic minorities. The testing and certification procedures applied by the GOV are also a barrier:

I want to become a tourist guide but I find it too difficult because I have to learn English, learn the professional skills of tour guiding and pass some tests in order to get a certificate. I think I may stay at home, get married and sell handicrafts (Ly, San Xa Ho).

The above quote typifies a common challenge that local young adults face in participating in tourism: the language barrier. As discussed above, many local parents do not want to send

their children to school, but instead to work in rice fields or sell handicrafts. As a result, many local young children do not receive formal schooling. The only way they can learn English is to talk to foreign tourists. Therefore, selling handicrafts seems the best since it can both generate some income and allow them to practise their spoken English.

9.11. THE WAY AHEAD: TOURISM OR OTHER ALTERNATIVES?

The interviews conducted with local people and key informants have shown that tourism has some potential to reduce poverty and improve living conditions in Sapa. However, this potential is significantly reduced by impediments to business development, employment, and benefit sharing within the sector. It is also aggravated by the exclusion of poor people from decision-making processes, development planning, and project implementation. Previous research suggests that poor people often lack access to credit and education (e.g. Holden et al. 2011; Chapter Two). The interviews have shown that local ethnic children can receive free formal education while their parents can access bank loans with low rates or no rate of interest. However, a number of local parents neither send their children to school nor borrow bank loans as discussed above. This suggests that a number of poor people are only concerned about short-term benefits given that they are poor and lack of education and knowledge. It also suggests that they are not ready to make changes or, in other words, they are not active in lifting themselves out of poverty yet. It is likely that a poverty cycle will repeat over generations in Sapa. However, it is acknowledged that local poor people's hesitance to changes may be influenced by their cultural context that has (long) been associated with poverty and even hunger as identified earlier in this chapter.

Given that local poor people do not think about long-term benefits, they tend to depend on readily available resources. The observations and interviews revealed that women are the principal money earners in their families, whereas men extract forest resources as a means to earn some additional income and/or food (e.g. cutting bamboo shoots, chopping forest trees, hunting animals) (Lam, San Xa Ho). That means local people continue to depend on available natural resources to earn a living, instead of seeking ways to do (formal) business. This view is shared by Nguyen H.D. (2010) who claimed that it is difficult to make poor people think outside of their usual subsistence lifestyle (Chapter Five).

All respondents wish to work as homestay providers or tourist guides, suggesting that tourism is considered the only alternative livelihood outside of the main rice crop. Although

tourism has actually generated some additional income for local people, there are not always enough tourists for all homestay owners, tourist guides, or handicraft sellers. First, this is due to the seasonal nature of tourism itself as outlined in Chapter Two. Second, the local tourism market is not necessarily large enough. Third, aggressive handicraft sellers have driven tourists away from some destinations, such as Ta Phin. Fourth, tourism cannot benefit all people and not everyone is experienced or qualified enough to participate in tourism.

That said, for tourism to contribute more effectively to poverty alleviation, it is necessary that more local poor people be included in decision-making processes, development plans as well as project design and implementation. It is also necessary to promote some behaviour change in local people, notably stopping local women from following tourists. Social marketing may have some potential given its demonstrated effectiveness in promoting behaviour change as discussed in Chapters Three to Five. To this end, more alternative livelihoods are required. If all local people wish to participate in tourism, then they may provide the sector with a large workforce. However, they may also place much pressure on the local tourism environment since most of them are rice farmers without formal education, knowledge, and work experience in tourism. Therefore, while appropriate measures, including very practical training, are required to involve local people in tourism, alternative livelihoods other than tourism are needed, as one interviewee commented:

It is necessary to develop from agriculture. If some climatically appropriate varieties of plants can be grown here, such as orchids and peaches, local people may earn more income. I mean some alternative livelihood options are needed. Otherwise, it would be very difficult to alleviate poverty through tourism alone (Do, Sapa town).

9.12. CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has discussed the results of the interviews conducted with poor people and key informants in Sapa. The results were enriched by key field notes taken from observations. The chapter indicates that most poor people in Sapa are rice farmers, who perceive poverty as a lack of rice required to feed their families. Some poor people define poverty as a lack of income, while younger and more educated people hold more holistic views of poverty. This suggests that poverty is a complicated construct and that local people's perception of poverty relatively depends on their level of education. Most local people attribute poverty to external

causes (e.g. limited arable land). However, there are some factors that are inherent in poor people themselves (e.g. having a number of children).

This chapter also shows that tourism appears to benefit the majority Kinh people more than the poor ethnic minorities. Although local people consider tourism a tool of poverty alleviation, they do not rely on tourism as the only or most important income generator. Rather, they still regard growing rice and/or medicinal fruit as their main occupation. All interviewees wish to participate in tourism, where two most popular jobs mentioned are running homestays and guiding tourists. The most important barrier to the former is the lack of capital, while foreign language proficiency is the main impediment to the latter. Most local women follow tourists to sell handicrafts. This type of selling has driven tourists away from such destinations as Ta Phin, resulting in fewer local families wishing to build homestays. It has also led to conflicts between handicraft sellers and local authority (e.g. Code of Conduct team) and between the sellers themselves. While the evidence suggests that the local authority tends to apply a top-down approach where local people are just the followers of rules and regulations, it also indicates that some behaviour change in local people needs to be achieved, typically stopping handicraft sellers from following tourists. Apart from offering local people equally beneficial alternatives, other livelihoods than tourism may be required if the pressures placed on the local tourism environment are to be reduced. To this end, social marketing may provide some potential given its proven effectiveness in promoting behaviour change as noted in Chapters Three and Four. However, more empirical data is needed to complement the results that have been given in this chapter. This data will be presented in Chapter Ten.

CHAPTER TEN:

RESULTS – QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY

10.1. INTRODUCTION

After observation and interview data has been presented in Chapter Nine, this chapter reports findings obtained from a questionnaire survey conducted with local residents in Sapa. The findings of this chapter, as stated in Chapter Six, contribute to complementing and verifying those that have been obtained in the previous chapter and help enhance the validity of this research. In particular, the first section (re)describes the response rate, followed by an outline of respondents' profiles in the second section. In the third section, respondents' living conditions are examined. Sections four to eight discuss findings about respondents' perceptions and experiences of tourism as a means of poverty alleviation, where a particular focus is placed on exploring major barriers to their participation in tourism and to poverty alleviation overall. Throughout this chapter, the findings are analysed with reference to relevant literature and to the observations and interviews outlined in Chapter Nine.

This chapter indicates that a number of local people are poor farmers who consider growing rice their most important source of income. Non-poor people and business owners are perceived to be the main beneficiaries of tourism. However, more local people rate tourism as important and wish to participate in and realise the economic potential of the sector. Jobs that are most favoured by local people include running homestays, guiding tourists, and selling handicrafts. In general, local people positively support tourism as a contributor to economic development and poverty alleviation. However, their participation in tourism is considerably restrained, the most critical barriers being a lack of professional knowledge, skills, and poor foreign language capability, followed by insufficient funds and work experiences. In addition, limited capital and farming land appears to be the most important impediment to poverty alleviation in Sapa. The chapter concludes with a discussion of poverty reduction measures and implications for social marketing interventions.

10.2. RESPONSE RATE

As noted in Chapter Six, the collection of primary data for this research took place from August to November 2012. Observations and interviews were first undertaken with poor people and key informants in Sapa (Chapter Nine). Then a questionnaire survey was piloted with 20 local residents who had participated in the observations and interviews. Changes were made on the basis of their responses and the comments given by the local guide and homestay owners (Chapter Six).

Two hundred and twenty copies of the survey were made, equating to about 6% of the total households in Sapa's poorest communes (LCPC 2010; Chapter Eight) which could be considered a representative sample of the research population (Muganda et al. 2010). Some respondents were chosen for convenience, i.e. those who had participated in the observations and interviews were invited to complete the survey. This selection was deemed appropriate given the researcher's relationships and trust built with the respondents. In addition, the expectation was that they would provide different insights given their (new) role as a survey respondent rather than a participant in the interviews and observations. Other respondents were selected with reference to relevant poverty criteria and data (GSOV 2010, 2011; LCPC 2010; SPC 2009) and, importantly, suggestions offered by a member of the local Women's Union and the local guide given their understanding of the local poverty situation. In total, 201 questionnaires were collected, 14 of which were excluded due to a high number of incomplete answers. Therefore, 187 questionnaires were analysed (Chapter Six). The usable response rate of 85% (187/220) can be favourably compared with other studies of a similar nature. For example, Akyeampong's (2011) research into the experiences and perceptions of poor people in Ghana's Kakum NP area reported a usable response rate of 87.9% (182/207). Mensah and Amuquandoh's (2010) study of the experiences of poor residents within the Ghanaian Lake Bosomtwe Basin also reported a usable response rate of 95% (628/660). Respondents' profiles are provided in the next section.

10.3. SURVEY RESPONDENTS' CHARACTERISTICS

Of the 187 respondents, 79 are from Lao Chai, 47 from Ta Van, 39 from Ta Phin, and 22 from Sapa town and other communes (Table 10.1). Nearly half (49.2%) of these respondents are H'Mong. This is because the H'Mong are the largest ethnic community in Sapa, who keep giving a number of births although the GOV has attempted to implement a policy of 1-2

children per family (Chapter Nine). Red Dzao people account for 20.86% of the survey population, followed by Dzay (18.18%), Kinh (7.49%), and Tay (4.27%).

Table 10.1. Survey respondents' characteristics

Description	Respondents (N = 187)	Percentage
Location		
Lao Chai	79	42.25
Ta Van	47	25.13
Ta Phin	39	20.86
Sapa town & others	22	11.76
Ethnicity		
H'Mong	92	49.20
Red Dzao	39	20.86
Dzay	34	18.18
Kinh	14	7.49
Tay	8	4.27
Age		
15-19	25	13.37
20-29	68	36.36
30-39	37	19.79
40-49	31	16.58
50-59	20	10.70
60-64	6	3.20
Education		
Elementary	90	48.13
Secondary	50	26.74
High school	31	16.58
Vocational school	11	5.88
College	3	1.60
University graduate	2	1.07
Main occupation		
Agriculture	126	67.38
Forestry	8	4.28
Business	19	10.16
Services and tourism	26	13.90
Unemployed	8	4.28

Most of the respondents (86.1%) were between 15 and 49 years old at the time of survey. Those aged from 50 to 64 accounted for 13.9%. The ages of the respondents were based on the GSOV's (2010, 2012) criteria and were also in line with the *Labour Code of Vietnam* (GOV 2012) which stipulates that legal working ages are 15-60 for men and 15-55 for women. That working age residents accounted for a majority of the survey population was congruent with the main objectives of this research, that is, to examine the perceptions and experiences of local (poor) people regarding tourism as a contributor to poverty alleviation (Chapters One and Four). It is doubtful if these objectives would be achieved without including those who are in their working ages.

With respect to educational attainment, almost half (48.13%) of the respondents had only finished primary school. This finding is in agreement with the interviews and observations

(Chapter Nine) which suggested that a majority of local poor people did not get formal education, or otherwise they just completed primary school. The ability to read and write in Vietnamese drops significantly by the age of respondent (Chapter Nine). Over 25% of the respondents had completed secondary school and those who had finished high school accounted for 16.58%. Only five respondents had attained college and university levels, two of whom are Kinh and the other three are H'Mong, Red Dzaio, and Dzay (one each). Under Vietnam's education system, primary schooling consists of grades one to five, followed by secondary (grades six to nine) and high schooling (grades 10 to 12). Vocational training may take one or two years, while college education may last from two to three years. A university degree may take four to six years depending on disciplines and majors (GOV 2005b).

Although Sapa's authority has attempted to reduce the proportion of agriculture in the local economy (Chapter Eight), growing rice remains important to 67.38% of the respondents. This finding corresponds with that of the interviews and observations (Chapter Nine) which suggested that a number of local people still consider working in rice fields as their main occupation. Of these, 86.51% just finished primary school. About 13.9% of the respondents are engaged in tourism and services while 10.16% are in business, 51.11% of whom completed high school upwards (Appendix 11). Only 4.28% of the respondents work in the forestry sector. The next section examines the respondents' living conditions.

10.4. LOCAL PEOPLE'S LIVING CONDITIONS

Respondents were asked to provide estimates of their families' average monthly income. Of these, 26.2% indicated that their families earn VND1-2 million per month (Figure 10.1).

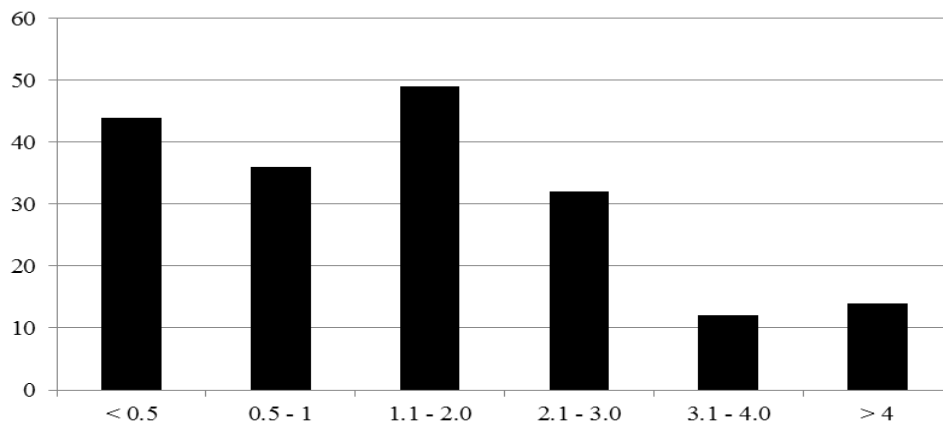


Figure 10.1. Average monthly household income (Unit: million VND)

About 19.25% (36) of the respondents earn from VND500,000 (US\$23.8) to VND1 million (US\$47.6) per month and 86.11% (31) of these are engaged in agriculture. 23.53% (44) of the respondents earn less than VND500,000 a month, where 95.45% (42) are agricultural workers (Appendix 12). Earners of between VND2 million (US\$95.2) and over VND4 million (US\$190.5) a month account for 31.02% (58) and can be considered relatively richer or better off than others. However, these are monthly household incomes and each household normally feeds several children. This situation is common among ethnic minorities, particularly the H'Mong as discussed earlier. Understandably, over half (67.38%) of the respondents considered their families' living conditions "average" (Table 10.2), although 68.25% of these earn from VND1 million to more than VND4 million per month (Appendix 13). Over 20% of the respondents regarded themselves as "poor" and "very poor". Only about 10% of the respondents thought of themselves as "better off", "rich", or "very rich". This means that about 21% of the earners of VND2-4 million per month did not label themselves "rich" or "very rich" although their incomes are higher than the national poverty lines of VND600,000 (US\$28.6) (urban) and VND480,000 (US\$22.8) (rural) (Chapter Five). These figures suggest that a number of the locals perceive themselves as poor although they may not be so from an official household income perspective. Therefore, results obtained from the use of a poverty line to identify poor people may not be sufficient (Chapter Two). While it is likely that some respondents overstated or understated their families' financial situations, the figures may still indicate variations in local people's perception and self-assessment of their living conditions, illustrating the complexity of the notion of poverty as discussed in Chapter Two. This finding also resonates with that of the interviews and observations (Chapter Nine).

Table 10.2. Local people's self-assessment of living conditions

Condition	Respondents (N = 187)	Percentage
Very rich	1	0.53
Rich	12	6.42
Better off	7	3.74
Average	126	67.38
Poor	30	16.04
Very poor	11	5.89

Respondents were also asked to indicate their most important sources of income. As a majority of local people are rice farmers, growing rice tops the list, which is followed by

growing medicinal fruit under forest trees (Table 10.3). Respondents were originally asked to rank their income sources from one (most important) to five (least important). Since a number of them found it hard to complete this question, they only crossed the boxes given in the questionnaire. Therefore, the count of the number of responses would probably be the most appropriate to present the importance of the respondents' income sources.

Table 10.3. Five most important income sources

Income source	No. of responses
Growing rice	166
Growing medicinal fruit	135
Fuel wood collection	110
Tree planting	107
Hunting	55

Since Sapa is a mountainous and forested area (Chapter Eight), collecting fuel wood, planting forest trees, and hunting animals also generate considerable incomes for local people. Of the 187 respondents, 68 (36.36%) stated that they use the resources of the Hoang Lien Son mountain range for food (13), income (13), or both (42). In the last seven days prior to answering the questionnaire, 39 of these respondents made use of forest resources once or twice, 19 used these resources from three to four times, and the remaining 10 used the resources five times plus. This is despite over half (63.64%) of the respondents rating forest resources as “very important” and “important”. However, 36.36% of them considered forest resources “average”, “unimportant”, and “extremely unimportant”. Those who earn between VND500,000 (US\$23.8) and VND3 million (US\$142.9) per month account for 76.47% (52) of the total users of forest resources, suggesting that the higher income the locals may earn, the more forest resources they seem to use (Appendix 14). Only two people (2.94%) belong to the majority Kinh group, while the remaining 66 people (97.06%) are ethnic minorities. Nearly half (45.45%) of the ethnic minorities are H'Mong (Appendix 15). The evidence indicates that a number of ethnic minorities in Sapa tend to rely on readily available natural resources in their daily lives. This is consistent with findings obtained through NGO development- and tourism-related projects implemented in different parts of Vietnam (Chapter Seven).

Interestingly, tourism was not on this top five, but was ranked the sixth important source of income for the locals (49 responses). This finding is in agreement with that presented in

Chapter Nine, indicating that local people attach great importance to rice and medicinal fruit and that tourism is not the most significant contributor to their total incomes. The next section elaborates on local people's perception of the importance of tourism.

10.5. PERCEPTION OF THE IMPORTANCE OF TOURISM

Although tourism is not the most significant contributor to local household incomes, nearly half (49.73%) of the respondents rated tourism as “very important” and 24.06% considered tourism “important” to their community development (Table 10.4).

Table 10.4. Perception of the importance of tourism

Rating	Respondents (N = 187)	Percentage
Very important	93	49.73
Important	45	24.06
Average	47	25.13
Unimportant	0	0
Extremely unimportant	1	0.53
Not sure	1	0.53

A quarter (25.13%) of the respondents stated that tourism is of “average” significance to their community. Only one respondent considered tourism “extremely unimportant” and another was “not sure”. These figures suggest that far more local people perceive the importance of tourism to community development than those who do not. This may be because they often see tourism as the only additional income generator outside of the main rice (and medicinal fruit) crop, when they can follow tourists to sell handicrafts. This is despite a widespread perception that tourism does not significantly benefit poor people as discussed in Chapter Nine. Indeed, the number of responses citing poor people as the primary beneficiary of tourism was low (147 responses, equating to 18.33%; Table 10.5). Originally, respondents were asked to rank beneficiaries from one (most important) to eight (least important). However, this was a challenging task for many of them, who only crossed the boxes given in the questionnaire. Therefore, it was decided that the measure of number of responses would be the most appropriate to present the respondents' perception of this issue.

Table 10.5. Main beneficiaries of tourism

Beneficiary	Number of responses	Percentage
Local poor people	147	18.33
Local non-poor people	134	16.71
Local businesses	159	19.83
Non-local businesses	103	12.84
Tourists	106	13.22
Local authority	88	10.97
National government	43	5.36
Donors and development agencies	22	2.74
N	802*	100

* Multiple responses are calculated

Local non-poor people and local and non-local businesses received the greatest number of responses as the most important beneficiaries of tourism (396 responses, equating to 49.38%). Local poor people, although second to local businesses as the main beneficiary of tourism, mostly gain informal tourism-induced benefits by following tourists to sell handicrafts as discussed earlier. Sapa's tourism sector, as discussed in Chapter Nine, has been dominated by private businesses whose owners all belong to the majority Kinh group. Virtually local ethnic minorities are left behind in the benefit distribution chain. In general, the findings indicate that while local people regard tourism as "important" and "very important" to their community development, they also suggest that the main beneficiaries of tourism profits are the non-poor and the private sector. Although the local poor may follow tourists to sell handicrafts and earn some income, their selling practice has driven tourists away from some destinations, such as Ta Phin, as indicated in the previous chapter. The findings reflect the locals' perception of the difference between community (as a whole) and poor people (as a group in need) as the beneficiary of tourism (see the following sections). The next section examines barriers to local people's participation in tourism.

10.6. PERCEIVED BARRIERS TO PARTICIPATION IN TOURISM

Chapter Nine has suggested that a large number of local people wish to participate in and benefit from tourism. This finding is confirmed by the survey where 78.71% of the respondents "would like" and "would like very much" to be engaged in tourism (Table 10.6).

Table 10.6. Local people's desire to participate in tourism

Level of desire	Respondents (N = 187)	Percentage
I would like very much	36	19.25
I would like	111	59.36
I would extremely not like	4	2.14
I would not like	32	17.11
I have no idea	4	2.14

Only 19.25% of the respondents did not wish to participate in the sector, and those who were “unsure” about this accounted for 2.14%. That more local people are eager to be involved in tourism-related activities than those who are not has several important implications. First, the economic potential of tourism is well perceived by the locals. Second, tourism is regarded as among the few, if not the only, additional sources of income for local people. Third, tourism is perceived by the locals to be a labour-intensive industry that offers employment opportunities, particularly for young adults and women, as outlined in Chapter Two. Among tourism activities that are desired by local people, building and running an accommodation establishment (e.g. hotel, guesthouse) appears to be the most difficult, followed by establishing and running a travel agency (mean values: 3.05 and 2.82, respectively; Table 10.7). These two activities often require, among others, intensive funding and professional knowledge. Meanwhile, most local ethnic minorities are poor rice farmers without prior work experience as noted in Chapter Nine.

Table 10.7. Difficulty in participating in tourism activities

Activity	Mean	STD	Not difficult (%)	Average (%)	Very difficult (%)
Guiding tourists	2.25	1.45	43.71	9.27	14.57
Selling souvenirs to tourists	2.11	1.40	51.66	18.54	12.58
Cooking meals for tourists	2.67	1.71	43.71	12.58	27.81
Transporting tourists	2.34	1.40	43.05	19.87	9.93
Establishing a travel agency	2.82	1.68	36.42	12.58	29.14
Providing homestay service	2.66	1.69	41.06	9.27	20.53
Building an accommodation establishment (hotel, guesthouse)	3.05	1.72	33.11	11.26	35.76

(N = 151; 1 = not difficult; 3 = average; 5 = very difficult)

Selling souvenirs and guiding tourists seem the least difficult tourism-related activities as perceived by local people. Indeed, many local women already have over 10 years of experience as handicraft sellers, meanwhile local young children wish to become tourist guides as they grow up or complete primary/secondary school (Chapter Nine). Although all activities listed in Table 10.7 appear to have relatively low mean values, they are characterised by high standard deviations, indicating that the perceived difficulty in participating in these activities tends to vary quite widely. They also suggest that a number of local people are facing critical barriers to participating in tourism (Table 10.8) and these can be considered the obstacles to alleviating poverty through tourism as perceived by the locals overall.

Table 10.8. Barriers to participation in tourism

Barriers	Mean	STD	Very important (%)	Average (%)	Extremely unimportant (%)
Lack of professional knowledge	1.49	0.97	73.26	5.88	3.21
Lack of work experience	1.76	1.10	58.82	13.90	3.21
Lack of professional skills	1.54	1.00	71.12	8.56	2.67
Poor foreign language capability	1.65	1.02	63.64	14.44	3.21
Lack of opportunity	1.89	1.22	54.55	12.30	6.42
Lack of information	1.89	1.22	55.08	9.63	5.35
Lack of funds	1.70	1.17	66.31	9.09	5.35
Lack of motivation	2.24	1.31	40.64	19.25	8.56
Hesitance to changes	2.32	1.35	39.57	18.72	9.09
Poor health	2.02	1.53	61.50	6.42	16.58
Difficult access to market	1.77	1.18	59.36	5.88	5.88
Law	2.19	1.23	39.04	20.86	6.95

(N = 187; 1 = very important; 3 = average; 5 = extremely unimportant)

Table 10.8 shows that the most critical barriers to local people's participation in tourism are insufficient professional knowledge, skills, and poor foreign language capability (mean values: 1.49, 1.54, and 1.65, respectively). These are followed by limited funds and work experience (mean values: 1.70 and 1.76, respectively). The finding is generally consistent with that of the interviews and observations (Chapter Nine). This is because a majority of local people, particularly the old generations, are of a low educational level. They are mainly rice farmers who lack knowledge and work experience needed to participate in tourism. Many of them do not have enough funds that are required by laws to establish a tourism business (Chapter Five). Table 10.8 also indicates that factors of internal nature (e.g. lack of

motivation) seem less critical than the other factors. However, they should still be considered given that their mean values range between the “important” and “average” levels. In addition, over half (61.5%) of the respondents perceive poor health as the most critical barrier to their participation in tourism. The evidence suggests that any measures taken to remove the barriers to local people’s participation in tourism need to consider these internal factors if they are to succeed. It also suggests that while resources could be allocated for skills and/or foreign language training, attention should be given to improving the locals’ health if they are to participate fully and effectively in tourism-related activities.

Local people were also asked to state their short-term intention to participate in tourism, i.e. in the next 12 months. Of the 187 respondents, 153 indicated that they would certainly participate or likely participate in the tourism sector. Only 13 respondents stated that they would certainly or likely not be involved in any tourism activity in the 12 months to come, and 21 people were not sure about this. This finding confirms that a large majority of the locals view tourism as the only remaining income generator outside of the main rice crop and hence wish to earn income from the sector (see also Chapter Nine), although it is unlikely if they can overcome the barriers discussed above. Similar to the interviews and observations, the survey shows that guiding tourists and doing homestays are the most desired by the locals (35.89% and 33.33%, respectively) (Table 10.9). Of the 70 people wishing to become homestay owners, 55.71% (39) are between 20 and 49 years old. Tourist guiding tends to attract younger adults, with 75.38% (49) aged from 15 to 29.

Table 10.9. Tourism jobs most desired by local people

Role	Respondents (N = 195)*	Percentage
Homestay owner	70	35.89
Tourist guide	65	33.33
Souvenir seller	39	20
Travel agency owner	10	5.13
Food provider	4	2.05
Accommodation owner	4	2.05
Others	3	1.54

* Some respondents favoured more than one role

Only a small number of respondents wished to become business owners and even few wanted to be food providers. As discussed earlier, this is because local ethnic minorities are

too poor to invest in a tourism business. They also lack knowledge, experience, and business ties to access the tourism marketplace. Added to this are the cumbersome administrative procedures requiring significant social relationships with government officers (Chapter Five) which local ethnic minorities are normally not familiar with. Concerning the provision of food for tourism businesses, it is no less challenging for local people given that many of them do not even have enough food to feed their own families (Chapter Nine). Running homestays and guiding tourists are favoured by a majority of the locals given that they are “experts” in their own land and cultures and, importantly, these activities require much less funding than running a travel agency or a hotel.

10.7. HANDICRAFT SELLERS

As outlined in Chapter Nine, most local women in Sapa are engaged in tourism informally by following tourists to sell handicrafts. Of the 187 respondents, 44 stated that they are handicraft sellers. Of these, 38 are residents of Lao Chai, Ta Phin, and Ta Van communes. Since some local women already have about 10-15 years of experience as handicraft sellers, it is difficult for them to stop following tourists. The evidence is that 10 of these respondents would certainly or likely not plan to cease selling handicrafts in the streets and 20 others were unsure if they would want to do so in the next 12 months. Only 14 respondents indicated that they would certainly cease or may cease following tourists in the short-term.

Respondents were also asked to state their perception of tourists’ reactions towards handicraft sellers. Of the 187 respondents, 74 (39.57%) thought that tourists would not like to be approached while walking or trekking. Twenty people (10.69%) stated that tourists would like to be followed and 14 of these are currently handicraft sellers. Nine people indicated that tourists would neither like nor dislike to be approached while walking or trekking. Nearly 45% (84) of the respondents were “unsure” about this issue. While it is acknowledged that different tourists may have very differing reactions towards being approached by local sellers (like, dislike, or neutral), there is a relatively common perception that tourists would not feel comfortable with being approached, especially at inappropriate points of time (e.g. while they are trekking or shopping). This finding can be favourably compared with and hence supported by that obtained through the interviews and observations (Chapter Nine).

10.8. PERCEPTION OF TOURISM AS A TOOL OF POVERTY ALLEVIATION

Questions were made regarding the respondents' participation in development- and tourism-related projects that have been implemented in Sapa (Chapter Seven). Of the 187 respondents, only 30 (16%) indicated that they were involved in tourism-related projects in one way or another. This finding reinforces the interviews and observations which suggest that a number of local ethnic minorities are excluded from project formulation and implementation. Some of them are only permitted to be involved when these projects have been completed (e.g. those who are allowed to sell handicrafts in Sapa Museum; Chapter Nine). Regarding their satisfaction with project results, these 30 respondents stated that they are most satisfied with resource conservation outcomes (lowest mean value: 1.3, where 1 = very satisfied, 3 = average, 5 = extremely dissatisfied). The highest mean value (2.93) was found in the statement that concerns the improvement of local poor people's capacity in decision-making processes. The evidence confirms the result of the interviews (Chapter Nine) which suggests that a majority of the locals are unable to voice their own concerns and aspirations in decision-making processes that affect their lives.

With respect to the respondents' perception of tourism as a tool of poverty alleviation, 13 statements were designed and a Likert scale used (Table 10.10). Overall Table 10.10 indicates that local people's perception of tourism as a tool of poverty alleviation was of a neutral level, with a majority of statements being given slightly over three points on average. The lowest mean value was found in the statement that concerns tourism profits primarily benefiting poor people, suggesting that the actual poor people were not the primary beneficiary of tourism. The evidence helps reinforce what has been discussed earlier in this chapter and Chapter Nine. However, this statement also has the highest standard deviation (1.5), suggesting the respondents' divided perception. Indeed, respondents who "strongly disagree" equalled those who "strongly agree" with this statement (23.53% each), while the neutral group accounted for 14.14%.

Table 10.10. Local people's perception of tourism as a means of poverty alleviation

Statement	Mean	STD	Strongly disagree (%)	Neutral (%)	Strongly agree (%)
Tourism has developed our community economically	3.36	1.45	17.1	21.40	30.50
Tourism has contributed to protecting our traditional culture	3.34	1.34	14.44	26.20	24.10
Tourism has contributed to raising our living standards	3.47	1.23	6.95	31.02	27.30
Tourism has helped to improve our relationships with the local authorities	3.18	1.45	20.86	22.99	24.06
Tourism has enhanced our knowledge, skills, and capacity	3.22	1.37	14.97	22.46	22.29
Tourism has primarily benefited the poor people in our community	2.84	1.50	23.53	14.44	23.53
Tourism has brought about more positive benefits than negative effects	3.43	1.14	6.42	33.69	20.32
I am happy with the way tourism has been developed in our community	3.12	1.5	21.93	18.72	25.67
I have maintained good relationships with the local authorities	3.24	1.48	20.86	18.72	26.20
I have maintained good relationships with the local tourism businesses	3.22	1.43	18.70	20.86	24.10
I have played a positive role in tourism development in my community	3.59	1.17	4.81	28.88	28.30
I am willing to protect the resources for tourism	3.76	1.30	12.30	15.50	35.30
Overall, I strongly support tourism as a means of economic development and poverty alleviation in my community	4.09	1.24	10.16	6.95	49.20

(N = 187; 1 = strongly disagree; 3 = neutral; 5 = strongly agree)

Tourism appears to be advocated for economic development and poverty alleviation. This statement has the highest mean value (4.06). In particular, nearly half (49.2%) of the respondents expressed their “strong agreement” with the statement. Only 10.16% of the respondents did not support tourism as a contributor to economic development and poverty alleviation. First, this finding may suggest that local people hold a “positive” view of tourism. In other words, they perceive the potential contribution of tourism to community development as discussed earlier. Second, it reflects a common belief among local people that as long as tourism develops and more tourists come to town, they will earn more income by selling handicrafts. Third, it again confirms that tourism is viewed by local people as the only alternative livelihood outside of the main rice crop. In addition, this finding helps explain why more local people wish to participate in tourism although they lack both knowledge and experience. While they may provide the labour-intensive tourism sector with a large workforce, they may also place considerable pressures on the local tourism environment, especially the handicraft sellers, as suggested in Chapter Nine.

The second lowest mean value (3.12) was found in the statement “I am happy with the way tourism has been developed in our community”. This is despite the fact that more respondents agree that tourism has contributed to community development and increased living standards (mean values: 3.36 and 3.34, respectively). This can be explained in several ways. First, the tourism sector is primarily dominated by private businesses that are only concerned about their own (economic) interests, as outlined in Chapter Nine (see also Chapter Two). Second, local ethnic minorities are unable to participate formally in tourism. Third, poor people are not the main beneficiary of tourism and often they are not included in decision-making processes that affect their lives as noted earlier.

In addition, Table 10.10 shows that more local people would be willing to protect resources for tourism than those who would not (35.3% vs. 12.3%). These resources include the traditional ethnic cultures and natural landscapes that are unique to Sapa as noted in Chapter Eight. This again confirms that generally the potential importance of tourism is well perceived by the locals. However, 36.36% of the respondents still depend on the resources of the Hoang Lien Son mountain range for food and/or income and indeed animal hunting is on their top five important income sources as noted above. The evidence suggests that although the locals attach importance to resource conservation, they may not sacrifice their living conditions for the sake of conservation given that they are living in poverty (see also Chapter Two). It is also consistent with the view of NGOs, which state that poor people’s low

perception of conservation and dependence on readily available resources is a critical barrier to environmental protection and poverty alleviation (Chapter Seven). It is thus possible to claim that unless local people can participate formally and meaningfully in (tourism) events and processes that shape their lives, tourism developments will be neither pro-poor nor sustainable. It is also plausible to argue that any measures taken to include local people in decision-making and development processes need to consider changes in their behaviours if tourism is to develop sustainably.

10.9. PERCEIVED BARRIERS TO POVERTY ALLEVIATION IN SAPA

As noted in Chapters One to Four, this research examines the roles of tourism as a tool to alleviate poverty in Sapa. A fundamental objective is thus to identify the major barriers to poverty reduction. Chapter Seven has indicated that these barriers are both internal (poor people's low perception of conservation needs, insufficient knowledge and experience, and traditional dependence on natural resources) and external (ineffective policies and management mechanisms). This section turns to explore the barriers to poverty alleviation from the local people's perspective. The results are based on Questions 26 and 27 of the survey, which are open-ended to allow local people to give their own voices.

As Table 10.11 shows, insufficient capital was the most cited barrier to poverty alleviation in Sapa (55 responses), followed by a lack of farming land (50 responses).

Table 10.11. What are the barriers to poverty alleviation?

Thematic barriers	Number of responses
Lack of capital/fund	55
Lack of farming land	50
Lack of education, knowledge, and experience, English proficiency	29
Remote location, difficult transports and communications	28
Overpopulation (having a number of children)	19

The lack of funds and arable land was also cited as among the main causes of poverty in the area (Chapter Nine). While the mountainous location offers Sapa with a temperate climate and beautiful landscapes (Chapter One), it is also a challenge for agriculture, with rice being grown once every year only (Chapters Eight and Nine). It is impossible for the locals to grow

corn or vegetables in winter when fog is intense. Rice productivity is often very low and hence is not sufficient to feed a number of local families throughout the year. That means local farmers can hardly sell their rice, earn some money, and develop businesses. The farming land each family has is often allocated to their children as they grow up and hence the amount of rice produced is significantly reduced (Chapter Nine). Therefore, providing more funds, offering preferential loans, and allocating more land in the forest was the most frequent poverty reduction measure as proposed by the survey respondents. Given more funds and land, local people can grow more rice and medicinal fruit, open handicraft shops and homestays, thereby earning more incomes to lift themselves out of poverty.

Sapa's mountainous location also results in difficult commutation for local people (28 responses). It hinders local people's access to education, employment, and participation in development processes (29 responses). In addition, giving a number of births while having limited farming land was cited as a critical barrier to poverty alleviation (19 responses). Indeed, Sapa's population growth was recorded at about 2.38% in 2009 (SPC 2009). Between 17% and 22% of local families had more than three children (LCPC 2012; see also Chapter Nine). For this reason, Sapa sets the target of reducing its birth rate to 1.2% by 2015 (SPC 2011). It is difficult for young children to pursue educational opportunities and realise their own potential given that their parents still struggle for food on a daily basis as discussed in Chapter Nine. Understandably, when asked "How can tourism contribute more effectively to alleviating poverty in your community?", teaching English tops the list (Table 10.12).

Table 10.12. How can tourism contribute to poverty alleviation?

Measures	Number of responses
Teach English for young children and tourist guides	54
Sell handicrafts	32
Open homestays	22
Upgrade trekking routes, roads, and infrastructures	14
Other activities (e.g. herbal bathing service; employment in tourism businesses; vocational training; food stalls)	13
Preserve and promote local cultures	12

As noted in Chapter Nine, English proficiency appears to be the main barrier to local young children who wish to become tourist guides. It is also a critical impediment to local handicraft sellers and homestay owners. For instance, a homestay owner in Ta Phin stated

that his family had just opened two homestays but none of his family members could speak English. A woman in Lao Chai said that she planned to learn English in order to communicate with tourists and sell handicrafts.

Currently Sapa O'Chau is the only provider of free English classes for local children (Chapter Nine), with teachers being native English-speaking volunteers. It is difficult to accommodate all local children given limited classrooms, teaching staff, and funding. Therefore, local adults and children expect tourism to create opportunities for them to learn English (e.g. opening free classes, building schools, talking to tourists). This helps explain why a large number of respondents advocate tourism growth. To them, tourism growth is associated with more tourists, and hence more chances to practise their English skills. It is also synonymous with higher incomes for handicraft sellers (32 responses). Of these, less than five wished to open a handicraft shop, with the others wanting to sell handicrafts in the streets. To other respondents, tourism could lift them out of poverty by hosting homestay tourists (22 responses). As homestay owners in Ta Phin stated, their families have just opened homestays but have not hosted any tourists yet. Therefore, they wish more tourists would visit and stay overnight in their commune. To promote tourism growth, some respondents suggested more trekking routes and points of interest be established and roads and infrastructures upgraded (14 responses). In addition, local cultures, particularly traditional performances, should be revived to attract tourists (12 responses). The evidence confirms that more local people support tourism growth and wish to participate in tourism than those who are against it, although they do not benefit significantly from the sector.

10.10. DISCUSSION

This chapter continues to adopt a grassroots perspective to examine the perceptions and experiences of local people regarding tourism as a tool of poverty alleviation. The survey results suggest that the pro-poor potential of tourism is widely perceived, the evidence being that generally more local people positively support tourism as a means of economic development and poverty alleviation. Although tourism does not significantly benefit poor people, a majority of the respondents rated it as important to community development and wished to participate in the sector. However, their participation is reduced by impediments to business establishment, employment, and benefit sharing and these include insufficient knowledge, skills, poor language capability, limited funding and work experience. It is

argued that unless the local poor can participate formally and fully in tourism events and processes, tourism development (plans) would be neither pro-poor nor sustainable.

That far more local people desire to participate in tourism than those who are against it also has several important implications. First, generally more local people hold a positive attitude towards tourism and view it as the only additional income generator outside of the main rice and medicinal fruit crop. Second, there is a widespread perception among the locals that the more tourism grows and more tourists come to town, the more income they can earn by chasing tourists to sell handicrafts. However, as Chapter Two has argued, tourism growth does not necessarily translate into poverty alleviation. There is a risk that this short-term income source, i.e. selling handicrafts, may have long-term damage on the local tourism environment. The evidence is that tourists have been driven away from such destinations as Ta Phin, where several homestays were opened but have been unable to host overnight tourists. To change this selling practice and hence create a viable tourism environment, social marketing (Chapter Three) may provide some important potential given its demonstrated success in promoting voluntary behaviour change (Chapter Four). As stated by the locals, the most critical barrier to poverty alleviation is a lack of capital. Tourism may help by providing the locals with more employment and income earning opportunities. The sector can also help by establishing a community fund, where communal entrance fees and contributions by private businesses are retained and allocated to poor households in the form of community loans. The Grameen Bank's experience (Chapter Four) suggests that groups of four to five households each may be formed to circulate as well as supervise the use of these loans. To provide local people with more funds, the current self-interested practices of local businesses also need to change. In addition, policies may be made to offer poor people preferential or even interest-free loan packages.

Important as funding is to the local poor, it is not sufficient. As a traditional practice, growing rice remains the most crucial income generator for the locals. There is thus a common suggestion that more land in the forest be allocated to local households. Given more land, more rice and medicinal fruit can be grown. This is even more significant for the locals, most of whom do not have knowledge, experiences, and funds needed to participate in tourism. Allocating more land in the forest appears to be the most desired "exchange" to reduce the number of handicraft sellers and forest resource dependents. Local people's demand for increased forestland also reinforces the argument that more livelihoods are required outside of tourism (Chapter Nine). However, this involves changes in forest policies

and advocacy at the macro level is required. In addition, any land allocation policies should be coupled with effective family planning measures (Chapter Two) that aim to reduce household sizes and hence mitigate land use pressures among the locals. Overall, alongside Chapter Nine, this chapter has made clear that the lack of funds and farming land is among the most critical barriers to poverty alleviation in Sapa. Therefore, funds and farming land will be added to the conceptual framework (Chapter Four) as a means to promote appropriate behaviour change in the local poor and alleviate poverty in Sapa (see Chapter Eleven).

However, increased funding, income, and employment do not necessarily guarantee poverty alleviation as outlined in Chapter Two. What matters more is how generated income is used to lift poor people out of poverty. In other words, poverty alleviation is not necessarily synonymous with income maximisation, but is more about how income is translated into long-term developments and hence poverty alleviation (UNDP 2013). For example, as local people earn income from tourism and/or agriculture, they should invest in education by sending their children to school (Sawhill 2003; Chapter Two). This is because poverty alleviation, and human development overall, is about expanding choices and capabilities for people so that they can be able to grasp opportunities for personal advancement (Holden 2013). It is particularly necessary for women (e.g. handicraft sellers) because better education for women often leads to better income and health outcomes for themselves and their children (given that over half of the respondents perceive poor health as a critical barrier as discussed above). Indeed, about 22.5% of local children under five still suffer from malnutrition (SPC 2010). For these reasons, any poverty reduction measure, including tourism, needs to start from a thorough understanding of poverty and poor people at a local level. Given the multi-dimensional, complex and localised nature of poverty (Chapter Two), any one-size-fits-all poverty reduction measure or policy is, therefore, neither effective nor desirable.

10.11. CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has reported the findings of a questionnaire survey conducted with local residents in Sapa. Alongside Chapter Nine, this chapter has contributed to answering two stated objectives of this thesis – to examine the barriers to poverty alleviation and the roles of tourism as a tool of poverty alleviation. This chapter has found that a number of local people are rice farmers. More people regard their families' living conditions as “average” and “poor”, although their incomes may be higher than the national poverty lines. Tourism is

generally advocated by local people as a contributor to economic development and poverty alleviation. However, the sector does not substantially benefit local people, especially the poor, who face a number of barriers to participating in tourism activities. These barriers include limited knowledge and skills, poor foreign language capability, and insufficient funding and work experience. The locals' most favourite tourism jobs are running homestays, guiding tourists, and selling handicrafts. Overall, the questionnaire survey provided relatively consistent findings with those of the interviews and observations and hence helped reinforce the reliability of this research. It also helped expand the breadth of this study because it covered a larger number of respondents.

The findings of this chapter, alongside Chapter Nine, have made clear that limited funding and farming land is, among others, the most critical barrier to poverty alleviation in Sapa. To lift local poor people out of poverty, it is necessary that income and employment opportunities be created in the tourism sector which would require behaviour changes in local businesses as well as policy changes. Most importantly, this chapter argues that allocating more land in the forest appears to be the most desirable for the locals, which helps provide them with a long-term livelihood that is appropriate to their context and location. It also helps reduce the number of handicraft sellers and forest resource dependents, and thus improve the viability of the local tourism environment since the locals are entitled to manage and protect their own forestland. Social marketing, as this chapter has argued, may provide substantial potential for achieving these objectives.

The next chapter will integrate and discuss the research findings in more depth.

CHAPTER ELEVEN:

DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

11.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter analyses and integrates in more depth the main findings that have been presented in Chapters Seven to Ten in this research. The findings are discussed in relation to the literature that has been reviewed in Chapters Two to Five. The discussions given in this chapter revolve around the four main research objectives that have been outlined in Chapters One and Four. First, the tourism-poverty linkage is revisited. Second, the relationship between tourism and social marketing is re-elaborated. Finally, the interrelationships between tourism, poverty alleviation, and social marketing are re-presented, with several important elements being added to the initial conceptual framework that was developed in Chapter Four.

11.2. TOURISM AND POVERTY ALLEVIATION

This research indicates that a majority of local people in Sapa are rice farmers. Their perception of poverty is thus associated with the amount of rice produced per year. Poverty is typically defined as a lack of rice that is required to feed family members. In other words, those who do not have enough rice to feed their families are poor. However, some people still consider themselves poor although they may produce enough rice for their families but do not have money to meet their daily needs (e.g. food, fertiliser). According to these people, they are hunger sufferers if they lack rice to feed their families. Multiple views of poverty are also found, particularly among the educated who tend to combine a number of factors in defining poverty (e.g. land area, family size, income). Harrison and Schipani (2007) similarly found that poor people in Laos define poverty as a shortage of rice. In contrast, Holden et al. (2011) indicated that poor people in Ghana perceive poverty as a lack of income and/or opportunity to participate in development processes. Johnston (2007) suggested that some indigenous peoples think of themselves as being poor only when they lose their land, are displaced and relocated due to tourism development. Even in such cases, they are not necessarily poor in spiritual terms. The evidence suggests that poverty is multi-dimensional and interpreted differently in differing contexts and locations. It also confirms the heterogeneity of

community perception of the poverty concept. Importantly, the finding reflects the role of food staples, i.e. rice, as an indicator of poverty as perceived by the locals. Thus, this study argues that specific contextual characteristics need to be considered if any poverty reduction measures are to be effective (Holden 2013; Pleumarom 2012; Chapter Two).

The poverty situation in Sapa can be attributed to limited farming land and unfavourable climatic conditions. However, there are suggestions that some poor people are not open to changes, the evidence being that they prefer having a number of children, resulting in expanded family sizes and increased demands for land use. As informed by some of the respondents (Chapter Nine), while Dzay and Red Dzao people now have only one or two children per family, the H'Mong tend to maintain their tradition with respect to getting married early and having a number of children. Because local people can grow only one rice crop per year, a large number of them have embraced tourism as a means to earn additional income. Other scholars (e.g. Akyeampong 2011; Muganda et al. 2010; Ondicho 2010) also indicated that in areas of conservation significance and those that are home to ethnic minorities, tourism appears to hold important potential for employment and income, thereby contributing to the prosperity of the host destinations overall. This research suggests that tourism development is economically important and culturally appropriate to Sapa since it draws on the natural and cultural values that are readily available in the area.

However, this research has found that poor people in Sapa are still far from having access to the benefits of tourism that are based on their own land and cultures. The main beneficiaries of tourism are members of the private sector that include hotels and tour operators. Business owners belong to the majority Kinh group, although they may be local or non-local originally. This research confirms that in an industry that is dominated by private businesses (Ashley et al. 2001; Cattarinich 2001; Higgins-Desbiolles 2006a; Mitchell & Ashley 2010; Rogerson 2012), it is challenging for poor people to participate in and realise the benefits of tourism given that they lack professional knowledge, skills, and capital (Chapter Two). This research reinforces earlier arguments that tourism growth does not necessarily translate into poverty alleviation (Scheyvens 2007; Schilcher 2007; Pleumarom 2012; Winters et al. 2013) and that stakeholders having more knowledge, skills, and money can gain more benefits from tourism (Mitchell & Ashley 2010; Chapter Two). Some prior research has suggested that tourism is pro-poor if it generates benefits for poor people, even if richer people gain more benefits than poor people (Ashley et al. 2001; Chapter Two). In contrast, this research argues that tourism in Sapa is neither pro-poor nor sustainable unless

poor people can participate meaningfully in, and are the formal beneficiaries of, tourism events and processes. The reason is that the (informal) incomes that local handicraft sellers earn are not only small and unstable, but also result in fewer tour operators wishing to send their guests to stay overnight in some communes (e.g. Ta Phin; Chapter Nine). This study suggests that to maintain sustainable tourism development in Sapa, private businesses may need to promote the participation of poor people. Business owners may also contribute in one way or another to improving the living conditions of poor people (e.g. providing employment and/or skills training), thereby reducing the number of handicraft sellers and forest resource dependents and creating a viable tourism environment.

This research has also found that poor people in Sapa are deprived of the benefits that are gained from the communal entrance tickets. The ticketing offices are actually the small posts established at the entrance of such villages as Cat Cat and Ta Phin (Chapter Nine) and the collected fees are supposed to be used for community development. However, a widespread perception among local people is that the fees have been subject to leakages. It appears that the fees have primarily benefited village chiefs and/or commune leaders. As some interviewees commented, “They [local authorities] keep saying that the ticket fees belong to the villagers but I have seen nothing” (Lien, San Xa Ho; Su, Ta Van; see Chapter Nine). This finding is consistent with that obtained by development agencies as indicated in Chapters Seven and Nine. This research confirms de Kadt’s (1979) argument that the equitable distribution of tourism benefits should be paid adequate attention. Otherwise, feelings of scepticism, jealousy, and distrust may arise, negatively affecting community solidarity and cohesion (Simpson 2008; Chapter Two). This dissertation suggests that transparency should be observed in information sharing and benefit distribution and that local people in Sapa should be permitted to manage the entrance fees and decide how they should be used.

Previous research has suggested that poor people lack the skills, knowledge, and capital that are needed for them to compete in job markets, produce quality products, and establish businesses (Huynh 2011; Suntikul et al. 2009; Chapter Two). Similarly, this study has found that insufficient capital is among the most critical barriers to building homestays, a choice that is most preferred by local women. Foreign language fluency, i.e. English, appears to be the main obstacle to local young children wishing to become tourist guides. Prior research has also suggested that tourism jobs are characterised by seasonality, shift-based and weekend work, and low income (Jolliffe & Farnworth 2003; Chapter Two). Thus, tourism jobs are often stereotyped as being unattractive to young employment seekers although

tourism is known as a labour-intensive sector. To the contrary, this research has found that a large majority of residents in Sapa wish to participate in tourism, often as homestay owners, tourist guides, and handicraft sellers. The main driver for their involvement in tourism is personal economic benefits. The evidence reinforces the above noted argument that local people view tourism as among the few, if not the only, remaining income generators, although they are aware that tourism cannot alleviate poverty. Therefore, it is suggested that very practical training, including knowledge, skills, and foreign language, is required so that local people can compete for employment and hence improve their living conditions.

As outlined in Chapter Nine, PPT advocates argue that tourism can be linked with the agricultural sector, where poor people can provide locally produced food to earn income. However, the findings of this research have indicated that this argument is not necessarily correct in Sapa. Since local people in Sapa suffer from limited farming land and severe climatic conditions, they are able to grow only one rice crop per year. As a result, the rice produced per year is, in the best scenarios, only sufficient to feed their families. If they are unlucky, they have to buy rice for a few months. It is thus out of the question for them to earn additional income by producing local food based on their own farming land or unless there are major changes in farming practices which would be expensive to implement. Pleumarom (2012) similarly argues that the tourism-agriculture linkage cannot be established in areas where poor people do not have enough food to feed themselves on a daily basis (see also Holden 2013).

Chapter Two in this thesis has identified significant changes in the UNWTO's publications towards a greater focus on the pro-poor impacts of tourism. This is considered a positive response of the UNWTO to the challenge of achieving the MDGs by 2015. Apart from the poverty issues, the UNWTO has also targeted the increased roles of (poor) women in the tourism sector. Indeed, the organisation states,

Tourism provides significant opportunities for both women and men. According to UNWTO Highlights 2010, tourism's contribution to employment is estimated to be 6% to 7% of the overall number of jobs worldwide (direct and indirect). One in twelve of the world's workers are employed in the travel and tourism industry. In developing countries where women have less access to education and often have greater household responsibilities, the low barriers to entry, flexible working hours, and part-time work present potential opportunities for employment (UNWTO & UN Women 2011, p. vii).

In 2007, the theme "Tourism opens doors for women" was featured on the World Tourism Day, indicating the UNWTO's increased attention given to the roles of women in

tourism. This research, however, has found that a large majority of ethnic minority women in Sapa are left behind the tourism doors, the evidence being that they have been only able to participate in tourism informally, following tourists to sell handicrafts. It is thus possible to claim that tourism has actually closed doors for a number of local women in Sapa.

That local women keep following tourists to sell handicrafts can be ascribed to several reasons. First, they are unable to get formal tourism jobs. Second, the alternatives offered by Sapa's authority (e.g. market spaces) are not adequate for all sellers and are economically less beneficial than following tourists. However, there are also suggestions that local women are used to this selling practice, many of whom already have over 10 years of experience. This way of selling has resulted in discomfort for tourists and competition among the sellers as well as conflicts between the sellers and the local authority. This research suggests that other alternatives which are at least economically equally beneficial are required if the number of handicraft sellers is to be reduced. Otherwise, it would be even more difficult to ensure a future hassle-free environment for (foreign) tourists given that young children are very likely to increase in Sapa in the coming years. Many of them may not be sent to school and hence may earn money by following tourists like their mothers and/or sisters.

This research has also found the most critical barrier to poverty alleviation in Sapa is, among others, the lack of farming land and capital. Local people have stated that they are poor because they have limited land and that they follow tourists because they have much free time after the main rice crop. This research has thus made clear that tourism is not necessarily the only way to lift poor people out of poverty in Sapa. Indeed, one tourism consultant stated, *"We need to agree that tourism is one alternative livelihood option only"* (Quang, tourism consultant, Hanoi). Instead, allocating more land in the forest for farming appears to be the most appropriate poverty measure and hence the best way to reduce the number of handicraft sellers and forest resource dependents. As the above consultant described, *"Farming land is the most powerful weapon of farmers. If farmers are deprived of land, then they lose their most powerful weapon"*. Given more land, local people can grow more rice and medicinal fruit and thereby provide some locally produced food to tourism businesses to earn income. Thus, possibly fewer of them would continue to sell handicrafts and use forest resources given that they can manage and protect their own forestland.

However, it is possible that allocating more land in the forest to local people will threaten the local forest ecology. This reinforces earlier arguments that the tensions between poverty alleviation, environmental protection, and sustainable development may present a critical

challenge in destinations that have important (tourism) resources and at the same time are home to poor people (Chapters Two and Four). As has been discussed above and will be analysed further in the remainder of this research, although increasing farming land may be an appropriate means of poverty alleviation in Sapa, measures are needed to encourage local people to manage and protect the forestland that is allocated to them.

Furthermore, this research suggests that increased land in the forest and/or income earned from agriculture or tourism does not necessarily convert into poverty alleviation if the local population keeps growing or the earned income is not invested in long-term developments. Therefore, it is suggested that any effective land policy should be coupled with measures taken to promote behaviour change in poor people. For example, an appropriate family planning policy framework should be put in place to reduce household sizes and thus mitigate land use pressures among local families. Generated income should be invested in education for the young generations. To achieve these changes, social marketing holds significant potential. The tourism-social marketing linkage is discussed further below.

11.3. TOURISM AND SOCIAL MARKETING

With respect to the relationship between tourism and social marketing, this research indicates that although the social marketing concept might have been utilised in a number of tourism projects, it was not specifically stated. Twenty-one out of the 45 identified tourism-related projects appeared to have been implemented using the social marketing approach (Chapter Seven). This research suggests that the social marketing label is not necessarily effective in identifying tourism projects. Other scholars (e.g. Gordon 2011; Gordon et al. 2006; Stead et al. 2007) similarly found research that is simplistically based on the social marketing label may be insufficient or even flawed. Therefore, this study highlights the utility of devising an appropriate set of benchmark criteria to identify the social marketing characteristics of tourism-related initiatives. To this end, Andreasen's (2002) six social marketing benchmarks proved very useful (Chapters Three and Seven).

The research process undertaken for this dissertation confirms Andreasen's (2002) suggestion that it is unreasonable to expect strong evidence of all social marketing benchmark criteria in programme and project interventions (see also McDermott et al. 2005). Indeed, the findings of this research have indicated that none of the 45 identified tourism-related projects in Vietnam labelled itself in social marketing terms. Specific behaviour

change goals and hence enablers and barriers to behaviour change were explicitly stated in some projects. Meanwhile, behaviour change objectives were not found in other projects, that is, in these projects' Aims and/or Objectives, but instead were identified through project indicators and/or outcomes (Chapter Seven). Additionally, behaviour change outcomes were not reported clearly in some projects. Often they were reported in terms of increased awareness and/or participation of the target audience. Prior research reveals that some social marketing programmes were actually mislabelled, the evidence being that they might be more about social advertising or communications (Gordon 2011; McDermott et al. 2005; Stead et al. 2007; Chapter Three). To the contrary, this study finds that none of the 45 identified tourism-related projects mislabelled itself social marketing.

That no tourism-related project identified in this research (mis)labelled itself in social marketing terms holds several important implications. First, it reinforces the view that the social marketing concept remains new in the field of tourism (Chhabra et al. 2011; Kaczynski 2008; Kim et al. 2006), although the first paper connecting tourism with social marketing was published many years ago (Bright 2000; see also Clements 1989). This dissertation supports Lane's (2009, p. 6) statement that "the whole area of Social Marketing, of how to promote behavioural change, seems to be a blank for sustainable tourism researchers" (Chapter Four). This research thus suggests greater attention be paid to the potential contribution of social marketing to the sustainable development of tourism, particularly to poverty alleviation and natural resource conservation as previously indicated.

Second, the findings indicate that tourism practitioners (e.g. project managers and consultants) are not aware of social marketing although they may have already utilised several or all elements of this concept. Indeed, one of the local tourism consultants stated, *"As practitioners, we do not pay substantial attention to the theoretical aspects of social marketing. I think it is a new concept. However, I want to emphasise that it is very likely tourism practitioners have already used the tools of social marketing, although they are not aware of the concept"* (Quang, tourism consultant, Hanoi). Quang's comment appears to reinforce Lane's statement, as discussed above, that sustainable tourism researchers (and practitioners) have not paid attention to the potential contribution of social marketing. Quang went on to elaborate the tools used in projects in which he has been involved:

Our project tools have been used to influence a variety of audience, including host communities, schools, communal authority, and even the National Administration of Tourism. Differing interventions are made on different audience segments. For example, policy changes are advocated at

management bodies, while responsible travel clubs are established to target businesses and tourists. Environmental awareness programmes, extra-curricular activities, and contests are organised at school level. Performing competitions are also held as we realise that local ethnic minorities have a keen passion for performances. Additionally, training sessions and study tours are also provided.

The tools described above appear to match the elements of the social marketing benchmarks as analysed in Chapter Seven. The evidence reinforces the argument made earlier in this dissertation, that is, social marketing as an approach seems to have been applied in some tourism projects but is not labelled specifically as social marketing. It also supports the necessity and hence the utility of devising and applying a suitable set of social marketing benchmark criteria against which tourism-related initiatives can be assessed as noted earlier. Yet, it is acknowledged that a majority of the tourism consultants interviewed have no idea about the social marketing concept and hence tend to mistake it for cognate concepts:

I have no idea about social marketing. I think social marketing is consisted of all marketing activities undertaken to benefit all segments in society (Thang, tourism consultant, Hanoi).

I am not aware of the social marketing concept. I heard about it but I do not really know about it. I think it involves the use of social media technologies etc. (Michael, tourism consultant).

In turn, the evidence that tourism scholars and practitioners are not fully aware of social marketing helps explain why the social marketing label was not attached to any of the 45 identified tourism-related projects (Chapter Seven). Therefore, this research confirms that the social marketing label is far from sufficient to identify tourism projects and project documents. The next section reflects on the relationships between tourism, poverty alleviation, and social marketing as the main objective in this research.

11.4. TOURISM, POVERTY ALLEVIATION, AND SOCIAL MARKETING

As Chapter Four in this research has stated, although social marketing has been used for collective welfare over the past 40 years, it has not been significantly connected with poverty alleviation. This is perhaps because poor people often have very little to exchange with other parties (Alwitt 1995), which to a certain extent runs counter to the principle of exchange in the social marketing concept. However, this research has suggested that an exchange is not necessarily defined in physical terms. For example, several tourism projects identified in Chapter Seven successfully promoted community pride as a means to reduce the number of natural resource dependents. If tangible benefits (e.g. money) appeared to have direct

behaviour impacts, intangible benefits (e.g. community pride, sense of ownership) seemed to generate long-term cognitive outcomes in the target audience.

The findings of this research indicate that the most critical barrier to poverty alleviation in Sapa is the lack of capital and farming land. Offering local poor people preferential loans and access to secure land tenure, therefore, appears to be the most appropriate “exchange” to reduce the number of handicraft sellers and natural resource dependents, thereby creating a viable tourism environment as discussed earlier. This research suggests that the experience of the Bangladeshi Grameen Bank (Yunus 2007; Chapter Four) may offer some important learning points. A social marketing program may be implemented in Sapa (Table 11.1). At the *downstream* level, a community microloan scheme may be developed by the GOV. A community fund may also be established where the communal entrance fees are retained. Groups of 4-5 local poor households each (headed by women) are formed (*target audience*) and provided with preferential loans (*exchange*). Group members are empowered to manage the loans without having to pay an interest rate. Given preferential (non-interest) loans, it is likely that the burden of interest and hence the barrier to borrowing loans is waived. The provided loans should be adequate to establish a micro business (e.g. a handicraft shop) or purchase building material (e.g. for a homestay). Given their participation in community activities, members of the local Women’s Union (Chapters Seven and Nine) may assist in disseminating information, motivating poor families, promoting local cultural values, and monitoring the effective use of the given loans. The desired outcome is the reduced number of handicraft sellers in the streets and natural resource dependents (*behaviour change as the objective of the program*). Theories of community participation and organisation may be important in encouraging local people to participate in program activities (Chapter Seven).

However, poverty alleviation cannot be achieved even when poor households are given interest-free loans if macro conditions continue to restrain them on a large scale or market barriers are not removed. The former, i.e. macro conditions, mainly refers to the lack of land as already identified. There is a need to put in place a new land policy framework that entitles local poor people to secure more land in the forest. Otherwise, it would be pointless to offer them preferential loans if they do not have land to grow rice and medicinal fruit or to build their own homestays or handicraft shops. Similarly, loans may impoverish poor people if they are not effectively invested or if they are invested in homestay or handicraft business but do not generate profits due to limited tourists. This argument suggests that social marketing interventions should be made to encourage the private sector in Sapa to support poor people

by recommending their guests to stay overnight in local homestays and training homestay owners in English and hosting skills, thereby bridging the divide between profit making and poverty alleviation (Karnani 2007; Yunus 2007; Chapter Four).

Table 11.1. Summary of a proposed social marketing program for Sapa

Program element	Description
Behaviour change goal	Reducing the number of handicraft sellers and natural resource dependents
Target audience	Poor people in Lao Chai, Ta Van, Ta Phin, and Sapa town who lack capital and land
Exchange	<p>(a) Microloans for buying wood and building material (homestays), opening handicraft shops or other small businesses</p> <p>(b) Farming land for growing rice and medicinal fruit</p>
Marketing mix	<p>(a) Product: Microloans, farming land</p> <p>(b) Price: Loans are interest-free (or otherwise a token interest rate may apply) (see (e))</p> <p>(c) Promotion: Information is disseminated by members of the local Women's Union, local elders, and village chiefs. These people may be trained to work effectively with poor people. Other medium may also be used such as brochures and flyers</p> <p>(d) Place: Lao Chai, Ta Van, Ta Phin, and Sapa town, where a microloan scheme and/or community fund is established</p> <p>(e) Collateral requirements: Groups of poor households are formed, which are headed by women. These women supervise the effective use of the loans. Loan recipients may be required to commit to reducing birth rates and sending children to school. They may also need to commit to protecting the land allocated to them</p> <p>(f) Process: A simple loan application process with minimal paperwork is used</p>
Upstream targeting	<p>(a) Communal authorities, village chiefs, and Women's Union participate in assisting poor people</p> <p>(b) Local tourism businesses are encouraged to provide employment and/or income opportunities to poor people</p> <p>(c) National government: Advocacies may be undertaken to promote changes in relevant land and/or forest policies. Changes in the <i>Law on Tourism</i> may also be required to provide incentives to businesses that offer employment and income to poor people</p> <p>(d) Other stakeholders such as foreign NGOs may participate in working with the GOV and ensuring program activities are recognised and supported by the GOV</p>
Competition	Local people are used to following tourists and relying on forest resources; tension between tourism growth, poverty alleviation, and sustainable development

At the *upstream* level, the GOV may facilitate favourable conditions for the recruitment of poor people by tourism businesses. For example, incentives (e.g. partial tax exemption) may be legalised to support businesses that employ and provide vocational training to poor

people. In addition, some provisions may be added to the *Law on Tourism* (GOV 2005a) that encourage tourism businesses to provide equal employment, income, and promotion opportunities to poor ethnic minorities (Holden 2013; Mitchell & Ashley 2010). These measures would help create a greater motivation for local tourism businesses to contribute to improving local people's lives. These measures are particularly significant given that the Law advocates tourism development that helps improve the living conditions of poor people in areas with socio-economic difficulties as noted earlier in this research.

As already discussed in the previous chapters, poverty reduction efforts would likely be limited if only physical benefits are provided to poor people. This research, therefore, supports the calls of other scholars (e.g. Amsden 2012; Kotler & Lee 2009; Moore 2012) towards placing an appropriate focus on behavioural change if poverty is to be alleviated sustainably. The findings of this research (Chapters Seven, Nine, and Ten) suggest that one main cause of poverty and thus a critical barrier to poverty alleviation in Sapa lies in the fact that some poor people are not open to changes. The evidence is that some families continue to have a number of children and prefer having their children selling handicrafts rather than sending them to school. Although there may be some immediate short-term economic logic to this approach, the long-term implications are substantial. If this situation continues, it is likely that the future of local children will replicate that of their parents' generation. Therefore, this research suggests that interventions such as offering preferential loans and land in the forest to poor people should be coupled with the implementation of a family planning policy (Chapter Two). Additionally, community norms (e.g. community pride; Chapters Four and Seven) should be taken to raise local people's awareness regarding the importance of education. Young children should be sent to school (commitments from parents who receive interest-free loans may be needed) because education tends to boost their self-confidence and allow them to find better jobs and thus earn more income. Better-educated children would have more opportunities to engage in public debates, participate in decision-making processes, and voice their own concerns. Better education is particularly important for women as it often results in better health, employment, and income for themselves and hence for their children (UNDP 2013). Therefore, this study confirms the arguments made by earlier scholars that poverty can only be alleviated sustainably with an effective combination of differing perspectives targeting a wide range of audience at various levels (Chapters Two and Four). This research also illustrates that any poverty reduction measure or policy is

neither effective nor desirable without an adequate understanding of poverty (causes) and poor people at a local level (Holden et al. 2011; Pleumarom 2012).

The dissertation's findings also appear to support the conclusion made by other tourism scholars and practitioners (e.g. Chhabra et al. 2011; Lane 2009; Peeters et al. 2009) regarding the overlap between tourism and social marketing and, in the case of the present study, poverty alleviation. This research suggests that the interrelationships between tourism, poverty alleviation, and social marketing are clearly illustrated in the behavioural issues. Tourism is the short-term movement of people outside of their usual home environment that involves (behavioural) interactions between different actors, including tourists, host communities, national governments, local authorities, and businesses. Tourism may both positively and negatively affect the poverty situation in a given destination at differing levels. The goals of governments in using tourism as a political and/or economic tool, as in the case of Vietnam (Chapter Five), may undermine the potential contribution of tourism to poverty alleviation although this potential may be well perceived. Poverty is a multi-dimensional issue that may be attributed to external or internal factors, or both. Poverty alleviation is thus best achieved when both external and internal barriers are removed as this research has illustrated. Social marketing appears to fit well in with both tourism and poverty alleviation given its core goal of promoting voluntary behaviour change at both the micro and macro levels for collective welfare. However, the issues of what and how to intervene remain contested given the destination nature of tourism and the localised face of poverty as noted.

Finally, it is noted that the conceptual framework provided in Chapter Four may not offer an adequate explanation of the interrelationships between social marketing, tourism, and poverty alleviation. However, the framework broadly reflected the knowledge base that was gained from the literature review (Chapters Two to Four). The findings of this thesis suggest that there are further factors that need to be added while others require greater elaborations. Although poor people are integral to the poverty alleviation process (Chapters Two and Four) and some behaviour change in them needs to be promoted (Chapters Nine and Ten), they are not the only ones to be responsible for the poverty situation in Sapa (Chapters Two, Four, Five, Nine and Ten). It is suggested that social marketing can be adopted to promote changes in the practices and policies of private businesses (Chhabra et al. 2011; Chapters Three and Four) so that they can contribute in one way or another to poverty alleviation in Sapa (e.g. funds; Mitchell & Ashley 2010; Holden 2013; Chapters Ten and Eleven). By doing this, they can bridge the divide between economic interests and social benefits (Karnani 2007; Yunus

2007; Chapter Four). To this end, some changes in the *Law on Tourism* (GOV 2005a), as discussed earlier in this chapter, are needed, for example, to provide tax incentives to businesses that generate employment and income for poor people (Holden 2013; Mitchell & Ashley 2010). In addition, the findings of this research have made clearer that the lack of farming land is among the most critical barriers to poverty alleviation in Sapa. Therefore, advocacy can be undertaken at the local and national level (Chapter Three) so that desired changes in relevant forest policies can be made and local people can have greater arable land (Chapters Nine and Ten). Providing favourable access to funds and farming land, as discussed previously, is key to breaking down the barriers that prevent poor people in Sapa from escaping poverty. It is also the most appropriate way to encourage local women to cease chasing tourists down the streets, create a hassle-free environment for tourists, and hence contribute to the sustainable development of tourism in Sapa overall.

In order for poverty to be alleviated in Sapa, the roles of local organisations, such as Women's Union and Youth Union, should not be underestimated. As Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine have suggested, members of these organisations can participate in disseminating information and encouraging positive attitudinal and behavioural changes in the local poor, for instance, by emphasising socio-cultural norms and values (e.g. community pride; Chapters Four and Seven). The local Women's Union may play a particularly important part in this process because it both assists the local authority in community organisation (Chapters Seven and Eight) and has influences on its members who are often the heads of their family (Chapters Nine and Ten). In addition, foreign NGOs may have various roles to play (e.g. user, funder, or consultant of social marketing programs) in the poverty alleviation process. They may contribute to advocating changes in relevant forest or land use policies given their ability to negotiate with the GOV (Chapter Seven). The conceptual framework can thus be redrawn as below (Figure 11.1), where the newly added elements are shaded.

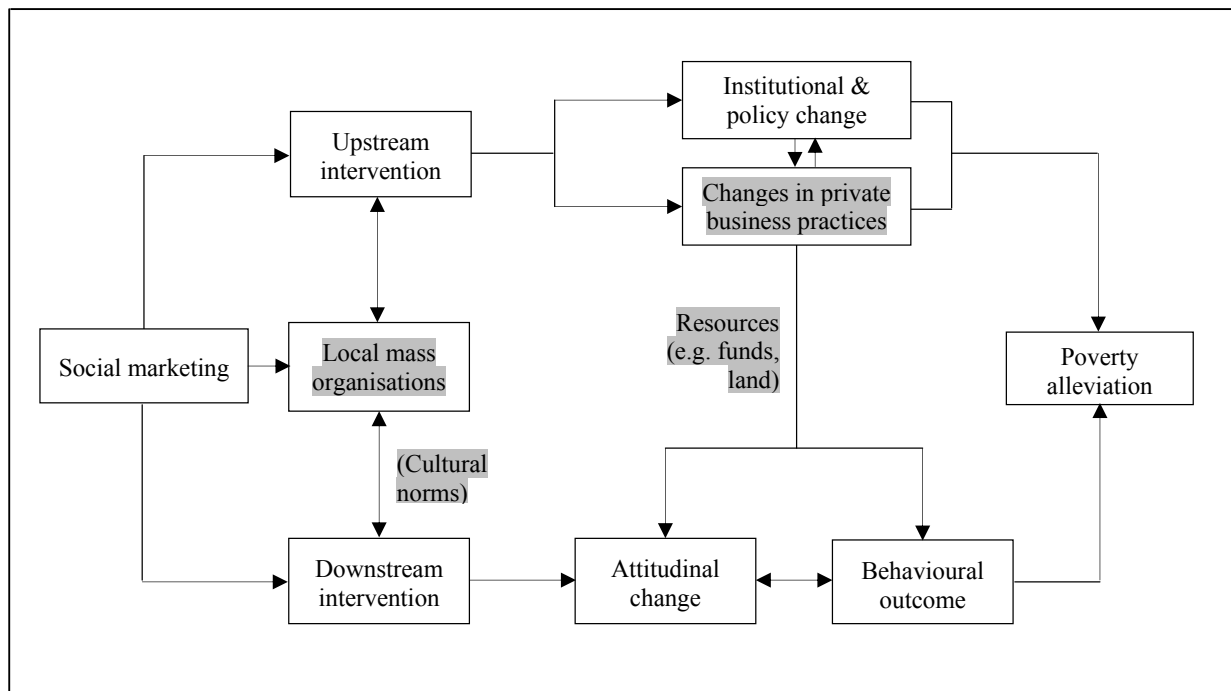


Figure 11.1. Revised conceptual framework

Since poverty is detrimental economically, socially and environmentally (Chapters Two and Four), its alleviation not only benefits poor people but also contributes to sustainable tourism and sustainable development in Sapa at large. The use of social marketing for poverty alleviation in Sapa is thus consistent with the collective welfare principle of social marketing (Chapter Three). However, it is necessary to reiterate that social marketing focuses on the issues of behaviour change and thus it may be only one contributing approach to poverty alleviation. It is also noted that the poverty alleviation process in any country or destination is challenging and long-term given the multi-dimensional nature and various causes of poverty (Chapter Two). Therefore, sustainable poverty alleviation requires a range of measures (Chapter Four), and the selection of a specific measure or the combination of several measures is subject to local contexts and conditions as this research has indicated. In addition, it is important to emphasise that this framework is built on the knowledge gained from the literature review (Chapters Two to Five) and the empirical findings obtained in this thesis (Chapters Seven, Nine and Ten). It primarily illustrates the interrelationships between the three bodies of knowledge of social marketing, tourism, and poverty alleviation with a focus on Sapa (see also Chapter Four). It may thus be subject to debate regarding its generalisations (as is common in case study research overall; Chapter Six). Nevertheless, it is important in that it contributes to identifying the linkages between social marketing, tourism,

and poverty alleviation, which have not been addressed in any previous studies. No earlier research has considered social marketing an integrated approach to poverty alleviation in tourist destinations as this research has indicated (Chapters One and Four).

11.5. CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has combined and analysed in greater depth the main findings obtained in this research. These findings have been discussed in relation to the literature that has been reviewed in Chapters One to Four. The tourism - poverty alleviation linkage has been revisited, where both similarities and differences between the findings of this research and those obtained by earlier studies have been presented. Second, the tourism - social marketing nexus has been outlined with specific reference to Sapa. Finally, the overlaps between the three bodies of knowledge of tourism, poverty alleviation, and social marketing have been illustrated, where the conceptual framework provided in Chapter Four has been revised based on the findings of this thesis. Now the next chapter turns to draw general conclusions from this study and provide some implications for further research.

CHAPTER TWELVE:

CONCLUSION AND FUTURE RESEARCH

12.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents general conclusions drawn from the research findings and main lines of argument provided in the previous chapters. First, the chapter summarises the main findings of this research. Second, it elaborates on the theoretical and practical contributions this research makes to the study of social marketing, poverty, PPT, and tourism overall. Third, several limitations to the thesis are noted and hence implications for further research indicated. Finally, the main conclusions of this research are highlighted. The discussions given in this chapter centre on the four objectives stated in this thesis: What are the barriers to poverty alleviation as identified by PPT projects in Vietnam? What are the roles of social marketing in PPT projects in Vietnam? What are the barriers to poverty alleviation identified by PPT projects as perceived by poor people and key informants in Sapa? What are the roles of tourism as a means of poverty alleviation as perceived by the locals in Sapa?

12.2. SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

This research has examined the interrelationships between tourism, poverty alleviation, and social marketing, taking Sapa in Vietnam as the case study area. First, the tourism-poverty nexus has been explored as the first area of interest (Chapter Two). The thesis has found that poverty has tended to be defined from a reductionist perspective that limits poverty to income or several other needs to a generalist perspective that recognises its multi-dimensionality. Poverty can be ascribed to internal and/or external causes, which represent classical, and (neo)liberal and political ideologies respectively. The ways poverty is defined hold important implications for the levels of and measures for poverty reduction. It is also indicated that although the tourism-poverty linkage has resulted in a growing number of academic studies, little is known of how poor people perceive tourism as a tool of poverty alleviation. The various causes of poverty, including the behaviours of relevant stakeholders in affecting poverty, are generally not explored. Where behaviour change is important for poverty reduction, social marketing may have significant potential given its demonstrated efficacy in various fields.

Second, the conceptual underpinnings of social marketing have been investigated (Chapter Three). Social marketing uses the tools of commercial marketing to promote voluntary behaviour change in the target audience for collective welfare. This is important for both tourism and poverty studies given that poverty may be due to the behaviours of poor people (and non-poor people and institutions) and that poverty alleviation appears to serve the goals of sustainable tourism and sustainable development overall. It is argued that the social marketing concept consists of six basic elements: voluntary behaviour change, exchanges, a long-term planning process, audience research and segmentation, both individuals and the general public as the target audience, and competition. These elements are also suggested as the benchmarks for identifying genuine social marketing interventions.

In Chapter Four, the potential linkages between social marketing, poverty alleviation, and tourism have been established. It is found that social marketing has contributed to settling various community issues in different parts of the world and thus to community development in general. Three perspectives (neoliberalism, trickle-down economics, and classical economics) have been identified with respect to dominating the use of social marketing for poverty alleviation, which also reflect the evolution of the poverty concept in the social marketing literature from a sole focus on economic dimensions to various aspects of poverty. Although social marketing has been connected with tourism, it is not considered an integrated tool for poverty alleviation. A conceptual framework has thus been developed to illustrate the potential interrelationships between the three bodies of knowledge.

To set the context for this research, some background information on Vietnam has been provided in Chapter Five. Vietnam appears to be an appropriate context for exploring the tourism-poverty linkage given its strong tourism policy, increased tourist numbers, and a growing interest in using tourism as a tool of poverty alleviation. The development of Vietnam's tourism has been divided into three main periods (1960-1975, 1976-1990, and 1991-present), where significant changes have been found regarding the interventions of the GOV into tourism. Although Vietnam is no longer an underdeveloped country, poverty alleviation is still a crucial task. While poverty alleviation has been included in a number of important tourism policies and strategies, it is often considered secondary to tourism growth. This represents a neoliberal perspective which assumes that increased tourism growth will trickle down benefits to poor people (Pearce D. 2012; Scheyvens 2007).

The selection of research methods and design has been discussed in Chapter Six. The mixed methods approach has proven to be the most appropriate to achieve the objectives set

in this thesis. While qualitative methods provide deep insights into the living conditions of the respondents, quantitative methods are effective in eliciting information from a large number of participants. A two-stage design was formulated. The first stage involves a qualitative review of tourism-related projects that have been implemented in different parts of Vietnam, including Sapa (Chapter Seven). A systematic search for tourism projects and project documents was conducted. Up to the end of July 2012, 45 tourism-related projects were identified, which were then analysed against a set of six social marketing benchmark criteria discussed in Chapter Three. Twenty-one projects were judged to satisfy all the criteria. A large majority of these projects were carried out in PAs that are of conservation significance and are home to poor ethnic minorities. Typical project objectives included preventing or mitigating poor people's dependence on natural resources and promoting tourism as an alternative livelihood. The most competing factors identified were poor people's low perception of conservation needs and traditional reliance on natural resources (internal), stakeholder conflicts, and weak institutional frameworks (external). This stage has suggested that social marketing might be a useful approach to alleviating poverty and conserving natural resources through tourism. This stage has helped answer the first two research questions posed in this dissertation.

Prior to seeking answers to the last two research questions, that is, to examine the perceptions of local poor people and key informants regarding tourism as a means of poverty alleviation, Chapter Eight provided an overview of the case study area of Sapa. Poverty alleviation remains a crucial task in Sapa, although important economic achievements have been made. Since Sapa has been a focus of international development assistance and a site of a number of tourism-related projects, it has proven to be a productive case for exploring the experiences and expectations of local people with respect to tourism development.

The second stage of this research involves the collection of primary data in Sapa, using both qualitative and quantitative methods. Interviews were conducted with 47 local poor people and key informants, which were enriched by field notes taken from observations and conversations held with foreign tourists (Chapter Nine). A survey was then administered with 187 local people (Chapter Ten). It is indicated that local people perceive poverty as a lack of rice and/or income and attribute it to internal and/or external causes. Sapa's tourism sector is perceived to hold important potential for poverty alleviation. However, this potential is substantially reduced by barriers to business development, employment, and hence benefit sharing within the sector. It is also worsened by the exclusion of local people from

development plans, decision-making processes, and project design and implementation. Sapa's tourism sector appears to benefit the non-poor and tour operators. Local women often work as handicraft sellers, resulting in discomfort for tourists and conflicts among local sellers. More local people consider tourism a contributor to poverty alleviation and hence wish to participate in tourism. The most critical barriers preventing participation include insufficient professional knowledge, skills, work experience, funds, and poor foreign language capability. A lack of capital and farming land is found to be the most important impediment to poverty alleviation in Sapa overall.

This research suggests that to promote sustainable tourism in Sapa, social marketing can be used to motivate behaviour change in local handicraft sellers and forest resource dependents. To this end, more alternative livelihoods outside of tourism are required. There is a need to put in place a policy framework that entitles poor people to more land in the forest so that they can grow more rice and medicinal fruit and thereby earn more income. This research also suggests that social marketing can be adopted to change the self-interested practices of private tourism businesses and promote changes in relevant forest policies. In the meantime, an intervention framework should be established to help reduce household sizes and thus mitigate land use pressures among traditional local households. Young children should be sent to school to realise their own potential. This research suggests that only by valuing the experiences of poor people can desirable and meaningful approaches to alleviating poverty through tourism be identified effectively.

12.3. CONTRIBUTIONS OF THIS RESEARCH

The insights obtained from this research have clear implications for the study of social marketing, poverty, PPT, and tourism overall. As discussed earlier, a substantial number of academic studies have been conducted on tourism, poverty alleviation, and social marketing. However, those studies are often separate in terms of aims and objectives. No research has included social marketing as a contributing approach to poverty alleviation via tourism (Chapters One to Four). This research has examined the interrelationships between these three bodies of knowledge, indicating that although social marketing has been utilised in a number of tourism projects, it is not specifically stated. This research suggests that the explicit use of social marketing principles may help the tourism sector contribute more effectively to poverty alleviation and natural resource conservation. Therefore, the most

important contribution of this dissertation lies in the integration and weaving of the social marketing, tourism, and poverty literature in the context of a developing country, which has not been covered in any previous research. The study is unique in that it both deepens and enriches our understanding of the different ways social marketing can be adopted in tourism to attain poverty alleviation and sustainable development. From a local perspective, this research generates greater awareness among academics and the public in Vietnam regarding the potential of social marketing to improve tourism's contribution to poverty alleviation. On a broader scale, this research draws greater attention among tourism academics and practitioners in other countries to the study of social marketing.

The development of social marketing over the past 40 years has generated a substantial body of literature (Chapter Three), covering a range of sectors where social marketing has been applied (Chapter Four). However, only scant research attention has been paid to the potential contribution of social marketing to the field of tourism and leisure and, more specifically, to the study of PPT. Evidence that demonstrates the efficacy of social marketing in the tourism field is lacking. This research is, therefore, important in that it has responded to this challenge, investigating the social marketing components of tourism-related projects in the milieu of a developing country, thereby adding to the evidence base of social marketing within tourism. To a certain extent, this can be considered the first empirical study that explores the interrelationships between social marketing, tourism, and poverty alleviation, and the paper that was published from Chapter Seven in this research is arguably the first tourism paper in the social marketing literature. The conceptual framework (Chapters Four and Eleven) that was based on the literature review (Chapters Two to Five) and empirical findings of this thesis (Chapters Seven, Nine, and Ten), although limited to the case of Sapa and thus subject to debate (Chapter Eleven), is the first attempt to illustrate the linkages between social marketing, tourism, and poverty alleviation. It is hoped that such research will draw greater attention of social marketing scholars and practitioners to the field of tourism.

Although the tourism-poverty nexus has resulted in a proliferation of academic research, very few PPT studies have been conducted in Southeast Asian countries, including Vietnam (Scott 2011; Suntikul et al. 2009), where many PPT development projects have been implemented. Only a handful of academic papers (e.g. Holden et al. 2011; Muganda et al. 2010) have permitted poor people in host communities to voice their experiences and aspirations (Chapters One, Two, and Four). This study is significant in that it has enriched the extant literature on PPT in Vietnam and in developing countries overall. More importantly, it

has added a local voice perspective to the study of PPT. The voices of local people in Sapa have become an integral part of this research, contributing to the setting of the research objectives (Chapters One and Four) and subsequently provided deeper insights into poverty situations on the ground (Chapters Nine and Ten). The voices of the poor in Sapa may provide important implications for development policy making, particularly in the context of Sapa being potentially included on the World Heritage list (Chapters One and Eight). Furthermore, this research is unique in the sense that it is conducted by a Vietnamese scholar and thus it adds a local angle to the study of PPT in the English language literature.

By allowing poor people in Sapa to voice their own opinions, this research has argued that tourism growth, although essential, does not necessarily translate into poverty alleviation unless barriers to business development, employment, and hence benefit sharing within the sector are removed. It has also argued that tourism, although an important sector in the local economy, is not a significant contributor to poor people's incomes. A critical cause of and hence barrier to poverty alleviation, as perceived by the locals, is a lack of farming land. Therefore, this research has suggested that providing local people with better access to land in the forest appears to be the best way to lift them out of poverty, reduce the number of handicraft sellers and forest resource dependents, and contribute to sustainable tourism development. This research has challenged the widespread perception that considers tourism a tool of poverty alleviation by arguing if there are other ways (as agriculture in Sapa) than tourism to alleviate poverty sustainably. Therefore, this study suggests that there needs to put in place a new land policy framework that entitles local people to more land in the forest. It helps planners, managers, and policy-makers in Sapa and other destinations with similar characteristics in Vietnam and elsewhere understand more clearly the barriers to poverty alleviation and the obstacles to poor people's participation in tourism. It also indicates that a grassroots perspective on poverty and poor people is a prerequisite to PPT studies and that any assumption of tourism as a tool of poverty alleviation without understanding poverty causes at a local level may be flawed. Furthermore, this research enriches poverty theories by adding a micro perspective on poverty. It suggests that it is necessary to engage with poor people if poverty is to be clearly understood (Holden 2013) and that although structural barriers (e.g. poverty policies, market access) to poverty alleviation are important, internal factors (e.g. expanded family sizes; Chapters Two, Nine and Ten) also need to be considered if poverty is to be alleviated sustainably.

This research has adopted a mixed methods approach to examining the perceptions, experiences, and expectations of poor people in relation to tourism in Sapa. Research data has been collected through a number of methods, from archives to observations to interviews and questionnaire survey, and has been analysed both qualitatively and quantitatively. Research findings have, therefore, been enriched and verified by each other and hence have helped improve the reliability of the research overall (Hesse-Biber 2010; Veal 2011; Chapter Six). This research was designed in two stages (Chapter Six) where one stage helped inform the other. The first stage contributed to informing tourism-related projects that were implemented in Sapa (and Vietnam in general) and assisted in identifying potential interview respondents. The interview part of this study sought to gain deep insights into the living conditions of poor people in Sapa, where stories were told and experiences shared. The researcher had the opportunity to immerse in the daily lives of the locals. Put another way, the researcher became part of and an insider to the local lives. In contrast, the survey part of this research did not seek to obtain rich information about the locals, but was aimed to elicit data from a greater number of respondents and hence helped expand the breadth of the research. The findings of both the interviews and survey were discussed (Chapters Nine and Ten) in relation to those obtained from the content analysis (Chapter Seven). This research thus contributes to echoing the calls of other tourism scholars (e.g. Beeton 2005; Veal 2011; Chapter Six) towards the use of multiple research methods in tourism studies. In addition, the fieldwork undertaken for this dissertation offers some learning points for future research that examines the lived experiences of poor people in such a developing country as Vietnam. That is, interview guides and/or questionnaire surveys (as the case may be) should be congruent with the local contexts and cultures and, more importantly, the participants' (low) educational level. Significant social ties should also be established and formal introductions made. Furthermore, the purpose of the research and the intended use of research findings should be clearly explained to the locals, whose consent may be given orally.

Last but not least, this research has identified that tourism projects designed and implemented using elements of the social marketing concept may be effective to attain poverty alleviation and resource conservation objectives and hence contribute to achieving sustainable development. This finding may hold some important implications for (tourism) project staff members and managers as well as (tourism) practitioners at large. This is particularly significant given the centrality of poverty alleviation to the sustainable development agenda (Chapters One, Two, and Four) and the rise of some recent debate over

tourism's greater role in societies (for example, in delivering benefits to larger community and ensuring environmental justice; Higgins-Desbiolles 2006b). This study is, therefore, of a significant practical value. In short, by combining and weaving together the tourism, poverty alleviation, and social marketing literature, this study contributes to social scientific debate, practical development discourse, and thus to society as a whole.

12.4. LIMITATIONS TO THE RESEARCH

Several limitations were encountered in the research process and are noted here to maintain the transparency of the methods used and the findings obtained in this dissertation.

As noted in Chapter Two, this research has employed a working definition of poverty, where poverty is defined as a deprivation of basic human needs while still being recognised as a multi-dimensional issue. The basic needs that are covered in this research and are widely perceived by local people include rice, food, income, employment, and education. Other dimensions of poverty (e.g. political), although included, are paid inadequate attention given limited time, funding, and thesis scope. Given the multi-dimensional nature of poverty (Chapter Two), it is a challenge for a single study to address a wide range of issues embraced by the poverty concept. This difficulty is also compounded by the destination nature of tourism and the educational level of the respondents (Chapter Six), who tend to comprehend poverty as something closely related and essential to their everyday lives and hence neglect important macro factors (e.g. poverty reduction policies) (Chapter Nine).

Chapter Six has indicated that the most important impediment to and thus the most disappointing experience in the data collection process pertains to the language barrier between the researcher and the locals. The researcher had no difficulty in interviewing project consultants and foreign tourists. However, it was sometimes challenging to fully understand what the locals meant to say although most of them could speak (very) basic English and Vietnamese. The researcher learnt that (complicated) professional terms should be omitted and that (very) popular ones be used (e.g. “confidential” vs. “secret”). Although the local guide was helpful, he was more effective in identifying the prospective interviewees than interpreting what they wanted to say since he belongs to a local ethnic group and his command of Vietnamese was sometimes quite poor. For example, the interview with a H'Mong woman in Cat Cat village (Chapter Nine), although providing valuable information, was relatively brief since the guide had difficulty in explaining what

the interviewee had actually wanted to say. For these reasons, in most cases the interviews were transcribed as soon as they were conducted and were enriched by the field notes taken by the researcher as stated in Chapter Six.

The local people's poor command of Vietnamese was also found in completing the questionnaires. Although in a number of cases questions were read out (Chapter Six), respondents struggled, for example, to rank the beneficiaries of tourism from one (most important) to eight (least important) (Chapter Ten; see also Appendices 7a, 7b). Instead, they just indicated their choices by crossing the given boxes. As a result, the number of responses given was used for analysis instead of a ranking scale as originally developed. The researcher learnt that all ranking scales should be readily available so that the local people can answer the questionnaire more easily. Therefore, readers are advised to take this limitation into account while interpreting the findings of the questionnaire survey.

Time was also a limitation to this research, as is commonly reported by researchers. As stated in Chapters Six and Nine, the data collection process was undertaken in 12 weeks, starting from August to November 2012. Although deep insights were gained into the living conditions of local people in Sapa, more valuable information could have been gathered had further research funding (e.g. airfares, accommodation fees) been available. This limitation was partly overcome given the researcher's multiple visits to and hence familiarity with Sapa.

The researcher has attempted to devise and apply a comprehensive set of social marketing criteria to identify the social marketing components of tourism projects in Vietnam (Chapter Seven). Although these criteria have been employed by scholars in other fields of study (e.g. McDermott et al. 2005; Stead et al. 2007; Chapters Three and Seven), it is acknowledged that the identification of social marketing characteristics largely depends on the applicable criteria. This is a challenge given that a widely accepted and easily applied definition of social marketing is missing although more than 45 academic definitions were found in the social marketing literature as of 2010 (Chapters Three and Seven).

The researcher has tried to ensure the accuracy of the interview transcriptions. In most cases, the interviews were transcribed as soon as possible when the researcher's memory was still fresh. They were also complemented by field notes taken during the fieldwork. In addition, the interviewees' wording was maintained as original as possible as if they were experts in their own lives (Chapters Six and Nine). However, it is acknowledged that some information might have been lost in translation (by the local guide) and transcription (by the

researcher). Some biases might have also been introduced out of the researcher's intention, as are often reported by social science researchers (e.g. Gartner 2008). Fortunately, this difficulty was overcome, to a certain extent, with the combination of field notes and observations taken as well as the triangulation of multiple data sources as mentioned.

Finally, the quality of this research depends not only on the primary data collected but also on the secondary data gathered. This thesis consulted a wide range of physical and online libraries in the search for tourism projects and project documents (Chapter Seven) and a number of statistical sources (Chapters Five and Eight). There might be inconsistencies between local and national data, particularly in the case of a developing country like Vietnam where statistical data may differ even within a statistics organisation. Efforts were made, when possible, to triangulate data between different data sources in order to minimise the risk of data misinterpretation. The above noted limitations as well as the main findings generated in this research may provide some gap for further research, which is outlined below.

12.5. FUTURE RESEARCH

Drawing upon the research reported in this thesis, several areas have emerged that may provide significant potential for further research. First, as Chapters One, Two, and Four have suggested, the limited contribution of previous PPT initiatives can be attributed to the fact that measures which quantify the pro-poor impacts of tourism are lacking and that little attention has been given to the voices of poor people in host communities. While the latter has been examined in this research, the former is not given that it is beyond the scope of this thesis. It is, therefore, necessary that more empirical research be conducted to design appropriate measures that are capable of quantifying and hence demonstrating the actual pro-poor impacts of tourism on host communities as well as its contribution to achieving the MDGs overall as outlined in the previous chapters in this thesis. Particular attention may be paid to the use of rice as a measure of poverty alleviation through tourism. Given that poor people in Sapa often define poverty as a lack of rice, it may be appropriate to convert tourism-induced income into an equivalent amount of rice as an alternative way of quantifying the actual pro-poor impact of tourism.

Second, this research has taken a grassroots perspective to allow poor people in Sapa to express their experiences and expectations. A research focus has been placed on local women as informed by one of the tourism consultants interviewed (Chapters Six and Nine). Local

men, although included, are not significantly investigated. As Holden et al. (2011) have stated, how local men perceive and involve in tourism in host communities is still little understood. This should thus warrant future research which examines the voices of local men in Sapa regarding the local tourism sector and possibly compares them with those of local women. This research has responded to the challenge posed by such scholars as, among others, Holden et al. (2011) and Pleumarom (2012), who argued that the on-the-ground realities of poor people should be considered if tourism is to make meaningful contributions to poverty alleviation (see also Holden 2013). That is, how poor people perceive poverty and poverty causes at a local level should be integral to any PPT study. Further research is thus needed to explore how poor residents in other tourist destinations in Vietnam and other (developing) countries perceive poverty and tourism as a tool of poverty alleviation, thereby contributing a larger body of knowledge to PPT study.

Third, further research is also needed to examine the attitudes and behaviours of other tourism stakeholders than poor people (e.g. local authority, national government) in affecting the poverty alleviation process in Sapa. Implications for upstream social marketing interventions (Chapter Three) may thus be indicated. This is because this research has primarily attempted to investigate the roles of social marketing in promoting voluntary behaviour change in poor people. The impacts of national/local political ideologies and development orientation on the poverty situation in Sapa, although discussed (Chapters Five and Eight), have not been thoroughly examined. Meanwhile, poverty may be ascribed to ineffective policies and structural arrangements (Chapter Two) and hence advocacy at the macro level is required. In addition, a critical social marketing approach (Chapter Three) may be adopted to examine the impacts of local tourism businesses' marketing practices on the poverty situation of poor people. As previous research (Chapter Four) has indicated, tourism businesses' marketing policies and practices may be biased towards men and thus downplay the roles of women in the tourism sector. However, the contrary may be found in Sapa, where more women appear to participate (informally) in tourism than men as this thesis has suggested. Therefore, exploratory research investigating the effects that tourism marketing practices may have on the poverty situations of poor people in Sapa and Vietnam overall would enrich knowledge and add to the evidence base of social marketing. Such research would also help complement the framework developed in this thesis (Chapter Fours and Eleven) and build a larger literature on social marketing, tourism, and poverty alleviation.

Fourth, poor foreign language skills are among the most critical barriers facing poor people in Sapa (Chapters Nine and Ten), who have suggested more opportunities be provided by the tourism sector so that they, especially the young generation, can improve their English (speaking) skills. Given that Sapa O'Chau (Chapter Nine) is the only provider of complimentary English classes for local young children, more English-speaking volunteers are required to assist local poor people in removing this barrier and hence alleviating them out of poverty. This would require research into foreign tourists' reactions towards poverty situations in Sapa, which is a considerable research gap to date (Pearce P. 2012; see Chapter Six). Therefore, it is believed research into how tourists perceive and react towards poverty conditions and what they would do to contribute to alleviating poverty in tourist destinations should be a particularly interesting theme in the tourism literature.

Finally, this research has suggested that alternative livelihoods other than tourism are needed if poverty is to be alleviated sustainably in Sapa. As growing rice and medicinal fruit appears to be the most favoured by local people, it is proposed that more land in the forest should be allocated to local households. To this end, changes in relevant land use and/or forest policies are required, which are beyond the scope of this thesis. Therefore, future research could investigate Vietnam's land use and/or forest policies in relation to agriculture and tourism, which may involve gaining insights into the perspectives of the authorities of Sapa, Lao Cai, and the GOV. There are also possibilities to connect these policies with family planning and health and welfare measures in order to reduce land use pressures among the locals. Answers can also be sought as to why the H'Mong still prefer having more children than Red Dzaio and Dzay people. In short, all the noted areas provide meaningful themes for future research in both the immediate case study region and the wider context.

12.6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The following conclusions can be drawn from the research process undertaken for this dissertation. First, the tourism sector in Sapa has important implications for economic growth and poverty alleviation, particularly for the local ethnic minorities who reside in communes neighbouring Sapa town. However, the pro-poor potential of tourism has been considerably reduced by barriers to business development, employment, income-generating opportunities, and benefit-sharing within the sector. This potential has even been exacerbated by the exclusion of a majority of local (poor) people from development plans, decision-making

processes as well as project design and implementation. Therefore, it is argued that tourism development in Sapa is neither pro-poor nor sustainable unless poor people can participate formally and meaningfully in, and benefit equitably from, tourism events and processes that affect their lives. However, it has become clear from this study that more local people in Sapa view tourism as a contributor to economic development and poverty alleviation than those who do not. A majority of the locals positively support tourism development in their communities. It is felt that local people have embraced tourism as among the few, if not the only, alternative livelihoods outside of the main rice and medicinal fruit crop given that they are subject to a lack of farming land and the severity of climatic conditions. Nevertheless, they are still far from having access to the benefits of tourism development as noted.

Second, the tourism-related jobs that are most preferred by local people in Sapa include guiding tourists, selling handicrafts, and running homestays. The most critical barrier to the two former is the lack of language proficiency that is required to communicate with foreign tourists. The most important impediment to the latter is the shortage of funds needed to purchase wood and building material. While local men stay at home, depleting forest resources, most local women play an informal role in the tourism sector, following foreign tourists to sell handicrafts. This selling behaviour has led to discomfort for tourists, who as a result have been driven away from such communes as Ta Phin. It has also increased conflicts of interest among sellers of different ethnic groups and tensions between the local authority (represented by the Code of Conduct team) and the sellers. Although several options were offered to reduce the number of handicraft sellers, they were economically less beneficial than following tourists. Local handicraft sellers abandoned the markets in Ta Phin, Lao Chai, and Ta Van. They also left the Sapa square to chase tourists in the streets. This research suggests that tourism development in Sapa, as in Vietnam overall, has primarily been driven by the persistent belief that as long as tourism develops and tourist numbers grow, benefits will automatically trickle down to poor people and translate into poverty alleviation. Therefore, this research argues that without proper organisational and managerial planning for community participation in tourism, the number of handicraft sellers is likely to increase and the identified conflicts probably become unmanageable, threatening the long-term viability of the local tourism sector.

This research also suggests that formal education, language and skills training, and capacity building are necessary to improve the participation of local people in Sapa in

tourism. Given more knowledge and skills, it is hoped that local people would have more chances to compete for employment and earn more income. There would also be more possibilities for them to establish and run their own businesses and hence lift themselves out of poverty. Importantly, with better education, more opportunities for employment and income in other sectors than tourism would likely be sought. Therefore, fewer local people may wish to participate in tourism (informally like handicraft sellers) and the pressures placed on the local tourism sector may be reduced. However, it has become clear from this research that poverty alleviation is not necessarily best achieved through the tourism sector, but instead is more an issue of limited land and capital required for agricultural production. Local people in Sapa have stated that they wish more land in the forest would be allocated so that they can grow more rice and medicinal fruit. The evidence suggests that growing rice and medicinal fruit is viewed as the most important income generator and hence contributor to poverty alleviation in Sapa. Such findings highlight the importance of government, development agencies, and NGOs in identifying the most appropriate points of intervention for poverty alleviation rather than focusing on tourism *per se*.

Third, the content analysis of PPT projects conducted in the first stage of this research has indicated that social marketing may help the tourism sector alleviate poverty more effectively by promoting voluntary behaviour change in both poor people and relevant parties. The most important barriers to poverty alleviation as identified by these projects, among others, include poor people's low perception of resource conservation and traditional dependence on readily available resources in PAs and tourist destinations (internal) and poor policy enforcement mechanisms (external). Social marketing holds important implications for the tourism sector where many of the valuable resources are associated with sites of conservation significance such as NPs and NRs. Social marketing appeared to have been utilised in 21 out of 45 identified tourism-related projects, although it was not recognised in these project interventions. With respect to the case of Sapa, the explicit adoption of social marketing principles may help reduce the number of handicraft sellers and forest resource dependents, thereby maintaining the long-term economic viability, social equity and environmental integrity of the local tourism sector and improving tourism's contribution to poverty alleviation overall. As already noted, access to increased land in the forest appears to be the most favourite choice among the locals and hence the most important "exchange" to stop local people from following tourists and depleting forest resources. Social marketing

interventions may be required to advocate changes in land use and/or forest policies in Vietnam. A social marketing approach could also be adopted to change the current self-interested practices of local tourism businesses towards more pro-poor responsible ones. In general, this research suggests that projects designed using a social marketing approach can provide important practical results and can be effective in targeting both downstream (e.g. local residents) and upstream (e.g. local authorities, policy-makers) levels.

However, progress in poverty alleviation cannot be guaranteed even if tourism provides jobs and incomes for individuals or if desired changes in land use and/or forest policies are made. For poverty to be alleviated sustainably, voluntary behaviour change in Sapa's residents also needs to be promoted. As noted earlier, poverty alleviation is not necessarily synonymous with profit maximisation. Instead, it is more an issue of how generated income is translated into long-term developments and poverty alleviation. For instance, once local people can earn more income from agriculture and/or tourism, they should send children to school to realise their potential (Sawhill 2003). Better education is particularly necessary for women, i.e. young handicraft sellers and tourist guides, as it tends to lead to better employment, income and health prospects for themselves and thus for the future generations (UNDP 2013). In addition, an effective family planning policy should be put in place to reduce household sizes and hence mitigate land use pressures among the locals.

Finally, the grassroots approach (Pleumaron 2012) adopted in this research has suggested that poor people in Sapa define poverty as a lack of rice and/or income. This view is similar to that of poor people in Laos (Harrison & Schipani 2007) but is different from that of the poor in Ghana who perceive poverty as a lack of income and/or opportunities (Holden et al. 2011). The evidence confirms that poverty is a multi-dimensional concept and therefore is often interpreted differently in differing contexts. It also suggests that poor people's perception of poverty is substantially different from that of economists and academics, who tend to limit poverty to income and/or employment. The situation is well summed up by Max-Neef: "Economists study and analyze poverty in their nice offices, have all the statistics, make all the models, and are convinced that they know everything that you can know about poverty. And that's the big problem. And that's why poverty is still there". Max-Neef thus advocates a new type of economics, "barefoot economics", defined as "economics that an economist who dares to step into the mud must practise" (Democracy Now! 2010; see also Max-Neef 1992). That means without a contextually and culturally specific understanding of

poverty and experiences of poor people, any poverty reduction measure is neither effective nor desirable. The same can be said of tourism as a tool of poverty alleviation (Holden 2013; Holden et al. 2011; Pleumarom 2012) as well as in undertaking fieldwork and research (Blocker et al. 2013; Hall 2011): only by considering the perspectives and experiences of poor people who struggle for their daily survival can meaningful approaches to alleviating poverty through tourism become clearer and more likely to succeed.

REFERENCES

- Agrusa, J. & Prideaux, B. (2002). Tourism and the threat of HIV/AIDS in Vietnam. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research*, 7(1), 1-10.
- Ajakaiye, D.O. & Adeyeye, V.A. (2001). Concepts, measurement and causes of poverty. *CBN Economic and Financial Review*, 39(4), 5-36.
- Akama, J.S. (2000). The efficacy of tourism as a tool for economic development in Kenya. *Development Policy Management in Sub-Saharan Africa*, 7(1), 13-18.
- Akindola, R.B. (2009). Towards a definition of poverty – Poor people's perspectives and implications for poverty reduction. *Journal of Developing Societies*, 25(2), 121–150.
- Akyeampong, O.A. (2011). Pro-poor tourism: Residents' expectations, experiences and perceptions in the Kakum National Park area of Ghana. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 19(2), 197-213.
- Alexander, N. (2009). *Livelihood improvement for people living in the Kien Giang Biosphere Reserve*. Kien Giang, Vietnam: GIZ.
- Alwitt, L.F. (1995). Marketing and the poor. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 38, 564-577.
- Amsden, A.H. (2012). Grass roots war on poverty. *World Economic Review*, 1(1), 114-131.
- Andreasen, A.R. (1994a). *Marketing social change: Changing behavior to promote health, social development, and the environment*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Andreasen, A.R. (1994b). Social marketing: Its definition and domain. *Journal of Public Policy and Marketing*, 3(1), 108-114.
- Andreasen, A.R. (2002). Marketing social marketing in the social change marketplace. *Journal of Public Policy and Marketing*, 21(1), 3-13.
- Andreasen, A.R. (2006). *Social marketing in the 21st century*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Annis, S. (1991). Giving voice to the poor. *Foreign Policy*, 84, 93-106.
- Ashley, C. & Goodwin, H. (2007). *Pro-poor tourism: What's gone right and what's gone wrong?* London: Overseas Development Institute.

- Ashley, C., Roe, D., & Goodwin, H. (2001). *Pro-poor tourism strategies: Making tourism work for the poor*. London: Pro-poor Tourism Partnership.
- Ashton, R.E. (1991). Land use planning and ecotourism. In J.A. Kusler (Ed.), *Ecotourism and Resources Conservation: A Collection of Papers* (Vol. 1, pp. 45-53). Madison, WI: The Omnipress.
- Asian Development Bank (ADB). (2002). *Indigenous peoples/ethnic minorities and poverty reduction in Vietnam*. Manila, Philippines: ADB.
- Asian Development Bank (ADB). (2008). *Tourism sector in the Greater Mekong Subregion*. Manila, Philippines: ADB.
- Asian Development Bank (ADB). (2011). *Overview of civil society organisations in Vietnam*. Hanoi, Vietnam: ADB.
- Bagozzi, R.P. (1975). Marketing as exchange. *Journal of Marketing*, 39(4), 32-39.
- Barkin, D. (2003). Alleviating poverty through ecotourism: Promises and reality in the Monarch Butterfly Reserve of Mexico. *Environment, Development and Society*, 5(3-4), 371-382.
- Baratz, M. & Grigsby, W.G. (1972). Thoughts on poverty and its elimination. *Journal of Social Policy*, 1(1), 119-134.
- Beeton, S. (2001). Cyclops and Sirens – Demarketing as a proactive response to negative consequences of one-eyed competitive marketing. In *Travel and Tourism Research Association 32nd Annual Conference Proceedings* (pp. 125–136). Idoha: Travel and Tourism Research Association.
- Beeton, S. (2005). The case study in tourism research method: A multi-method case study approach. In B.W. Ritchie, P. Burns, & C. Palmer (Eds.), *Tourism Research Methods: Integrating Theory with Practice* (pp. 37-48). Oxfordshire: CABI.
- Beeton, S. & Benfield, R. (2002). Demand control: The case for demarketing as a visitor and environmental management tool. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 10(6), 497-513.
- Beeton, S. & Pingre, I. (2003). Casting the holiday dice: Demarketing gambling to encourage local tourism. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 6(4), 309-322.
- Begovic, B., Matkovic, G., Mijatovic, B., & Popovic, B. (2007). *From poverty to prosperity: Free market based solution*. Belgrade, Serbia: Centre for Liberal-Democratic Studies.

- Berg, B.L. (2001). *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences* (4th ed.). Needham Heights, MA: Pearson Education.
- Berghe, P.L. (1992). Tourism and the ethnic division of labour. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 19(2), 234-249.
- Bernard, H.R. (2006). *Research methods in anthropology: Qualitative and quantitative approaches* (4th ed.). Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press.
- Bhaskar, R. (2008). *A realist theory of science*. London: Routledge.
- Bhatt, A. (1991). *Rural development and poverty alleviation: Country report on India*. Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: Asia Pacific Development Centre.
- Bjork, P. (2007). Definition paradoxes: From concept to definition. In J. Higham (Ed.), *Critical Issues in Ecotourism* (pp. 23-45). Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.
- Blackstock, K. (2005). A critical look at community based tourism. *Community Development Journal*, 40(1), 39-49.
- Blake, A. (2008). Tourism and income distribution in East Africa. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 10(6), 511-524.
- Blake, A., Arbache, J.S., Sinclair, M.T., & Teles, V. (2008). Tourism and poverty relief. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 35(1), 107-126.
- Blank, R.M. (2003). Selecting among anti-poverty policies: Can an economist be both critical and caring? *Review of Social Economy*, 61(4), 447-469.
- Blocker, C.P., Ruth, J.A., Sridharan, S.,... Varman, R. (2011). Applying a transformative consumer research lens to understanding and alleviating poverty. *Journal of Research for Consumers*, 19, 1-9.
- Blocker, C.P., Ruth, J.A., Sridharan, S.,... Varman, R. (2013). Understanding poverty and promoting poverty alleviation through transformative consumer research. *Journal of Business Research*, 66(8), 1195-1202.
- Bloom, P.N. (1980). Evaluating social marketing programs: Problems and prospects. In R.P. Bagozzi, K.L. Bernhardt, P.S. Busch, D.W. Cravens, J.F. Hair, & C.A. Scott (Eds.), *Marketing in the 80's* (pp. 460-463). Chicago, IL: American Marketing Association.
- Bloom, P.N. & Novelli, W.D. (1981). Problems and challenges in social marketing. *Journal of Marketing*, 45(2), 79-88.

- Bolwell, D. & Weinz, W. (2008). *Reducing poverty through tourism*. Geneva, Switzerland: International Labour Office.
- Bottrill, L., Beharrel, N., & Willson, M. (2003). *Bai Tu Long Bay biodiversity awareness project annual report*. London: The Society for Environmental Exploration.
- Bottrill, L., Beharrel, N., & Willson, M. (2004). *Bai Tu Long Bay biodiversity awareness project final report*. London: The Society for Environmental Exploration.
- Bourguignon, F. & Chakravarty, S. (2003). The measurement of multidimensional poverty. *Journal of Economic Inequality*, 1(1), 25-49.
- Bowden, J. (2005). Pro-poor tourism and the Chinese experience. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research*, 10(4), 379-398.
- Bramwell, B. (Ed.). (2004). *Coastal mass tourism*. Clevedon: Channel View Publications.
- Bramwell, B., Henry, I., Jackson, G., Prat, A.G., Richards, G., & van der Straaten, J. (Eds.). (1996). *Sustainable tourism management: Principles and practice*. Tilburg: Tilburg University Press.
- Braun, V. & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77-101.
- Brennan, L. & Binney, W. (2008). Concepts in conflict: Social marketing and sustainability. *Journal of Non-profit and Public Sector Marketing*, 20(2), 261-281.
- Brennan, M. & Nguyen, N.B. (2000). *Vietnamese tourism: The challenges ahead*. Retrieved September 2011, from <http://ir.lib.oita-u.ac.jp>.
- Bright, A.D. (2000). The role of social marketing in leisure and recreation management. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 32(1), 12-17.
- Bryant, C.A., Forthofer, M.S., Brown, K.M., Landis, D.C., & McDermott, R.J. (2000). Community-based prevention marketing: The next step in disseminating behavior change. *American Journal of Health Behavior*, 24(1), 61-68.
- Bryman, A. (2004). *Quantity and quality in social research*. London: Routledge.
- Buchanan, D.R., Reddy, S., & Hossain, H. (1994). Social marketing: A critical appraisal. *Health Promotion International*, 9(1), 49-57.

- Bui, T.T. (2010). Improving the local poor's participatory capacity in tourism in the north central provinces of Vietnam (In Vietnamese). *Hue University Journal of Science*, 60, 183-194.
- Burkart, A.J. & Medlik, S. (1974). *Tourism: Past, present and future*. London: Heinemann.
- Burns, P. & Holden, A. (1995). *Tourism: A new perspective*. London: Prentice Hall.
- Butcher, J. (2003). *The moralisation of tourism: Sun, sand ... and saving the world?* London: Routledge.
- Butler, R. (1990). Alternative tourism: Pious hope or Trojan horse? *Journal of Travel Research*, 28(40), 40-45.
- Butler, R. (1992). Alternative tourism: The thin end of the wedge. In V.L. Smith & W.R. Eadington (Eds.), *Tourism Alternatives: Potentials and Problems in the Development of Tourism* (pp. 31-46). Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Butler, R. (1998). Sustainable tourism – Looking backwards in order to progress? In C.M. Hall & A.A. Lew (Eds.), *Sustainable Tourism: A Geographical Perspective* (pp. 25-34). London: Longman.
- Butler, R. (1999). Sustainable tourism: A state-of-the-art review. *Tourism Geographies*, 1(1), 7-25.
- Carr, E. (2008). Rethinking poverty alleviation: A “poverties” approach. *Development in Practice*, 18(6), 726-734.
- Cater, E. (1993). Ecotourism in the Third World: Problems for sustainable tourism development. *Tourism Management*, 14(2), 85-90.
- Cattarinich, X. (2001). *Pro-poor tourism initiatives in developing countries: Analysis of secondary case studies*. Retrieved February 2012, from www.pro-poortourism.org.uk.
- Ceballos-Lascurain, H. (1988). Tourism, ecotourism, and protected areas. In J.A. Kusler (Ed.), *Ecotourism and Resources Conservation: A Collection of Papers* (Vol. 1, pp. 24-30). Madison, WI: The Omnipress.
- Chhabra, D., Andereck, K., Yamanoi, K., & Plunkett, D. (2011). Gender equity and social marketing: An analysis of tourism advertisements. *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing*, 28(2), 111-128.

- Choegy, L. & Clark, L. (2000). *Ecotourism development for Ba Be and Na Hang: Second mission report and appendices*. PARC Project VIE/95/G31&031. Hanoi, Vietnam: GOV, UNOPS, UNDP, & Scott Wilson Asia-Pacific.
- Chok, S., Macbeth, J., & Warren, C. (2007). Tourism as a tool for poverty alleviation: A critical analysis of pro-poor tourism and implications for sustainability. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 10(2-3), 144-165.
- Clements, M.A. (1989). Selecting tourist traffic by demarketing. *Tourism Management*, 10(2), 89-94.
- Cleverdon, R. & Kalisch, A. (2000). Fair trade in tourism. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 2(3), 171-187.
- Coccossis, H. (1996). Tourism and sustainability: Perspectives and implications. In G.K. Priestley, J.A. Edwards, & H. Coccossis (Eds.), *Sustainable Tourism? European Experiences* (pp. 1-21). Oxford: CABI.
- Cooper, C. (2007). Successfully changing individual travel behaviour: Applying community-based social marketing to travel choice. *Transportation Research Record: Journal of the Transportation Research Board*, 2021, 89–99.
- Cooper, M. (2000). Tourism in Vietnam: Doi Moi and the realities of tourism in the 1990s. In C.M. Hall & S. Page (Eds.), *Tourism in South and Southeast Asia: Issues and Cases* (pp. 167-177). Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.
- Cork, S. (2008). Beating the barriers to social marketing. *Social Marketing Quarterly*, 14(1), 37-49.
- Creswell, J.W. (2009). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Creswell, J.W. (2011). Controversies in mixed methods research. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (4th ed., pp. 269-284). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Croes, R. & Vanegas, M. (2008). Co-integration and causality between tourism and poverty reduction. *Journal of Travel Research*, 47(1), 94-103.
- Cutler, P. (1984). The measurement of poverty: A review of attempts to quantify the poor, with special reference to India. *World Development*, 12(11), 1119-1130.

- Dagdariven, H., Hoeven, R., & Weeks, J. (2002). Poverty reduction with growth and redistribution. *Development and Change*, 33(3), 383-413.
- Dang, H.L. (2009). *Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and development: An illustration of foreign NGOs in Vietnam* (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Ohio University, USA). Retrieved March 2011, from <http://etd.ohiolink.edu>.
- Dann, S. (2008). *A leximancer analysis of social marketing definitions versus social marketing literature*. Paper presented at 2008 Australia and New Zealand Marketing Association Conference held in Sydney, Australia.
- Dann, S. (2010). Redefining social marketing with contemporary commercial marketing definitions. *Journal of Business Research*, 63, 147-153.
- Dann, S. & Dann, S. (2009). *Insight and overview of social marketing*. Retrieved September 2011, from www.premiers.qld.gov.au.
- Dao, D.T. (2010). Developing community-based tourism in Ha Giang: The path to sustainable development (In Vietnamese). *Vietnam Tourism Review*, 4, 34-36.
- de Kadt, E. (1979). Social planning for tourism in the developing countries. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 6(1), 36-48.
- Deller, S. (2010). Rural poverty, tourism and spatial heterogeneity. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 37(1), 180-205.
- Democracy Now! (2010). *Chilean Economist Manfred Max-Neef on Barefoot Economics, Poverty and Why the US is Becoming an 'Underdeveloping Nation'*. Transcript of an interview with Manfred Max-Neef on 26 Nov. Retrieved September 2011, from www.democracynow.org.
- Denzin, N.K. & Lincoln, Y.S. (Eds.). (1994). *Handbook of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Denzin, N.K. & Lincoln, Y.S. (Eds.). (2003). *Strategies of qualitative inquiry* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Denzin, N.K. & Lincoln, Y.S. (Eds.). (2011). *The Sage handbook of qualitative search* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Department for International Development (DFID). (1999). *Tourism and poverty elimination: Untapped potential*. London: DFID.

- Dernoi, L.A. (1981). Alternative tourism: Towards a new style in north-south relations. *International Journal of Tourism Management*, 2(4), 253-264.
- DeWalt, K.M. & DeWalt, B.R. (2002). *Participant observation: A guide for fieldworkers*. Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press.
- Dholakia, R.R. (1984). A macromarketing perspective on social marketing: The case of family planning in India. *Journal of Macromarketing*, 4(1), 53-61.
- Dholakia, R.R. & Dholakia, N. (2001). Social marketing and development. In P.N. Bloom & G.T. Grundlach (Eds.), *Handbook of Marketing and Society* (pp. 486-505). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Dickinson, C. & Hoang, N.K. (2008). *The Green Corridor project final report (2004-2008): Lessons learned and key outcomes*. Retrieved May 2012, from www.thegreencorridor.org.
- Dickinson, C. & Le, V.D. (2008). *Final monitoring and evaluation report: The Green Corridor project Thua Thien Hue province, Vietnam*. Retrieved May 2012, from www.thegreencorridor.org.
- DiGregorio, M., Pham, T.Q.P., & Yasui, M. (1996). *The growth and impacts of tourism in Sapa*. Hanoi, Vietnam: CRES & the East-West Centre.
- Dinan, C. & Sargeant, A. (2000). Social marketing and sustainable tourism: Is there a match? *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 2(1), 1-14.
- Dollar, D. & Litvack, J. (1998). Macroeconomic reform and poverty reduction in Vietnam. In D. Dollar, P. Glewwe, & J. Litvack, *Household Welfare and Vietnam's Transition* (pp. 1-28). Washington, DC: The World Bank.
- Donaldson, J.A. (2007). Tourism, development and poverty reduction in Guizhou and Yunnan. *The China Quarterly*, 190, 333-351.
- Doner, L. (2003). Approaches to evaluating social marketing programs. *Social Marketing Quarterly*, 9(3), 18-26.
- Donovan, R. (2011). Social marketing's mythunderstandings. *Journal of Social Marketing*, 1(1), 8-16.
- Donovan, R. & Henley, N. (2010). *Principles and practice of social marketing: An international perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Dredge, D. & Jenkins, J.M. (2007). *Tourism planning and policy*. Milton: John Wiley & Sons.
- Drucker, P.F. (1958). Marketing and economic development. *Journal of Marketing*, 22(3), 252-259.
- Duhaime, C.P., McTavish, R., & Ross, C.A. (1985). Social marketing: An approach to Third World development. *Journal of Macromarketing*, 5(1), 3-13.
- Duong, B.H. (2008). Contesting marginality: Consumption, networks, and everyday practices among Hmong girls in Sapa, northwestern Vietnam. *Journal of Vietnamese Studies*, 3(3), 231-260.
- Eadington, W.R. & Smith, V.L. (Eds.). (1992). *Tourism alternatives: Potentials and problems in the development of tourism*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Easterly, W. (2006). *The White man's burden: Why the West's efforts to aid the rest have done so much ill and so little good?* New York, NY: Penguin.
- Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP). (2003). *Poverty alleviation through sustainable tourism development*. New York, NY: UN.
- Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP). (2005). *The contribution of tourism to poverty alleviation*. New York, NY: UN.
- Erskine, L.M. & Meyer, D. (2012). Influenced and influential: The role of tour operators and development organisations in tourism and poverty reduction in Ecuador. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 20(3), 339-357.
- Fauna and Flora International (FFI). (n.d.). *A compendium of case studies, lessons and recommendations*. Retrieved May 2012, from www.fauna-flora.org.
- Fennell, D. (2008). *Ecotourism* (3rd ed.). London: Routledge.
- Feyerabend, P. (2010). *Against method* (3rd ed.). London: Verso.
- Fine, S.H. (1981). *The marketing of ideas and social issues*. New York, NY: Praeger.
- Fink, C. (1970). *Der Massentourismus*. Berne: Verlag Paul Haupt.
- Flik, R.B. & Praag, B.V. (1991). Subjective poverty line definitions. *De Economist*, 139(3), 311-330.

- Flocks, J., Clarke, L., Albrecht, S., Bryant, C., Monaghan, P., & Baker, H. (2001). Implementing a community-based social marketing project to improve agricultural worker health. *Environmental Health Perspectives*, 109(3), 461-468.
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2011). Case study. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (4th ed., pp. 301-316). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Forthorfer, M.S. (1999). Evaluating social marketing campaigns: Strategies for assessing implementation and campaign impact. *Social Marketing Quarterly*, 5(1), 68-71.
- Fowlie, J. & Wood, M. (2010). *Using social marketing to improve community cohesion: An evaluation of an innovative communications training programme in the east end of London*. Paper presented at 2010 Australia and New Zealand Marketing Association Conference held in Christchurch, New Zealand.
- Fox, K.F.A. & Kotler, P. (1980). The marketing of social causes: The first ten years. *Journal of Marketing*, 44(4), 24-33.
- Freeman, R.E. (1998). Poverty and the politics of capitalism. *Business Ethics Quarterly*, 1, 31-35.
- Frontier Vietnam. (2003). *Sapa integrated environmental education project – An end of project report*. Hanoi, Vietnam: Society for Environmental Exploration & Institute of Ecology and Biological Resources.
- Gainsborough, M. (2010). *Vietnam: Rethinking the State*. Chiang Mai, Thailand: Silkworm Books.
- Gartner, M. (2008). *Tourism, development and poverty reduction: A case study from Nkhata Bay, Malawi* (Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Waterloo, Canada). Retrieved April 2011, from <http://libdspace.uwaterloo.ca>.
- General Statistics Office of Vietnam (GSOV). (2010). *Statistical yearbook of Vietnam 2010*. Hanoi: Statistical Publishers.
- General Statistics Office of Vietnam (GSOV). (2011). *Statistical yearbook of Vietnam 2011*. Hanoi: Statistical Publishers.
- General Statistics Office of Vietnam (GSOV). (2012). *Statistical yearbook of Vietnam 2012*. Hanoi: GSOV.

- George, R. & Frey, N. (2010). Creating change in responsible tourism management through social marketing. *South African Journal of Business Management*, 41(1), 11-23.
- Ger, G. (1992). The positive and negative effects of marketing on socioeconomic development: The Turkish case. *Journal of Consumer Policy*, 15(3), 229-254.
- German International Cooperation (GIZ). (2005). *Rural household economics baseline survey - Tam Dao National Park and Buffer Zone management project*. Retrieved May 2012, from www.giz.de.
- German International Cooperation (GIZ). (2011). *Conservation and development of the Kien Giang Biosphere Reserve project*. Retrieved May 2012, from www.giz.de.
- Gillen, J. (2011). Off the record: Segmenting informal discussions into viable methodological categories. In C.M. Hall (Ed.), *Fieldwork in Tourism: Methods, Issues and Reflections* (pp. 199-208). London: Routledge.
- Gillham, B. (2000). *Case study research methods*. London: Continuum.
- Goldberg, M.E. (1995). Social marketing: Are we fiddling while Rome burns? *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, 4(4), 347-370.
- Goodwin, H. (2006). *Measuring and reporting the impact of tourism on poverty*. Paper presented at the Cutting Edge Research in Tourism – New Directions, Challenges and Applications Conference held at University of Surrey, Guildford, UK.
- Goodwin, H. (2009). Reflections on 10 years of pro-poor tourism. *Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events*, 1(1), 90-94.
- Goodwin, H. (2011). *Taking responsibility for tourism*. Oxford: Goodfellow.
- Gordon, R. (2011). *Critical social marketing: Assessing the cumulative impact of alcohol marketing on youth drinking* (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Stirling, UK). Retrieved October 2011, from <https://dspace.stir.ac.uk>.
- Gordon, R., McDermott, L., Stead, M., & Angus, K. (2006). The effectiveness of social marketing interventions for health improvement: What's the evidence? *Public Health*, 120(12), 1133-1139.
- Government of Vietnam (GOV). (1993). *Resolution 45/CP on the renovation of tourism management and development* (In Vietnamese). Retrieved June 2012, from www.vietnamtourism.gov.vn.

- Government of Vietnam (GOV). (1994). *Decree No. 9 on the organisation and management of tourism businesses* (In Vietnamese). Retrieved June 2012, from www.vietnamtourism.gov.vn.
- Government of Vietnam (GOV). (1999a). *Tourism Ordinance* (In Vietnamese). Hanoi, Vietnam: National Political Publishers.
- Government of Vietnam (GOV). (1999b). *Decision 23/TTg on the establishment of the National Steering Committee for Tourism Development* (In Vietnamese). Retrieved June 2012, from www.vietnamtourism.gov.vn.
- Government of Vietnam (GOV). (2001). *Socio-economic development strategy 2001-2010* (In Vietnamese). Hanoi, Vietnam: GOV.
- Government of Vietnam (GOV). (2002). *National strategy for tourism development 2001-2010* (In Vietnamese). Retrieved June 2012, from www.vietnamtourism.gov.vn.
- Government of Vietnam (GOV). (2003). *Comprehensive poverty reduction and growth strategy (CPRGS)*. Hanoi, Vietnam: Cartography Publishers.
- Government of Vietnam (GOV). (2005a). *Law on Tourism*. Hanoi, Vietnam: National Political Publishers.
- Government of Vietnam (GOV). (2005b). *Law on Education* (In Vietnamese). Hanoi, Vietnam: National Political Publishers.
- Government of Vietnam (GOV). (2006). *National action plan for tourism development 2006-2010* (In Vietnamese). Retrieved June 2012, from www.vietnamtourism.gov.vn.
- Government of Vietnam (GOV). (2007). *National action plan for tourism development 2007-2012* (In Vietnamese). Retrieved June 2012, from www.vietnamtourism.gov.vn.
- Government of Vietnam (GOV). (2012). *Labour Code of Vietnam* (In Vietnamese). Hanoi, Vietnam: National Political Publishers.
- Government of Vietnam (GOV). (2013). *National strategy for tourism development to 2020 (Vision 2030)* (In Vietnamese). Retrieved June 2013, from www.vietnamtourism.gov.vn.
- Gray, M.L. (2003). NGOs and highland development: A case study in crafting new roles. In B.J.T. Kerkvliet, R.H.K. Heng, & D.W.H. Koh (Eds.), *Getting Organised in Vietnam:*

- Moving in and around the Socialist State* (pp. 110-125). Pasir Panjang, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Greene, J.C., Caracelli, V.J., & Graham, W.F. (1989). Toward a conceptual framework for mixed-method evaluation designs. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 11(3), 255-274.
- Griffin, D. (2006). *Social issue exchange: An exploration of determinants and outcomes* (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Griffith University, Australia). Retrieved June 2011, from www.gu.edu.au.
- Griffin, T. & Boele, N. (1997). Alternative paths to sustainable tourism: Problems, prospects, panaceas and pipe dreams. In F.M. Go & C. Jenkins (Eds.), *Tourism and Economic Development in Asia and Australia* (pp. 321–333). London: Cassell.
- Grindley, M.E. (1997). *Preliminary study of tourism in and around Sapa, Lao Cai province*. Hanoi: Frontier Vietnam.
- Guba, E.G. & Lincoln, Y.S. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 105-117). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Gummesson, E. (2000). *Qualitative methods in management research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Hall, C.M. (1994). *Tourism and politics: Policy, power and place*. London: Wiley & Sons.
- Hall, C.M. (Ed.). (2007). *Pro-poor tourism: Who benefits?* Clevedon: Channel View Publications.
- Hall, C.M. (Ed.). (2011). *Fieldwork in tourism: Methods, issues and reflections*. London: Routledge.
- Hall, C.M. (2013). Framing behavioural approaches to understanding and governing sustainable tourism consumption: Beyond neoliberalism, “nudging” and “green growth”? *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 21(7), 1091-1109.
- Harrison, D. (2008). Pro-poor tourism: A critique. *Third World Quarterly*, 29(5), 851-868.
- Harrison, D. & Schipani, S. (2007). Lao tourism and poverty alleviation: Community-based tourism and the private sector. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 10(2-3), 194-230.

- Harwell, M.R. (2011). Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods. In C. Conrad & R.C. Serlin (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook for Research in Education: Pursuing Ideas as the Keystone of Exemplary Inquiry* (2nd ed., pp. 147-182). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Hastings, G. (2003). Relational paradigms in social marketing. *Journal of Macromarketing*, 23(1), 6-15.
- Hastings, G. & Angus, K. (2011). When is social marketing not social marketing? *Journal of Social Marketing*, 1(1), 45-53.
- Hastings, G. & Haywood, A.J. (1991). Social marketing and communication in health promotion. *Health Promotion International*, 6(2), 135-145.
- Hastings, G., MacFadyen, L., & Anderson, S. (2000). Whose behaviour is it anyway? The broader potential of social marketing. *Social Marketing Quarterly*, 6(2), 46-58.
- Hastings, G. & Saren, M. (2003). The critical contribution of social marketing: Theory and practice. *Marketing Theory*, 3(3), 305-322.
- Healey, M.J. & Rawlinson, M.B. (1994). Interviewing techniques in business and management research. In V.J. Wass & P.E. Wells (Eds.), *Principles and Practice of Business and Management Research* (pp. 123-146). Aldershot: Dartmouth.
- Hesse-Biber, S.N. (2010). *Mixed methods research: Merging theory with practice*. New York, NY: The Guilford Press.
- Hetzer, W. (1965). Environment, tourism, culture. *Links*, 7, 1-3.
- Higgins-Desbiolles, B.F. (2006a). *Another world is possible: Tourism, globalisation and the responsible alternative* (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Flinders University of South Australia). Retrieved May 2011, from <http://theses.flinders.edu.au>.
- Higgins-Desbiolles, B.F. (2006b). More than an “industry”: The forgotten power of tourism as a social force. *Tourism Management*, 27, 1192-1208.
- Higham, J., Cohen, S.A., Peeters, P., & Gössling, S. (2013). Psychological and behavioural approaches to understanding and governing sustainable mobility. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 21(7), 949-967.
- Hill, R.P. & Adrangi, B. (1999). Global poverty and the United Nations. *Journal of Public Policy and Marketing*, 18(2), 135-146.

- Hill, R.P., Felice, W.F., & Ainscough, T. (2007). International human rights and consumer quality of life: An ethical perspective. *Journal of Macromarketing*, 27(4), 370-379.
- Hobson, P.J., Heung, V., & Chon, K.S. (1994). Vietnam's tourism industry: Can it be kept afloat? *Cornell Hotel and Restaurant Administration Quarterly*, 35(5), 42-48.
- Holden, A. (2013). *Tourism, poverty and development*. London: Routledge.
- Holden, A., Sonne, J., & Novelli, M. (2011). Tourism and poverty reduction: An interpretation of the poor of Ghana. *Tourism Planning & Development*, 8(3), 317-334.
- Holden, P. (Ed.) (1984). *Report of the Workshop on Alternative Tourism with a focus on Asia*. Bangkok, Thailand: Ecumenial Coalition on Third World Tourism.
- Hosley, S. & Wee, C.H. (1988). Marketing and economic development: Focus on the less developed countries. *Journal of Macromarketing*, 8(1), 43-53.
- Hummel, J. & van der Dium, R. (2012). Tourism at work: 15 years of tourism and poverty reduction within the SNV Netherlands Development Organisation. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 20(3), 319-338.
- Hunter, C. (1997). Sustainable tourism as an adaptive paradigm. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 24(4), 850-867.
- Huxford, K.M.L. (2010). *Tracing tourism translations: Opening the black box of development assistance in community-based tourism in Vietnam* (Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Canterbury, New Zealand). Retrieved July 2011, from <http://ir.canterbury.ac.nz>.
- Huynh, B.T. (2011). *The Cai Rang floating market, Vietnam: Towards pro-poor tourism?* (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Auckland University of Technology, New Zealand). Retrieved September 2011, from <http://aut.researchgateway.ac.nz>.
- Ioannides, D. (2008). Hypothesizing the shifting mosaic of attitudes through time: A dynamic framework for sustainable tourism development on a 'Mediterranean Isle'. In S.F. McCool & R.N. Moisey (Eds.), *Tourism, Recreation and Sustainability* (2nd ed., pp. 51-75). Oxfordshire: CABI.
- Jackson, M.S. & Inbakaran, R.J. (2006). Evaluating residents' attitudes and intentions to act towards tourism development in regional Victoria, Australia. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 8(5), 355-366.

- Jamieson, W., Goodwin, H., & Edmunds, C. (2004). *Contribution of tourism to poverty alleviation: Pro-poor tourism and the challenge of measuring impacts*. New York, NY: UNESCAP.
- Jennings, G.R. (2005). Interviewing: A focus on qualitative techniques. In B.W. Ritchie, P. Burns, & C. Palmer (Eds.), *Tourism Research Methods: Integrating Theory with Practice* (pp. 99-117). Oxfordshire: CABI.
- Johnson, R.B., Onwuegbuzie, A.J., & Turner, L.A. (2007). Toward a definition of mixed methods research. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 1(2), 112-133.
- Johnston, A.M. (2007). *Is the sacred for sale? Tourism and indigenous peoples* (2nd ed.). London: Earthscan.
- Jolliffe, L. & Farnsworth, R. (2003). Seasonality in tourism employment: Human resources challenges. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, 15(6), 312-316.
- Kaczynski, A.T. (2008). A more tenable marketing for leisure services and studies. *Leisure Sciences*, 30(3), 253-272.
- Kakwani, N. & Pernia, E.M. (2000). What is pro-poor growth? *Asian Development Review*, 18(1), 1-16.
- Karnani, A. (2007). The mirage of marketing to the bottom of the pyramid: How the private sector can help alleviate poverty. *California Management Review*, 49(4), 90-111.
- Kassirer, J. (1997). *Development of community-based social marketing approaches to achieving sustainability final report*. Ottawa: Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation.
- Kemp, E. (2001). Observing practice as participant observation – linking theory to practice. *Social Work Education*, 20(5), 527-538.
- Kennedy, A.L. (2010). Using community-based social marketing techniques to enhance environmental regulation. *Sustainability*, 2(4), 1138-1160.
- Khan, M.M. (1997). Tourism development and dependency theory: Mass tourism vs. ecotourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 24(4), 988-991.
- Kibicho, W. (2008). Community-based tourism: A factor-cluster segmentation approach. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 16(2), 211-231.

- Kim, H., Borges, M.C., & Chon, J. (2006). Impacts of environmental values on tourism motivation: The case of FICA, Brazil. *Tourism Management*, 27(5), 957-967.
- Kirchgeorg, M. & Winn, M.I. (2006). Sustainability marketing for the poorest of the poor. *Business Strategy and the Environment*, 15(3), 171-184.
- Klein, S. (1985). The role of marketing in economic development. *Quarterly Journal of Business and Economics*, 24(4), 54-69.
- Koku, P.S. (2009). Doing well by doing good – marketing strategy to help the poor: The case of commercial banks in Ghana. *Journal of Financial Services Marketing*, 14(2), 132-151.
- Kotler, P. & Lee, N.R. (2008). *Social marketing: Influencing behaviors for good*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Kotler, P. & Lee, N.R. (2009). *Up and out of poverty: The social marketing solutions*. Upper Saddle, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Kotler, P. & Levy, S.J. (1969). Broadening the marketing concept. *Journal of Marketing*, 33(1), 10-15.
- Kotler, P. & Roberto, E.L. (1989). *Social marketing – Strategies for changing public behavior*. New York, NY: The Free Press.
- Kotler, P., Roberto, N., & Leisner, T. (2006). Alleviating poverty: A macro/micro marketing perspective. *Journal of Macromarketing*, 26(2), 233-239.
- Kotler, P. & Zaltman, G. (1971). Social marketing: An approach to planned social change. *Journal of Marketing*, 35(3), 3-12.
- Krishna, A. (2003). Falling into poverty: Other sides of poverty reduction. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 38(6), 533-542.
- Kusler, J.A. (Ed.). (1991). *Ecotourism and resources conservation: A collection of papers* (Vol. 1). Madison, WI: The Omnipress.
- Laczniak, G.R., Lusch, R.F., & Murphy, P.E. (1979). Social marketing: Its ethical dimensions. *Journal of Marketing*, 43(2), 29-36.
- Laderchi, R.C., Saith, R., & Stewart, F. (2003). Does it matter that we do not agree on the definition of poverty? A comparison of four approaches. *Oxford Development Studies*, 31(3), 243-274.

- Lagace, M. (2002). *How marketing can reduce poverty worldwide?* Retrieved September 2011, from <http://hbswk.hbs.edu/item/2702.html>.
- Lane, B. (2009). Thirty years of sustainable tourism: Drivers, progress, problems – and the future. In S. Gössling, C.M. Hall, & D.B. Weaver (Eds.), *Sustainable Tourism Futures: Perspectives on Systems, Restructuring and Innovations* (pp. 19-32). London: Routledge.
- Lansing, P. & de Vries, P. (2007). Sustainable tourism: Ethical alternative or marketing ploy? *Journal of Business Ethics*, 72(1), 77-85.
- Lao Cai Provincial People's Committee (LCPC). (2002a). *Cultural conservation and development plan 2001-2005* (In Vietnamese). Retrieved May 2012, from www.laocai.gov.vn.
- Lao Cai Provincial People's Committee (LCPC). (2002b). *Hunger elimination and poverty alleviation plan 2001-2005* (In Vietnamese). Retrieved May 2012, from www.laocai.gov.vn.
- Lao Cai Provincial People's Committee (LCPC). (2006a). *Cultural conservation and development plan 2006-2010* (In Vietnamese). Retrieved May 2012, from www.laocai.gov.vn.
- Lao Cai Provincial People's Committee (LCPC). (2006b). *Sustainable poverty alleviation plan 2006-2010* (In Vietnamese). Retrieved May 2012, from www.laocai.gov.vn.
- Lao Cai Provincial People's Committee (LCPC). (2010). *Poverty reduction project in Lao Cai – Phase 2 (2010-2015)* (In Vietnamese). Lao Cai, Vietnam: LCPC & WB.
- Lao Cai Provincial People's Committee (LCPC). (2012). *Lao Cai's socio-economic situation 2012* (In Vietnamese). Retrieved June 2013, from www.laocai.gov.vn.
- Larsen, P.B. (2008). Linking livelihoods and protected area conservation in Vietnam: Phong Nha-Ke Bang World Heritage, local futures? In G.M. Haller (Ed.), *People, Protected Areas and Global Change: Participatory Conservation in Latin America, Africa, Asia and Europe* (pp. 431-470). Bern: Geographica Bernensia.
- Lavidge, R.J. (1970). The growing responsibilities of marketing. *Journal of Marketing*, 34(1), 25-28.

- Layton, R.A. (2007). Marketing systems – A core macromarketing concept. *Journal of Macromarketing*, 27(3), 227-242.
- Lazer, W. (1996). Marketing's changing social relationships. *Marketing Management*, 5(1), 52-57.
- Lazer, W. & Kelley, E.J. (1973). *Social marketing: Perspectives and viewpoints*. Homewood, IL: Richard D. Irwin.
- Le, D.L. (2010). *Sapa district promotes economic development, taking tourism as a spearhead sector* (In Vietnamese). Retrieved October 2011, from www.laocai.gov.vn.
- Le, T.H. (2007). *Developing a pro-poor tourism model for Cuc Phuong National Park* (Unpublished Master's Thesis). Vietnam National University, Hanoi.
- Lee, N. & Miller, M. (2012). Influencing positive financial behaviors: The social marketing solution. *Journal of Social Marketing*, 2(1), 70-86.
- Lefebvre, R.C. (1996). 25 years of social marketing: Looking back to the future. *Social Marketing Quarterly*, 3(3-4), 51-58.
- Lefebvre, R.C. & Flora, J.A. (1988). Social marketing and public health intervention. *Health Education Quarterly*, 15(3), 299-315.
- Leksakundilok, A. (2004). *Community participation in ecotourism development in Thailand* (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Sydney, Australia). Retrieved May 2011, from <http://ses.library.usyd.edu.au>.
- Leopold, T. (2011). Reflexivity in ethnography in community tourism research. In C.M. Hall (Ed.), *Fieldwork in Tourism: Methods, Issues and Reflections* (pp. 87-98). London: Routledge.
- Ling, J.C., Franklin, B.A.K., Lindsteadt, J.F., & Gearon, S.A.N. (1992). Social marketing: Its place in public health. *Annual Review of Public Health*, 13, 341-362.
- Liu, J. & Var, T. (1986). Resident attitudes toward tourism impacts in Hawaii. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 13(2), 193-214.
- Liu, Z. (2003). Sustainable tourism development: A critique. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 11(6), 459-475.
- Luck, D.J. (1974). Social marketing: confusion compounded. *Journal of Marketing*, 38(4), 70-72.

- MacFadyen, L., Stead, M., & Hastings, G. (1999). A synopsis of social marketing. *Health Promotion International*, 9(1), 59-63.
- Mackay, P. (2009). *Participatory socioeconomic survey – A socioeconomic baseline of coastal communities in Kien Giang Biosphere Reserve*. Kien Giang, Vietnam: GIZ.
- MacKintosh, A.M., MacFadyen, L., & Hastings, G. (1999). Developing a methodology to monitor the impact of the tobacco advertising and sponsorship ban in the UK. *Social Marketing Quarterly*, 5(3), 40-46.
- Mai, H. (2010). To effectively develop community-based tourism (In Vietnamese). *Vietnam Tourism Review*, 2, 9-11.
- Maibach, E.W. (2003a). Explicating social marketing: What is it, and what is not it? *Social Marketing Quarterly*, 8(4), 7-13.
- Maibach, E.W. (2003b). Recreating communities to support active living: A new role for social marketing. *American Journal of Health Promotion*, 18(1), 114-119.
- Mair, J. & Laing, J.H. (2013). Encouraging pro-environmental behaviour: The role of sustainability-focused events. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 21(8), 1113-1128.
- Marczyk, G.R., DeMatteo, D., & Festinger, D. (2005). *Essentials of research design and methodology*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.
- Mari, C. (2008). Doctoral education and transformative consumer research. *Journal of Marketing Education*, 30(1), 5-11.
- Markandya, A., Taylor, T., & Pedroso, S. (2005). Tourism and sustainable development: Lessons from recent World Bank experience. In A. Lanza, A.F. Markandya, & F. Pigliaru (Eds.), *The Economics of Tourism and Sustainable Development* (pp. 225-251). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Marshall, R.J., Petrone, L., Takach, M.J., Sansonetti, S.,... Novais, A. (2007). Make a kit, make a plan, stay informed: Using social marketing to change the population's emergency preparedness behaviour. *Social Marketing Quarterly*, 13(4), 47-64.
- Marson, D. (2011). From mass tourism to niche tourism. In P. Robinson, S. Heitmann, & P.U.C. Dieke (Eds.), *Research Themes in Tourism* (pp. 1-15). Oxfordshire: CABI.

- Martinsen, C. (2003). *Social marketing – A useful tool or the devils work?* (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Uppsala University, Sweden). Retrieved March 2011, from www.kbh.uu.se.
- Matarrita-Cascante, D. (2010). Beyond growth: Reaching tourism-led development. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 37(4), 1141-1163.
- Max-Neef, M.A. (1992). *From the outside looking in: Experiences in 'Barefoot Economics'*. London: Zed Books.
- Maxwell, S. (1999). *The meaning and measurement of poverty*. London: Overseas Development Institute.
- McDermott, L., Stead, M., & Hastings, G. (2005). What is and what is not social marketing: The challenge of reviewing the evidence. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 21(5-6), 545-553.
- McKenzie-Mohr, D. (1994). Social marketing for sustainability: The case of residential energy conservation. *Futures*, 26(2), 224-233.
- McKenzie-Mohr, D. (2000). Promoting sustainable behaviour: An introduction to community-based social marketing. *Journal of Social Issues*, 56(3), 543-554.
- McKenzie-Mohr, D. (n.d.). *Community-based social marketing*. Retrieved July 2011, from www.cbsm.com.
- McKenzie-Mohr, D. & Smith, W. (1999). *Fostering sustainable behaviour: An introduction to community-based social marketing*. Gabriola: New Society Publishers.
- McKenzie-Mohr, D., Schultz, P.W., Lee, N.R., & Kotler, P. (2012). *Social marketing to protect the environment: What works*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- McLaren, D. (2003). *Rethinking tourism and ecotravel* (2nd ed.). Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press.
- McMinn, S. (1997). The challenge of sustainable tourism. *The Environment*, 17(2), 135-141.
- McMurray, A.J., Pace, R.W., & Scott, D. (2004). *Research: A commonsense approach*. Victoria, Australia: Thomson Social Science Press.
- McNeill, P. & Chapman, S. (2005). *Research methods*. London: Routledge.

- McPhail, J.C. (1995). Phenomenology as philosophy and method: Applications to ways of doing special education. *Remedial and Special Education*, 16(3), 159-165.
- Mensah, E.A. & Amuquandoh, F.E. (2010). Poverty reduction through tourism: Residents' perspectives. *Journal of Travel and Tourism Research*, Spring/Fall, 77-96.
- Mestrum, F. (2006). Global poverty reduction: A new social paradigm? *Development*, 49(2), 62-66.
- Michaud, J. & Turner, S. (2006). Contending visions of a hill-station in Vietnam. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 33(3), 785-808.
- Miller, G. & Twining-Ward, L. (2005). *Monitoring for a sustainable tourism transition: The challenge of developing and using indicators*. Oxfordshire: CABI.
- Miller, M.L. & Auyong, J. (1996). Introduction: Anti-tourism, mass tourism, alternative tourism and the coastal zone. In M.L. Miller & J. Auyong (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 1996 World Congress on Coastal and Marine Tourism Experiences in Management and Development* (pp. 1-24). Seattle, WA: Washington Sea Grant.
- Milliken, J. (2001). Qualitative research and marketing management. *Management Decision*, 39(1), 71-78.
- Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry New Zealand (2010). *Biosecurity* (December). Retrieved June 2012, from www.biosecurity.govt.nz.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Vietnam (2013). *List of visa exemption agreements between Vietnam and other countries* (In Vietnamese). Retrieved October 2013, from www.mofa.gov.vn.
- Minnaert, L. (2012). An Olympic legacy for all? The non-infrastructural outcome of the Olympic Games for socially excluded groups (Atlanta 1986 – Beijing 2008). *Tourism Management*, 33(2), 361-370.
- Misturelli, F. & Heffernan, C. (2010). The concept of poverty: A synchronic perspective. *Progress in Development Studies*, 10(1), 35–58.
- Mitchell, J. & Ashley, C. (2010). *Tourism and poverty reduction: Pathways to prosperity*. London: Earthscan.

- Mitchell, R.E. (2008). Community perspectives in sustainable tourism: Lessons from Peru. In S.F. McCool & R.N. Moisey (Eds.), *Tourism, Recreation and Sustainability* (2nd ed., pp. 158-182). Oxfordshire: CABI.
- Mok, C. & Lam, T. (2000). Vietnam's tourism industry: Its potential and challenges. In K.S. Chon (Ed.), *Tourism in Southeast Asia – A New Direction* (pp. 157-164). New York, NY: Haworth Hospitality Press.
- Moore, S. (2012). *Instead of being disgusted by poverty, we are disgusted by poor people themselves*. Retrieved February 2012, from www.guardian.co.uk.
- Mowforth, M., Charlton, C., & Munt, I. (2008). *Tourism and responsibility: Perspectives from Latin America and the Caribbean*. London: Routledge.
- Mowforth, M. & Munt, I. (2003). *Tourism and sustainability: Development and New Tourism in the Third World*. London: Routledge.
- Muganda, M., Sahli, M., & Smith, K.A. (2010). Tourism's contribution to poverty alleviation: A community perspective from Tanzania. *Development in Southern Africa*, 27(5), 629-646.
- Murphy, P.E. (1985). *Tourism: A community approach*. London: Metheun Inc.
- Murphy, P.E. (1988). Community driven tourism planning. *Tourism Management*, 9(2), 96-104.
- Murphy, P.E. (1998). Tourism and sustainable development. In W.F. Theobald (Ed.), *Global Tourism* (pp. 173–190). Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.
- Netherlands Development Organisation (SNV). (2004). *Equitable tourism development in Sapa*. Retrieved September 2011, from www.snvworld.org.
- Netherlands Development Organisation (SNV). (2007a). *Development of a community-based tourism monitoring and evaluation toolkit for poverty reduction planning, assessment and management*. Retrieved March 2012, from www.snvworld.org.
- Netherlands Development Organisation (SNV). (2007b). *Tourism on Road 9 in Lao PDR and Vietnam: Identifying opportunities for the poor - A value chain analysis*. Retrieved September 2011, from www.snvworld.org.
- Netherlands Development Organisation (SNV). (n.d.). *Bringing balance to the tourism boom: Equitable tourism development in Sapa, Vietnam*. Retrieved September 2011, from www.snvworld.org.

- Neto, F. (2003). A new approach to sustainable tourism development: Moving beyond environmental protection. *Natural Resources Forum*, 27(3), 212-222.
- Neuman, W.L. (2000). *Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches* (4th ed.). London: Allyn and Bacon.
- Nguyen, D.D. (2010). The northwestern province of Lao Cai strengthens cooperation for tourism development (In Vietnamese). *Vietnam Tourism Review*, 2, 15-17.
- Nguyen, H.D. (2010). *Social marketing and sustainable poverty alleviation in Vietnam* (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, National Economics University, Vietnam). Retrieved May 2011, from www.neu.edu.vn.
- Nguyen, K.D., Cu, C.L., Vu, H.C., & Tran, M. (2007). Pro-poor Tourism in the GMS: Vietnam case study. In Cambodia Development Research Institute (Ed.), *Pro-poor Tourism in the Greater Mekong Sub-region* (pp. 181-217). Phnom Penh, Cambodia: JSRC.
- Nguyen, P.L. (2010). *The Responsible tourism initiative in Hue*. Retrieved September 2011, from <http://my.opera.com/InspiringVietnam/blog/the-responsible-tourism-initiative-in-hue-case-study>.
- Nguyen, T.H. (2009). *Perfecting Vietnam's major poverty alleviation policies to 2015* (In Vietnamese) (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, National Economics University, Vietnam). Retrieved May 2011, from www.neu.edu.vn.
- Nguyen, T.K.D. (2002). Sustainable tourism development in Vietnam. In T. Hundloe (Ed.), *Linking Green Productivity to Ecotourism: Experiences in the Asia-Pacific Region* (pp. 249-263). Tokyo, Japan: Asian Productivity Organization.
- Nguyen, T.L.H. (2006). Civil Society's engagement in the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper Process in Vietnam: An evaluation of opportunities and challenges. In Asian NGO Coalition (ANGOC) (Ed.), *CSO/NGO Engagement in Poverty Reduction Strategy Processes in Asia: A Discussion of Key Issues and Challenges* (pp. 61-74). Manila, Philippines: ANGOC.
- Nguyen, V.L. (1999). *The role of tourism in local economy – The threats of ecotourism development: The case of Sapa, Vietnam*. Retrieved September 2011, from <http://fama2.us.es:8080/turismo>.

- Nguyen, V.T. (2010). *Sustainable community-based tourism development in Sapa* (In Vietnamese) (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, National Economics University, Vietnam). Retrieved May 2011, from www.neu.edu.vn.
- Nicholson, T. (1997). *Culture, tourism and local strategies towards development: Case studies in the Philippines and Vietnam*. London: DFID.
- Niemela, M. (2008). Perceptions of the causes of poverty in Finland. *Acta Sociologica*, 51(1), 23-40.
- Novak, T. (1995). Rethinking poverty. *Critical Social Policy*, 15(44-45), 58-74.
- Ondicho, T.G. (2010). *Tourism, power and politics: The challenges of Maasai involvement in tourism development* (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Massey University, New Zealand). Retrieved August 2012, from <http://muir.massey.ac.nz>.
- Orams, M.B. (1995). Towards a more desirable form of ecotourism. *Tourism Management*, 16(1), 3-8.
- Oriade, A. & Evans, M. (2011). Sustainable and alternative tourism. In P. Robinson, S. Heitmann, & P.U.C. Dieke (Eds.), *Research Themes in Tourism* (pp. 69-86). Oxfordshire: CABI.
- Ozanne, J., Pettigrew, S., Crockett, D.,... Pescud, M. (2011). The practice of transformative consumer research – Some issues and suggestions. *Journal of Research for Consumers*, 19, 1-7.
- Pearce, D. (2012). *Frameworks for tourism research*. Oxfordshire: CABI.
- Pearce, P. (2012). Tourists' written reactions to poverty in Southern Africa. *Journal of Travel Research*, 51(2), 154-165.
- Peattie, S. & Peattie, K. (2003). Ready to fly solo? Reducing social marketing's dependence on commercial marketing theory. *Marketing Theory*, 3(3), 365-385.
- Peeters, P.M. (2013). Developing a long-term global tourism transport model using a behavioural approach: Implications for sustainable tourism policy making. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 21(7), 1049-1069.
- Peeters, P., Gössling, S., & Lane, B. (2009). Moving towards low-carbon tourism: New opportunities for destinations and tour operators. In S. Gössling, C.M. Hall, & D.B.

- Weaver (Eds.), *Sustainable Tourism Futures: Perspectives on Systems, Restructuring and Innovations* (pp. 240-257). London: Routledge.
- Pham, T.M.H., Le, T.M.L., & Koeman, A. (1999). *The impacts of tourism on the ethnic minority inhabitants of Sapa district, Lao Cai: Their participation and attitudes towards tourism*. Hanoi, Vietnam: Human Geography Research Centre and IUCN.
- Pham, V.B. (2008). *Community-based tourism development for poverty alleviation in Yen Thanh village, Luc Da commune, Con Cuong district, Nghe An province, Vietnam* (In Vietnamese). Retrieved September 2011, from www.vietnam-tourism.com.
- Phillimore, J. & Goodson, L. (Eds.) (2004). *Qualitative research in tourism: Ontologies, epistemologies, and methodologies*. London: Routledge.
- Pillay, M. & Rogerson, C.M. (2013). Agriculture-tourism linkages and pro-poor impacts: The accommodation sector of urban coastal KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. *Applied Geography*, 36, 49-58.
- Pleumarom, A. (2012). *The politics of tourism, poverty alleviation and sustainable development*. Penang, Thailand: Third World Network.
- Poon, A. (1993). *Tourism, technology and competitive strategies*. Wallingford: CABI.
- Previte, J. & Dann, S. (2005). *Confronting the challenges in social marketing theory and practice*. Paper presented at 2005 Australia and New Zealand Marketing Association Conference held in Perth, Australia.
- Ravallion, M. (2013). *The idea of antipoverty policy*. NBER working paper 19210, National Bureau of Economic Research. Retrieved September 2013, from www.nber.org.
- Redmond, E.C. & Griffith, C.J. (2006). A pilot study to evaluate the effectiveness of a social marketing-based consumer food safety initiative using observation. *British Food Journal*, 108(9), 753-770.
- Reid, R. (2007). *Social marketing as global communication technology*. Paper presented at the International Studies Association conference held at University of California, San Diego, USA.
- Richards, G. & Hall, D. (2000). The community: A sustainable concept in tourism development? In G. Richards & D. Hall (Eds.), *Tourism and Sustainable Community Development* (pp. 1-14). London: Routledge.

- Richter, L.K. (1985). State-sponsored tourism: A growth field for public administration? *Public Administration Review*, 45(6), 832-839.
- Rimoldi, D. (2005). *Ethical tourism holidays: An opportunity for competitive advantage* (Unpublished Master's Thesis, CHN University, Netherlands). Retrieved April 2011, from www.mextreme-travel.com.
- Robson, C. (2002). *Real world research* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Rogers, P. & Harman, P. (2010). *Case studies Asia*. The Hague, Netherlands: SNV.
- Rogerson, C.M. (2006). Pro-poor local economic development in South Africa: The role of pro-poor tourism. *Local Environment*, 11(1), 37-60.
- Rogerson, C.M. (2012). The tourism-development nexus in sub-Saharan Africa: Progress and prospects. *Africa Insight*, 42(2), 28-45.
- Rostow, W.W. (1965). The concept of a national market and its economic growth implications. In P.D. Bennett (Ed.), *Marketing and Economic Development* (pp. 11-20). Chicago, IL: American Marketing Association.
- Ryel, R. (1991). Ecotourism: An economic alternative for natural resource destruction. In J.A. Kusler (Ed.), *Ecotourism and Resources Conservation: A Collection of Papers* (Vol. 1, pp. 31-44). Madison, WI: The Omnipress.
- Sachs, J.D. (2005). *The end of poverty: Economic possibilities for our time*. New York, NY: The Penguin Press.
- Sadi, M. & Henderson, J. (2001). Tourism and foreign direct investment in Vietnam. *International Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Administration*, 2(1), 67-90.
- Sage, N. & Nguyen, C. (2001). *Analysis of constraints and enabling factors of ICDPs in Vietnam*. Discussion Paper. Hanoi, Vietnam: ICDP Working Group.
- Sapa District People's Committee (SPC). (2005). *Socio-economic development of Sapa district 2000-2005*. Retrieved May 2012, from www.laocai.gov.vn.
- Sapa District People's Committee (SPC). (2006). *Sapa focus plan 2006-2010* (In Vietnamese). Retrieved May 2012, from www.laocai.gov.vn.
- Sapa District People's Committee (SPC). (2009). *Socio-economic development report* (In Vietnamese). Retrieved October 2011, from www.laocai.gov.vn.

- Sapa District People's Committee (SPC). (2010). *Socio-economic development report 2009 and orientations for 2010* (In Vietnamese). Retrieved October 2011, from www.laocai.gov.vn.
- Sapa District People's Committee (SPC). (2011). *Socio-economic development plan up to 2020* (In Vietnamese). Retrieved November 2011, from www.laocai.gov.vn.
- Savitt, R. (1988). The state of the art in marketing and development. In E. Kumcu & A.F. Firat (Eds.), *Marketing and Development: Towards Broader Dimensions* (pp. 11-37). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
- Sawhill, I.V. (2003). The behavioural aspects of poverty. *The Public Interest*, 153, 79-93.
- Scheyvens, R. (1999). Ecotourism and the empowerment of local communities. *Tourism Management*, 20(2), 245-249.
- Scheyvens, R. (2002). *Tourism for development: Empowering communities*. Essex: Pearson Education.
- Scheyvens, R. (2007). Exploring the tourism-poverty nexus. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 10(2-3), 231-254.
- Scheyvens, R. (2011). *Tourism and poverty*. London: Routledge.
- Scheyvens, R. & Russell, M. (2012). Tourism and poverty alleviation in Fiji: Comparing the impacts of small- and large-scale tourism enterprises. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 20(3), 417-436.
- Schilcher, D. (2007). Growth versus equity: The continuum of pro-poor tourism and neoliberal governance. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 10(2-3), 166-193.
- Scott, N. (2011). *Tourism policy: A strategic review*. Contemporary Tourism Reviews. Oxford: Goodfellow Publishers.
- Sebastian, D. (2008). *Using the mass media to develop awareness for conservation and development of the Kien Giang Biosphere Reserve*. Kien Giang, Vietnam: GIZ.
- Seers, D. (1969). *The meaning of development*. IDS Communication 44. Retrieved January 2012, from www.ids.ac.uk.
- Sen, A. (1983). Poor, relatively speaking. *Oxford Economic Papers*, 35(2), 153-169.

- Shang, J., Basil, D.Z., & Wymer, W. (2010). Using social marketing to enhance hotel reuse programs. *Journal of Business Research*, 63(2), 166-172.
- Sharpley, R. (2002). Tourism: A vehicle for development? In R. Sharpley & D.J. Telfer (Eds.), *Tourism and Development: Concepts and Issues* (pp. 11-34). Clevedon: Channel View Publications.
- Simpson, M.C. (2007). An integrated approach to assess the impacts of tourism on community development and sustainable livelihoods. *Community Development Journal*, 4(2), 186-208.
- Simpson, M.C. (2008). Community benefit tourism initiatives – A conceptual oxymoron? *Tourism Management*, 29(1), 1-18.
- Singh, T.V. (2004). Tourism searching for new horizons: An overview. In T.V. Singh (Ed.), *New Horizons in Tourism: Strange Experiences and Strange Practices* (pp. 1-10). Oxfordshire: CABI.
- Sirakaya, E. & Sonmez, S. (2000). Gender images in state tourism brochures: An overlooked area in socially responsible tourism marketing. *Journal of Travel Research*, 38(4), 353-362.
- Skidmore, W. (1975). *Theoretical thinking in sociology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Smith, A.J. & Henry, L. (2009). 'Setting the guinea pigs free': Towards a new model of community-led social marketing. *Public Health*, 123(Suppl. 1), 1-5.
- Smith, B. (1998). Forget messages...think about structural change first. *Social Marketing Quarterly*, 4(3), 13-19.
- Smith, W.A. (Ed.). (1999). *Social marketing lite: Ideas for folks with small budgets and big problems*. Washington, DC: Academy for Educational Development.
- Smith, W.A. (2000). Social marketing: An evolving definition. *American Journal of Health Behavior*, 24(1), 11-17.
- Smith, W.A. (2006). Social marketing: An overview of approach and effects. *Injury Prevention*, 12(Suppl. 1), 38-43.
- Smith, W.A. & Strand, J. (2008). *Social marketing: A resource guide for social change professionals*. Washington, DC: Academy for Educational Development.

- Snyman, S. & Spenceley, A. (2012). Key sustainable tourism mechanisms for poverty reduction and local socioeconomic development in Africa. *African Insight*, 4(2), 76-93.
- Spigner, C. & Havitz, M.E. (1993). Social marketing or social justice: A dialogue on access to parks and recreation. *Parks and Recreation*, 28(11), 51-57.
- Stead, M., Gordon, R., Angus, K., & McDermott, L. (2007). A systematic review of social marketing effectiveness. *Health Education*, 107(2), 126-191.
- Strauss, A. & Corbin, J. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Streeten, P. (1984). Basic needs: Some unsettled questions. *World Development*, 12(9), 973-978.
- Stronza, A. & Gordillo, J. (2008). Community views of tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 35(2), 448-468.
- Sumner, A. (2004). *Economic well-being and non-economic well-being – A review of the meaning and measurement of poverty*. Paper presented at the UNU-WIDER Conference on Inequality, Poverty and Human Well-being held in Helsinki, Finland.
- Sumner, A. (2007). Meaning versus measurement: Why do ‘economic’ indicators of poverty still predominate? *Development in Practice*, 17(1), 4-13.
- Suntikul, W., Butler, R., & Airey, D. (2008). A periodization of the development of Vietnam’s tourism accommodation since the Open Door policy. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research*, 13(1), 67-80.
- Suntikul, W., Bauer, T., & Song, H. (2009). Pro-poor tourism development in Viengxay, Laos: Current state and future prospects. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research*, 14(2), 153-168.
- Suntikul, W., Butler, R., & Airey, D. (2010). Implications of political change on national park operations: Doi Moi and tourism to Vietnam’s national parks. *Journal of Ecotourism*, 9(3), 201-218.
- Tabanico, J.J. & Schultz, P.W. (2007). “People” aspect of recycling: Community-based social marketing. *BioCycle*, 8, 41-47.
- Tanur, J.M. (1983). Methods for large-scale surveys and experiments. In S. Leinhardt (Ed.), *Sociological Methodology 1983-84* (pp. 1-71). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

- Tao, T.C.H. & Wall, G. (2009). Tourism as a sustainable livelihood strategy. *Tourism Management*, 30(1), 90-98.
- Teddlie, C. & Tashakkori, A. (2011). Mixed methods research: Contemporary issues in an emerging field. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (4th ed., pp. 285-300). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Thomas, F. (2013). Addressing the measurement of tourism in terms of poverty reduction: Tourism value chain analysis in Lao PDR and Mali. *International Journal of Tourism Research*. DOI: 10.1002/jtr.1930.
- Torres, R. & Momsen, J.H. (2004). Challenges and potential for linking tourism and agriculture to achieve pro-poor tourism objectives. *Progress in Development Studies*, 4(4), 294-318.
- Tosun, C. (1998). Roots of unsustainable tourism development at the local level: The case of Urgup in Turkey. *Tourism Management*, 19(6), 595-610.
- Tosun, C. (2001). Challenges of sustainable tourism development in the developing world: The case of Turkey. *Tourism Management*, 22(3), 289-303.
- Tran, D.T. (2005). *Introduction to tourism* (In Vietnamese). Hanoi, Vietnam: VNU Publishers.
- Tran, T.M.H., Nguyen, C.H., & Haruo, N. (2010). Potential of developing community-based ecotourism in Van Don district, Quang Ninh province. *Vietnam National University Journal of Science*, 26, 126-140.
- Trejos, B. & Chiang, L.N. (2009). Local economic linkages to community-based tourism in rural Costa Rica. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 30, 373-387.
- Tribe, J. (2009) (Eds.). *Philosophical issues in tourism*. Bristol: Channel View Publications.
- United Nations (UN). (1987). *Our common future*. Retrieved January 2013, from www.upload.wikipedia.org.
- United Nations (UN). (2012). *The Millennium Development Goals report 2012*. New York, NY: UN.
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). (1990). *Human development report 1990*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). (2004). *Creating protected areas for resource conservation using landscape ecology (PARC)*. Report of the Final Evaluation Mission. Hanoi, Vietnam: UNDP.
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). (2006). *Human development report 2006*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). (2009). *A mapping exercise – Poverty reduction programme and policies in Vietnam*. Hanoi, Vietnam: UNDP.
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). (2010). *Human development report 2010*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). (2013). *Human development report 2013 – The rise of the South: Human progress in a diverse world*. New York, NY: UNDP.
- United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO). (1999). *Global code of ethics for tourism*. Madrid: UNWTO.
- United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO). (2002a). *Enhancing the economic benefits of tourism for local communities and poverty alleviation*. Madrid: UNWTO.
- United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO). (2002b). *Tourism and poverty alleviation*. Madrid: UNWTO.
- United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO). (2004). *Tourism and poverty alleviation: Recommendations for actions*. Madrid: UNWTO.
- United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO). (2005a). *Cultural tourism and poverty alleviation*. Madrid: UNWTO.
- United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO). (2005b). *Making tourism more sustainable: A guide for policy makers*. Madrid: UNWTO.
- United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO). (2005c). *Tourism, microfinance and poverty alleviation*. Madrid: UNWTO.
- United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO). (2006). *Poverty alleviation through tourism – A compilation of good practices*. Madrid: UNWTO.
- United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO). (2007). *Increase tourism to fight poverty – New Year message from UNWTO*. Madrid: UNWTO.

- United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO). (2010). *Manual on tourism and poverty alleviation – Practical steps for destinations*. Madrid: UNWTO.
- United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO). (2011a). *Policy and practice for global tourism*. Madrid: UNWTO.
- United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO). (2011b). *UNWTO World Tourism Barometer*. Madrid: UNWTO.
- United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO). (n.d.). *ST-EP programme: Sustainable tourism – Eliminating poverty*. Madrid: UNWTO.
- United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) and United Nations Women. (2011). *Global report on women in tourism 2010*. Madrid: UNWTO & UN Women.
- Urry, J. (2002). *The tourist gaze* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Vanhove, N. (1981). Tourism and employment. *International Journal of Tourism Management*, 20(3), 162-175.
- Veal, A.J. (2011). *Research methods for leisure and tourism: A practical guide* (4th ed.). London: Prentice Hall.
- Vietnam National Administration of Tourism (VNAT). (2001). *Circular No. 4 guiding the implementation of Decree 27 on travel business and tour guiding* (In Vietnamese). Retrieved October 2011, from www.vietnamtourism.gov.vn.
- Vietnam National Administration of Tourism (VNAT). (2005). *Forty-five years of Vietnam's tourism sector* (In Vietnamese). Retrieved October 2011, from www.vietnamtourism.gov.vn.
- Vietnam National Administration of Tourism (VNAT). (2006). *Final evaluation report of the National Action Plan for Tourism Development 2002-2005* (In Vietnamese). Retrieved October 2011, from www.vietnamtourism.gov.vn.
- Vietnam National Administration of Tourism (VNAT). (2009a). *Some achievements in the development of Vietnam's tourism sector* (In Vietnamese). Retrieved October 2011, from www.vietnamtourism.gov.vn.
- Vietnam National Administration of Tourism (VNAT) (2009b). *National standards for tourist hotels* (In Vietnamese). Retrieved October 2011, from www.vietnamtourism.gov.vn.

- Vietnam National Administration of Tourism (VNAT). (2010). *Mobilising investment resources for infrastructure construction, product diversification and quality improvement* (In Vietnamese). Retrieved October 2011, from www.vietnamtourism.gov.vn.
- Vietnam National Administration of Tourism (VNAT). (2011a). *Final evaluation of tourism development in 2011 and directions for 2012* (In Vietnamese). Retrieved June 2012, from www.vietnamtourism.gov.vn.
- Vietnam National Administration of Tourism (VNAT). (2011b). *Tourism statistics 2011* (In Vietnamese). Retrieved April 2013, from www.vietnamtourism.gov.vn.
- Vietnam National Administration of Tourism (VNAT). (2014a). *International tourist arrivals to Vietnam 2013* (In Vietnamese). Retrieved February 2014, from www.vietnamtourism.gov.vn.
- Vietnam National Administration of Tourism (VNAT). (2014b). *Domestic tourists 2000-2013* (In Vietnamese). Retrieved February 2014, from www.vietnamtourism.gov.vn.
- Vietnam National Administration of Tourism (VNAT). (2014c). *Tourism receipts 2000-2013* (In Vietnamese). Retrieved February 2014, from www.vietnamtourism.gov.vn.
- Vu, N. & Sato, M. (2010). Tourism and amenity migration in hill stations: The case study of Sapa in Vietnam. *Advanced Tourism Studies*, 7, 1-16.
- Vu, T.T. (2009). Tourism development: Opportunities and challenges (In Vietnamese). *Vietnam Tourism Review*. Retrieved September 2011, from www.vtr.org.vn.
- Vu, T.T. (2010). Developing handicrafts village-based tourism in Vietnam (In Vietnamese). *Vietnam Tourism Review*, 4, 23-23.
- Wagle, U. (2002). Rethinking poverty: Definition and measurement. *International Social Science Journal*, 54(171), 155-165.
- Wagle, U. (2008). *Multidimensional poverty measurement – Concepts and applications*. Kalamazoo, MI: Springer.
- Wall, G. (1997). Is ecotourism sustainable? *Environmental Management*, 21(4), 483-491.
- Wall, G. (2005). Sustainable tourism – Unsustainable development. In S. Wahab & J.J. Pigram (Eds.), *Tourism, Development and Growth: The Challenge of Sustainability*, (pp. 31-45). London: Routledge.

- Walsh, D.C., Rudd, R.E., Moeykens, B.A., & Moloney, T.W. (1993). Social marketing for public health. *Health Affairs*, 12(2), 104-119.
- Wattanakuljarus, A. & Coxhead, I. (2008). Is tourism-based development good for the poor? A general equilibrium analysis for Thailand. *Journal of Policy Modelling*, 30(6), 929-955.
- Wearing, S., Archer, D., & Beeton, S. (2007). *The sustainable marketing of tourism in protected areas*. Gold Coast, Australia: Sustainable Tourism Cooperative Research Centre.
- Weaver, D. (2001). Ecotourism as mass tourism: Contradiction or reality? *Cornell Hospitality Quarterly*, 42(2), 104-112.
- Weeden, C. (2002). Ethical tourism: An opportunity for competitive advantage? *Journal of Vacation Marketing*, 8(2), 141-153.
- Wheeller, B. (1992). Alternative tourism: A deceptive ploy. In C.P. Cooper & A. Lockwood (Eds.), *Progress in Tourism, Recreation and Hospitality Management* (pp. 140-145). London: Belhaven Press.
- Wiebe, G.D. (1951). Merchandising commodities and citizenship on television. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 15(4), 679-691.
- Wilkinson, P.F. & Pratiwi, W. (1995). Gender and tourism in an Indonesian village. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 22(2), 283-299.
- Winters, P., Corral, L., & Mora, A.M. (2013). Assessing the role of tourism in poverty alleviation: A research agenda. *Development Policy Review*, 31(2), 177-202.
- Wood, M. (2008). Applying commercial marketing theory to social marketing: A tale of 4Ps (and a B). *Social Marketing Quarterly*, 14(1), 76-85.
- Wood, M.E., Gatz, F.A., & Lindberg, K. (1991). The ecotourism society: An action agenda. In J.A. Kusler (Ed.), *Ecotourism and Resources Conservation: A Collection of Papers* (Vol. 1, pp. 75-79). Madison, WI: The Omnipress.
- Wong, C.Y. (2007). *Tourism as a component of globalisation: Social and physical effects of gentrification*. Retrieved September 2011, from www.elchinas.pbworks.com.
- World Bank (WB). (2007). *Forest protection and rural development implementation completion and results report*. Retrieved May 2012, from www.worldbank.org.

- World Wildlife Fund (WWF). (2001). *Guidelines for community-based ecotourism*. Gland, Switzerland: WWF.
- Yin, K.R. (2011). *Qualitative research: From start to finish*. New York, NY: The Guilford Press.
- Yin, K.R. (2014). *Case study research: Design and methods* (5th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Yunus, M. (2007). *Creating a world without poverty – Social business and the future of capitalism*. New York, NY: Public Affairs.
- Ziffer, K. (1989). *Ecotourism: An uneasy alliance*. Washington, DC: Conservation International.
- Zingerli, C. (2005). Colliding understandings of biodiversity conservation in Vietnam: Global claims, national interests, and local struggles. *Society and Natural Resources*, 18(8), 733-747.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1. List of Vietnamese Visa Waiver Countries

No.	Countries	No.	Countries	No.	Countries	No.	Countries
1	Afghanistan	21	Czech Republic	41	Laos	61	Russia
2	Albania	22	Denmark	42	Malaysia	62	Saudi Arabia
3	Algeria	23	Dominique	43	Mexico	63	Serbia
4	Angola	24	Ecuador	44	Moldova	64	Singapore
5	Argentina	25	Egypt	45	Mongol	65	Slovakia
6	Armenia	26	Estonia	46	Montenegro	66	Slovenia
7	Azerbaijan	27	El Salvador	47	Morocco	67	South Africa
8	Bangladesh	28	Finland	48	Mozambique	68	South Korea
9	Belarus	29	France	49	Myanmar	69	Spain
10	Bolivia	30	Germany	50	Nicaragua	70	Sri Lanka
11	Brazil	31	Hungary	51	North Korea	71	Sweden
12	Brunei	32	India	52	Norway	72	Switzerland
13	Bulgaria	33	Indonesia	53	Pakistan	73	Thailand
14	Cambodia	34	Iran	54	Panama	74	Tunisia
15	Chile	35	Iraq	55	Paraguay	75	Turkey
16	China	36	Israel	56	Peru	76	United Arab Emirates
17	Colombia	37	Italy	57	Philippines	77	Ukraine
18	Costa Rica	38	Japan	58	Poland	78	Uruguay
19	Croatia	39	Kazakhstan	59	Portugal	79	Uzbekistan
20	Cuba	40	Kyrgyzstan	60	Romania	80	Venezuela

Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Vietnam (2013)

Appendix 2. Information Sheet

College of Business and Economics

Truong Van Dao
PhD Candidate
Department of Management
Tel: +64 3 3642987 Ext: 8129, Fax: +64 3 364 2745
Email: van.truong@pg.canterbury.ac.nz



"Tourism and poverty alleviation: A case study of Sapa, Vietnam"

INFORMATION SHEET FOR RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

My name is Truong Van Dao. I am a PhD student in management at University of Canterbury, New Zealand and also a lecturer in tourism at National Economics University, Vietnam. In order to examine the interrelationships between tourism, poverty alleviation, and social marketing, I am interested in collecting data on the activities of tourism projects as well as the perspectives of people involved in and/or affected by such projects. I would like to use this information as a part of my PhD thesis and for research-based publications and presentations.

In this respect, I would like to invite you to participate in this project. Please read this Information Sheet carefully before deciding whether or not to participate. If you decide to participate, I thank you. If you decide not to, there is no disadvantage to you and I appreciate the time taken to consider the invitation.

The Aim of this Project

The aim of this project is to investigate the interrelationships between tourism, poverty alleviation, and social marketing. More specifically, to answer the following questions:

1. What are the barriers to poverty alleviation identified in tourism projects in Vietnam?
2. What are the roles of social marketing in tourism projects in Vietnam?
3. What are the barriers to poverty alleviation identified by tourism projects as perceived by the local people and key informants in Sapa?
4. What are the roles of tourism as a means of poverty alleviation as perceived by the locals in Sapa?

Participants' Role in this Project

If you decide to participate in this research project, you will be invited to do the following:

- Be interviewed by me to discuss your perspective on tourism projects implemented in your area of residence. The interview will take approximately 60-90 minutes and will be conducted at your company/workplace or another location of your choice.
- Based on main interview results, I may ask for a follow-up interview, if required.
- Allow me to use the results of the project for public publications such as PhD thesis, journal publications or conference presentations.
- Allow me to visit your company/workplace and discuss with you when available.
- By your permission, the interview will be audio recorded.

Participants' Right to Withdraw from Project

You may withdraw from participation in the research project at any time and without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind, before the data is analysed, i.e. March, 2013.

Material Collected and Use

The material collected from this project will be treated as confidential. Company names or names of individuals will be treated as confidential and I will use pseudonyms and codes for my data analysis and all published reports in order to develop an understanding of how tourism, poverty alleviation, and social marketing interrelate. Ultimately, it is desired by the researchers to be able to report the findings from this project in a scholarly outlet (thesis, journal publication, conference presentation, and via the University of Canterbury library database).

You will have access to data gathered regarding yourself, although this will be limited to data relating to you only. You will have the opportunity to review the interview transcript. You will also be able to request feedback on the overall results of the study.

Security of Material Provided

All primary source materials generated during this project will be securely stored either through password protection or in my office and my supervisors' offices, held for 10 years, and destroyed after that time period. The material will only be accessed by me and my supervisors, Prof. Michael Hall and Dr. Tony Garry.

Human Ethics Committee

This project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee.

Contact Person for this Project

Truong Van Dao, PhD Candidate
Department of Management, University of Canterbury
Private Bag 4800, Christchurch 8140, New Zealand
Ph +64 3 3642987 Ext: 8129, Fax +64 3 364 2745
Email: van.truong@pg.canterbury.ac.nz
Web: www.mang.canterbury.ac.nz
Or: Department of Tourism and Hospitality
Room 108, Block 14, National Economics University
207 GiaiPhong Rd, Hai Ba TrungDist, Hanoi, Vietnam
Email: vandao83@yahoo.co.uk; Ph +84945 552 250

Prof. Michael Hall, Professor of Marketing
Department of Management, University of Canterbury
Private Bag 4800, Christchurch 8140, New Zealand
Ph +64 3 3642987 ext. 8612, Fax +64 3 3642020
Email: michael.hall@canterbury.ac.nz

Dr Tony Garry, Senior Lecturer in Marketing
Department of Marketing, University of Otago
PO Box 56, Dunedin9016, New Zealand
Ph +64 3 479 8170
Email: tony.garry@otago.ac.nz

Appendix 3. Invitation Letter

Date _____

Full contact details _____



INVITATION LETTER

Dear _____,

My name is Truong Van Dao, a PhD student supervised by Prof. Michael Hall and Dr Tony Garry of the Department of Management, University of Canterbury and the Department of Marketing, University of Otago, respectively. I am also a lecturer of tourism at National Economics University (Hanoi, Vietnam). I am writing a thesis on tourism and poverty alleviation, in order to develop an understanding of how tourism, poverty alleviation, and social marketing interrelate.

As an experienced project consultant/a local resident of Sapa, I would like to invite you to be part of this study. This will involve an unstructured interview mainly about tourism projects that you have been involved in. You reserve the right to participate in and withdraw from the interview. The interview will take approximately 60-90 minutes and with your permission, will be audio-taped. The information that you provide will be kept strictly confidential. Your name and your company name will be treated as confidential and will not be shared with other individuals or organisations. I will use pseudonyms and codes for my data analysis and all published reports. Please note that a PhD is a public document via the University of Canterbury library database.

Please be assured that this study is conducted solely for academic purposes. A copy of the final report will be sent to you if you wish to receive it. I shall contact you by telephone in a few days to verify your availability and to schedule an interview at your convenience. Meanwhile, if you have any questions regarding this study, please do not hesitate to contact me at the university on +6433667001 ext. 4135 or e-mail me at van.truong@pg.canterbury.ac.nz or my primary supervisor. Thank you very much in anticipation of your participation in this study.

Very truly yours,

Truong Van Dao, PhD Candidate
Department of Management, University of Canterbury
Private Bag 4800, Christchurch 8140, New Zealand
Ph +64 3366 7001 Ext: 4135, Fax +64 3 364 2745
Email: van.truong@pg.canterbury.ac.nz
Web: www.mang.canterbury.ac.nz
Or: Department of Tourism and Hospitality
Room 108, Block 14, National Economics University
207 Giai Phong Rd, Hai Ba Trung Dist, Hanoi, Vietnam
Email: vandao83@yahoo.co.uk; Ph +84945 552 250

Prof. Michael Hall, Professor of Marketing
Department of Management, University of Canterbury
Private Bag 4800, Christchurch 8140, New Zealand
Ph +64 3 3642987 ext. 8612, Fax +64 3 3642020
Email: michael.hall@canterbury.ac.nz

University of Canterbury Private Bag 4800, Christchurch 8140, New Zealand. www.canterbury.ac.nz

Appendix 4. Interview Guide – Tourism Consultants

Truong Van Dao
PhD Candidate
Department of Management
Tel: +64 3 3642987 Ext: 8129, Fax: +64 3 364 2745
Email: van.truong@pg.canterbury.ac.nz
Department of Tourism and Hospitality
National Economics University
207 GiaiPhong Rd, Hai Ba TrungDist, Hanoi, Vietnam
Email: vandao83@yahoo.co.uk; Ph +84945 552 250



Interview Guideline

Interview code:

--	--	--	--

(For project staffs – Note that the information they provide will be strictly confidential and they can withdraw from the interview at any time)

1. Topics related to poverty

- To you, what are the main income sources of local people?
- Who are the most regular users of forest resources (the rich/the poor/the ethnic minorities, how often, why)
- What, in your opinion, are the main causes of poverty in your project location?
- Do you think that continued overuse of forest/tourism resources will exacerbate poverty?
- To you, what should be done to mitigate the overuse of forest/tourism resources?
- What are the main barriers to poverty alleviation that your project organisation has identified so far?
- Do the attitudes and behaviours of local people affect their poverty state? If yes, give examples.

2. Topics related to tourism

- Do you consider tourism as an effective means of poverty alleviation?
- Which specific aspects of poverty can tourism contribute to alleviate?
- Which specific aspects of poverty can tourism not alleviate?
- How are the relationships between local people and other tourism stakeholders? Do these relationships affect the potential of tourism as a means of poverty alleviation?
- In what ways can tourism develop sustainably?

3. Topics related to behaviour change and social marketing

- Do you think behaviour change in local people/other tourism stakeholders is important for poverty alleviation? If yes, how important and give examples of such change. If no, explain.
- Which tools have been utilised so far to promote behaviour change by your project organisation?
- Are you aware of the social marketing concept? If yes, elaborate the elements used in your project? If no, provide some information about the tools used or theories underpinned your project(s)?
- Which aspects of your project has social marketing been adopted to address?
- To you, has social marketing been effective in achieving your project objectives?
- Overall, what do you think about the roles of social marketing as a means of promoting behaviour change in your project's target audience?

Appendix 5. Participant Observation Guide

Truong Van Dao
PhD Candidate
Department of Management
Tel: +64 3 3642987 Ext: 8129, Fax: +64 3 364 2745
Email: van.truong@pg.canterbury.ac.nz
Department of Tourism and Hospitality
National Economics University
207 GiaiPhong Rd, Hai Ba TrungDist, Hanoi, Vietnam
Email: vandao83@yahoo.co.uk; Ph +84945 552 250



Participant observation guide

1. Purposes of observation

The observations aim to examine the behaviours of the local people as demonstrated in their everyday life context. These behaviours include, but are not limited to, the locals' use/extraction of tourism resources, their involvement in tourism activities, and their relationships with other tourism stakeholders.

2. Locations of observation

The locations of observation are Sapa town, Ta Van, Ta Phin, and Lao Chai communes.

3. Number of observation

Four observations will be carried out, corresponding to the four locations noted above.

4. Observation time

First time: 2012. Second time: 2013

5. Length and subjects of observation

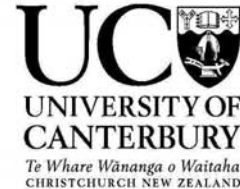
The length of each observation will be about 2-3 hours or more depending on the specific situation in the field. The subjects will typically include local poor people. However, other people will also be covered such as the non-poor, the tour operators, and local authorities.

6. Record sheets

A record sheet is established and maintained for each location. The sheet will include all information to be collected based on this guide: (i) observation time, (ii) purpose, (iii) location, (iv) number, (v) length and subject, (vi) description of the observed behaviours, and (vii) other remarks (if any).

Appendix 6. Interview Guide – Local People

Truong Van Dao
 PhD Candidate
 Department of Management
 Tel: +64 3 3642987 Ext: 8129, Fax: +64 3 364 2745
 Email: van.truong@pg.canterbury.ac.nz
 Department of Tourism and Hospitality
 National Economics University
 207 GiaiPhong Rd, Hai Ba TrungDist, Hanoi, Vietnam
 Email: vandao83@yahoo.co.uk; Ph +84945 552 250



Interview Guideline

Interview code:

--	--	--	--

(For local people – Note that the information they provide will be strictly confidential and they can withdraw from the interview at any time)

<p>1. Topics related to poverty</p> <p>a. What are the main income sources of people in your location?</p> <p>b. What are the main activities that people take to the forestresources? How often?</p> <p>c. Who are the most regular users of forestresources? (the rich/the poor/the ethnic minorities, how often, why)</p> <p>d. In your opinion, what are the main causes of continued overuse of forest resources in your location?</p> <p>e. Are you aware of the poverty condition in your location?</p> <p>f. Would you think of yourself/your family as being poor?</p> <p>g. What, in your opinion, are the main causes of poverty?</p> <p>h. What are the main barriers to poverty alleviation in your location? Critical issues in your location?</p> <p>i. Do you think that continued overuse of forest resources will exacerbate poverty?</p> <p>j. What would you do to both improve your living condition and protect the environment?</p>
<p>2. Topics related to tourism</p> <p>a. Are you aware of the tourism projects that have been implemented in your location so far?</p> <p>b. Have you ever been included as part of tourism projects? Reason?</p> <p>c. Have you ever tried your best to becomepart of tourism projects? Reason?</p> <p>d. Would you be willing to participate in future tourism projects/activities if possible?</p> <p>e. To you, have tourism projects effectively contributed to improving your living standards?</p> <p>f. In your opinion, who has been the main beneficiary of tourism projects/benefits?</p> <p>g. Have tourism projects involved local poor people in their activities? Reason?</p> <p>h. How would you best describe therelationships between the local people and other tourism stakeholders and the impacts of these relationships on poverty?</p> <p>i. Overall, would you consider tourism as an effective tool of poverty alleviation in your location?</p>
<p>3. Topics related to behaviour change and social marketing</p> <p>a. Do you think behaviour change in local people/other tourism stakeholders is important for poverty alleviation in your location? If yes, how important and give examples of such change. If no, explain.</p> <p>b. Are you aware of the tools utilised so far to promote behaviour change by project organisations? If yes, elaborate.</p> <p>c. Are you aware of the social marketing concept? If yes, elaborate any elements you are aware of. If no, provide some information about the tools or theories used by projects carried out in your location.</p> <p>d. Which aspects of behaviour change have been addressed by project organisations?</p> <p>e. To you, has behaviour change been effectively promoted by project organisations? Explain.</p> <p>f. Overall, what do you think about the roles of social marketing as a means of promoting behaviour change in your location?</p>

Appendix 7a. Questionnaire Sample – English

Truong Van Dao
Department of Management
University of Canterbury
Christchurch 8140, New Zealand
Department of Tourism & Hospitality
National Economics University
207 Giai Phong, Hanoi, Vietnam
Email: van.truong@pg.canterbury.ac.nz



LOCAL RESIDENT SURVEY

This survey aims to examine the perceptions of local residents in Sapa regarding tourism as a means of poverty alleviation. It is prepared as part of my PhD thesis at the University of Canterbury (New Zealand). It is entirely at your discretion as to participate in this survey. Your answers to the contained questions will thus be construed as your voluntary participation. All information provided by you will be strictly confidential and will be used for research purposes only. Thank you.

Commune/Code: ☐ _____
Village/Code: ☐ _____
Household/Code: ☐ _____

Section 1. In this section, I would like to learn about your personal information.

1. How old are you?

- | | | |
|--|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 15-19 years old | <input type="checkbox"/> 40-49 years old | <input type="checkbox"/> Over 65 years old |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 20-29 years old | <input type="checkbox"/> 50-59 years old | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 30-39 years old | <input type="checkbox"/> 60-64 years old | |

2. What is the highest level of education you have attained?

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Primary school | <input type="checkbox"/> High school | <input type="checkbox"/> College graduate |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Secondary school | <input type="checkbox"/> Vocational school | <input type="checkbox"/> University graduate or higher |

3. What is your ethnicity?

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> H'Mong | <input type="checkbox"/> Kinh | <input type="checkbox"/> Day |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Dao | <input type="checkbox"/> Tay | <input type="checkbox"/> Others (please specify) _____ |

4. What is your main occupation? You may choose more than one option.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Farmer (agriculture) | <input type="checkbox"/> Tourism and service worker |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Forestry worker | <input type="checkbox"/> Unemployed |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Businessperson | <input type="checkbox"/> Others (please specify) _____ |

Section 2. In this section, I would like to learn about your living conditions.

5. What is your family average monthly income?

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Under 500,000 Vietnam Dong (VND) | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 – 3 million VND |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 500,000 – 1 million VND | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 – 4 million VND |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 – 2 million VND | <input type="checkbox"/> Over 4 million VND |

6. How would you describe your own economic condition?

- | | | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Very rich | <input type="checkbox"/> Better off | <input type="checkbox"/> Poor |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Rich | <input type="checkbox"/> Average | <input type="checkbox"/> Very poor |

7. Did you use/extract any forest resources in the last 7 days?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If No, then please go to question 9.

8. How many times did you use/extract forest resources in the last 7 days?

☐ 1-2 times ☐ 5-6 times
☐ 3-4 times ☐ 7 times and more

9. Which activities below are important to your income? Rank them from 1 (most important) to 5 (least important).

☐ Growing rice ☐ Sales of timber ☐ Hunting
☐ Growing medical fruits ☐ Sales of non-timber products ☐ Extraction of soil, sand, or stone
☐ Tree planting ☐ Forest food (fruits, seeds, roots) ☐ Tourism
☐ Fuel wood extraction ☐ Insect collecting ☐ Others (please specify)_____

10. What is the main reason for your continued extraction/use of forest resources in your location?

☐ Food ☐ Both food and income
☐ Income ☐ Others (please specify)_____

11. Do you think you will stop extracting/using forest resources within the next 12 months?

☐ Definitely not ☐ Probably yes ☐ I am not sure
☐ Probably not ☐ Definitely yes

12. In your opinion, how important is it to protect forest resources for future generations?

☐ Very important ☐ Average ☐ Extremely unimportant
☐ Important ☐ Unimportant ☐ No idea

Section 3. In this section, I would like to learn about your opinions of tourism development in your location.

13. How would you rate the importance of tourism development to your community?

☐ Very important ☐ Unimportant ☐ Extremely unimportant
☐ Important ☐ Average ☐ No idea

14. In your opinion, who have been the main beneficiaries of tourism benefits in your location? Rank these people from 1 (enjoy most benefits) to 8 (enjoy least benefits).

☐ Local poor residents ☐ Non-local tourism businesses ☐ The Government
☐ Local non-poor residents ☐ Tourists ☐ Donors/development agencies
☐ Local tourism businesses ☐ Local authorities

15. How would you like to participate in tourism?

☐ I would like very much ☐ I would extremely not like ☐ I have no idea
☐ I would like a little ☐ I would not like

If you would not like to participate in tourism, please go to question 17.

16. Please indicate how difficult you have found it to participate in the following activities by circling the appropriate scale.

	Not difficult			Very difficult	
Guiding tourists	1	2	3	4	5
Selling souvenirs to tourists	1	2	3	4	5
Cooking meals for tourists	1	2	3	4	5

Transporting tourists	1	2	3	4	5
Establishing and running travel agency	1	2	3	4	5
Providing homestay service to tourists	1	2	3	4	5
Establishing and running tourist accommodation establishments (e.g. hotels, backpackers', guesthouses, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5

17. How critical is the following barrier to your participation in tourism? Circle the most appropriate scale.

	Most critical			Least critical	
Lack of professional knowledge	1	2	3	4	5
Inadequate experience	1	2	3	4	5
Lack of professional skills	1	2	3	4	5
Poor foreign language	1	2	3	4	5
Lack of opportunity	1	2	3	4	5
Lack of information	1	2	3	4	5
Insufficient capital	1	2	3	4	5
Lack of motivation	1	2	3	4	5
Hesitance to change	1	2	3	4	5
Poor health	1	2	3	4	5
Unfavourable market access	1	2	3	4	5
Legal constraints	1	2	3	4	5
Others (please specify)	1	2	3	4	5

18. Do you think you will participate in any tourism activities within the next 12 months?

- ☐ Definitely not
 ☐ Probably yes
 ☐ I am not sure
☐ Probably not
 ☐ Definitely yes

If you think you will not participate in tourism activities, please skip question 19.

19. Which of the following roles would you like to take in participating in tourism?

- ☐ Souvenir seller
 ☐ Travel agency owner
 ☐ Provider of transportation for tourists
☐ Tourist guide
 ☐ Homestay owner
 ☐ Employee of a tourism business
☐ Food provider
 ☐ Accommodation owner
 ☐ Others (please specify)_____

20. Have you ever followed tourists to sell your handcrafts?

- ☐ Yes
 ☐ No

If No, please go to question 23.

21. From your experience, how do tourists often feel when being followed by you?

- ☐ They extremely dislike it
 ☐ They like it very much
 ☐ They neither dislike nor like
☐ They dislike it
 ☐ They like it
 ☐ I have no idea

22. Do you think you will stop following tourists to sell your handcrafts in the next 12 months?

- ☐ Definitely not
 ☐ Probably yes
 ☐ I am not sure
☐ Probably not
 ☐ Definitely yes

23. Have you ever participated in any tourism/forest/biodiversity conservation projects implemented in your location?

- ☐ Yes
 ☐ No

If No, please go to question 25.

24. How would you describe your satisfaction with the outcomes of the projects mentioned in question 20?

	Totally satisfied			Totally dissatisfied	
Protecting forest/biodiversity/tourism resources	1	2	3	4	5
Revitalising traditional culture	1	2	3	4	5
Improving community living conditions	1	2	3	4	5
Creating more jobs for the local poor people	1	2	3	4	5
Benefiting poor people economically	1	2	3	4	5
Enhancing poor people's knowledge and awareness	1	2	3	4	5
Building capacity and training skills for local people	1	2	3	4	5
Improving cooperation among tourism stakeholders	1	2	3	4	5
Strengthening community cohesion	1	2	3	4	5
Mitigating local people's dependence forest/tourism resources	1	2	3	4	5
Increasing poor people's participation in the decision making process	1	2	3	4	5

25. Please indicate how you would agree with the following statements by circling the appropriate scale.

	Strongly disagree			Strongly agree	
Tourism has developed our community economically	1	2	3	4	5
Tourism has contributed to protecting our traditional culture	1	2	3	4	5
Tourism has contributed to raising our living standards	1	2	3	4	5
Tourism has helped to improve our relationships with the local authorities	1	2	3	4	5
Tourism has enhanced our knowledge, skills, and capacity	1	2	3	4	5
Tourism has primarily benefited the poor people in our community	1	2	3	4	5
Tourism has brought about more positive benefits than negative effects	1	2	3	4	5
I am happy with the way tourism has been developed in our community	1	2	3	4	5
I have maintained good relationships with the local authorities	1	2	3	4	5
I have maintained good relationships with the local tourism businesses	1	2	3	4	5
I have played a positive role in tourism development in my community	1	2	3	4	5
I am willing to protect the resources for tourism	1	2	3	4	5
Overall, I strongly support tourism as a means of economic development and poverty alleviation in my community	1	2	3	4	5

26. What are the main barriers to poverty alleviation in your community? What are the best ways to overcome those barriers?

.....

.....

.....

.....

27. What are your recommendations so as for tourism to contribute effectively to alleviating poverty in your community?

.....

.....

.....

.....

END OF SURVEY

Thank you for your time!

Appendix 7b. Questionnaire Sample - Vietnamese

Trương Văn Đạo
Khoa Quản trị
Đại học Canterbury
Christchurch 8140, New Zealand
Khoa Du lịch & Khách sạn
Đại học Kinh tế Quốc dân
207 Giải Phóng, Hà Nội
Email: van.truong@pg.canterbury.ac.nz



PHIẾU TRƯNG CẦU Ý KIẾN NGƯỜI DÂN ĐỊA PHƯƠNG

Phiếu trưng cầu ý kiến này được thực hiện nhằm tìm hiểu quan niệm của người dân ở Sa Pa về du lịch với tư cách một công cụ xóa đói, giảm nghèo. Chúng tôi chân thành cảm ơn nếu bạn vui lòng trả lời các câu hỏi được nêu. Thông tin bạn cung cấp sẽ được giữ bí mật và chỉ được sử dụng cho mục đích nghiên cứu tại trường Đại học Canterbury (New Zealand).

Xã/mã: ☐ _____
Thôn (bản)/mã: ☐ _____
Hộ gia đình/mã: ☐ _____

Phần 1. Trong phần này, chúng tôi muốn tìm hiểu về thông tin cá nhân của bạn.

1. Bạn bao nhiêu tuổi?

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 15-19 tuổi | <input type="checkbox"/> 40-49 tuổi | <input type="checkbox"/> Trên 65 tuổi |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 20-29 tuổi | <input type="checkbox"/> 50-59 tuổi | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 30-39 tuổi | <input type="checkbox"/> 60-64 tuổi | |

2. Trình độ học vấn của bạn?

- | | | |
|--|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Tiểu học | <input type="checkbox"/> Trung học phổ thông | <input type="checkbox"/> Cao đẳng |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Trung học cơ sở | <input type="checkbox"/> Trung cấp nghề | <input type="checkbox"/> Đại học/sau đại học |

3. Bạn thuộc dân tộc nào?

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> H'Mong | <input type="checkbox"/> Kinh | <input type="checkbox"/> Dáy |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Dao | <input type="checkbox"/> Tày | <input type="checkbox"/> Khác (xin ghi cụ thể) _____ |

4. Nghề nghiệp chính của bạn là gì? Bạn có thể chọn nhiều phương án.

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Nông nghiệp | <input type="checkbox"/> Kinh doanh | <input type="checkbox"/> Thắt nghiệp |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Lâm nghiệp | <input type="checkbox"/> Du lịch & dịch vụ | <input type="checkbox"/> Khác (xin ghi cụ thể) _____ |

Phần 2. Trong phần này, chúng tôi muốn tìm hiểu điều kiện sống của bạn.

5. Thu nhập trung bình hàng tháng của gia đình bạn là bao nhiêu?

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Dưới 500,000 Đồng | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 – 2 triệu Đồng | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 – 4 triệu Đồng |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 500,000 – 1 triệu Đồng | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 – 3 triệu Đồng | <input type="checkbox"/> Trên 4 triệu Đồng |

6. Bạn tự đánh giá điều kiện kinh tế của gia đình mình như thế nào?

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Rất giàu | <input type="checkbox"/> Khá giả | <input type="checkbox"/> Nghèo |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Giàu | <input type="checkbox"/> Trung bình | <input type="checkbox"/> Rất nghèo |

7. Bạn có khai thác/sử dụng tài nguyên rừng trong 7 ngày vừa qua không?

☐ Có ☐ Không

Nếu trả lời Không, xin chuyển sang câu 9.

8. Trong 7 ngày vừa qua, bạn đã khai thác/sử dụng tài nguyên rừng bao nhiêu lần?

☐ 1-2 lần ☐ 5-6 lần
☐ 3-4 lần ☐ 7 lần trở lên

9. Những hoạt động nào dưới đây có vai trò quan trọng nhất đối với thu nhập của bạn? Hãy chọn 5 hoạt động chính theo thứ tự từ 1 (quan trọng nhất) đến 5 (kém quan trọng nhất).

<input type="checkbox"/> Trồng lúa	<input type="checkbox"/> Các thực phẩm từ rừng (hoa quả, các loại hạt, củ v.v)
<input type="checkbox"/> Trồng thảo quả	<input type="checkbox"/> Thu nhặt côn trùng
<input type="checkbox"/> Trồng cây rừng	<input type="checkbox"/> Săn bắn động vật
<input type="checkbox"/> Nhặt củi	<input type="checkbox"/> Khai thác đất, đá, hoặc cát
<input type="checkbox"/> Bán gỗ	<input type="checkbox"/> Dịch vụ du lịch
<input type="checkbox"/> Bán các sản phẩm phi gỗ	<input type="checkbox"/> Khác (xin ghi cụ thể) _____

10. Li do bạn khai thác/sử dụng tài nguyên rừng là gì?

<input type="checkbox"/> Lấy thức ăn	<input type="checkbox"/> Cả thức ăn và thu nhập
<input type="checkbox"/> Thêm thu nhập	<input type="checkbox"/> Khác (xin ghi cụ thể) _____

11. Bạn có dự định ngừng khai thác/sử dụng tài nguyên rừng trong năm tới hay không?

<input type="checkbox"/> Chắc chắn không	<input type="checkbox"/> Có thể có	<input type="checkbox"/> Không chắc
<input type="checkbox"/> Có thể không	<input type="checkbox"/> Chắc chắn có	

12. Theo bạn, tài nguyên rừng quan trọng như thế nào đối với các thế hệ tương lai?

<input type="checkbox"/> Rất quan trọng	<input type="checkbox"/> Trung bình	<input type="checkbox"/> Rất không quan trọng
<input type="checkbox"/> Quan trọng	<input type="checkbox"/> Không quan trọng	<input type="checkbox"/> Không biết

Phần 3. Trong phần này, chúng tôi muốn biết quan điểm của bạn về phát triển du lịch ở địa phương.

13. Theo bạn, du lịch có tầm quan trọng như thế nào đối với cộng đồng địa phương?

<input type="checkbox"/> Rất quan trọng	<input type="checkbox"/> Trung bình	<input type="checkbox"/> Rất không quan trọng
<input type="checkbox"/> Quan trọng	<input type="checkbox"/> Không quan trọng	<input type="checkbox"/> Không biết

14. Ai là người hưởng lợi chính từ du lịch ở địa phương bạn? Hãy điền từ 1 (hưởng lợi nhiều nhất) đến 8 (hưởng lợi ít nhất).

<input type="checkbox"/> Người nghèo ở địa phương	<input type="checkbox"/> Khách du lịch
<input type="checkbox"/> Người không nghèo ở địa phương	<input type="checkbox"/> Chính quyền địa phương
<input type="checkbox"/> Các doanh nghiệp du lịch địa phương	<input type="checkbox"/> Chính phủ
<input type="checkbox"/> Các doanh nghiệp du lịch ngoài địa phương	<input type="checkbox"/> Các nhà tài trợ/tổ chức phát triển

15. Bạn có muốn tham gia vào các hoạt động du lịch không?

<input type="checkbox"/> Tôi rất muốn tham gia	<input type="checkbox"/> Tôi rất không muốn tham gia	<input type="checkbox"/> Tôi không biết
<input type="checkbox"/> Tôi muốn tham gia	<input type="checkbox"/> Tôi không muốn tham gia	

Nếu bạn không muốn tham gia, xin chuyển sang câu 17.

16. Xin bạn cho biết mức độ khó khăn khi tham gia vào các hoạt động du lịch sau bằng cách khoanh tròn số thích hợp.

	Không khó khăn			Rất khó khăn	
	1	2	3	4	5
Hướng dẫn du khách	1	2	3	4	5
Bán quà lưu niệm cho du khách	1	2	3	4	5
Nấu ăn cho du khách	1	2	3	4	5
Vận chuyển du khách	1	2	3	4	5
Xây dựng và điều hành doanh nghiệp lữ hành	1	2	3	4	5
Cung cấp dịch vụ ở nhà dân (homestay) cho du khách	1	2	3	4	5
Xây dựng và điều hành cơ sở lưu trú du lịch (khách sạn, nhà khách v.v.)	1	2	3	4	5

17. Các rào cản sau đây có vai trò như thế nào đối với sự tham gia của bạn vào du lịch? Hãy khoanh tròn số thích hợp.

	Rất quan trọng			Không quan trọng	
	1	2	3	4	5
Thiếu kiến thức chuyên môn về du lịch	1	2	3	4	5
Thiếu kinh nghiệm làm việc	1	2	3	4	5
Thiếu các kỹ năng chuyên môn về du lịch	1	2	3	4	5
Khả năng giao tiếp bằng ngoại ngữ kém	1	2	3	4	5
Thiếu cơ hội tham gia	1	2	3	4	5
Thiếu thông tin	1	2	3	4	5
Thiếu vốn đầu tư	1	2	3	4	5
Thiếu động lực tham gia	1	2	3	4	5
Ngại thay đổi	1	2	3	4	5
Sức khỏe không tốt	1	2	3	4	5
Không thể tiếp cận thị trường du lịch	1	2	3	4	5
Các khó khăn về cơ chế, luật pháp	1	2	3	4	5
Khác (xin ghi cụ thể)	1	2	3	4	5

18. Bạn có dự định tham gia vào các hoạt động du lịch trong năm tới không?

- ☐ Chắc chắn không
 ☐ Có thể có
 ☐ Không biết
 ☐ Có thể không
 ☐ Chắc chắn có

Nếu bạn Không dự định tham gia, xin bỏ qua câu 19.

19. Bạn muốn tham gia vào du lịch với vai trò là...

- ☐ Người bán quà lưu niệm
 ☐ Chủ công ty lữ hành
 ☐ Nhà cung ứng vận chuyển du khách
☐ Hướng dẫn viên du lịch
 ☐ Chủ homestay
 ☐ Nhân viên của doanh nghiệp du lịch
☐ Nhà cung cấp thực phẩm du lịch
 ☐ Chủ cơ sở lưu trú du lịch
 ☐ Khác (xin ghi cụ thể) _____

20. Bạn có đi theo du khách để bán hàng không?

- ☐ Có
 ☐ Không

Nếu Không, xin chuyển sang câu 23.

21. Theo bạn, khách du lịch thường phản ứng như thế nào khi bạn đi theo bán hàng?

- ☐ Họ rất không thích
 ☐ Họ rất thích
 ☐ Họ không thích nhưng cũng không khó chịu
☐ Họ không thích
 ☐ Họ thích
 ☐ Không biết

22. Trong năm tới, bạn có dự định ngừng đi theo du khách để bán hàng không?

- ☐ Chắc chắn không
 ☐ Có thể có
 ☐ Không biết
☐ Có thể không
 ☐ Chắc chắn có

23. Bạn đã từng tham gia vào một/một vài dự án du lịch/bảo vệ rừng/đa dạng sinh học ở địa phương hay không?

☐ Có

☐ Không

Nếu Không, xin chuyển sang câu 25.

24. Mức độ hài lòng của bạn đối với kết quả của các dự án được đề cập ở câu 23?

	Rất hài lòng			Rất không hài lòng	
	1	2	3	4	5
Bảo vệ tài nguyên rừng/đa dạng sinh học/tài nguyên du lịch	1	2	3	4	5
Khôi phục văn hóa truyền thống	1	2	3	4	5
Cải thiện điều kiện sống của cộng đồng	1	2	3	4	5
Tạo việc làm cho người nghèo ở địa phương	1	2	3	4	5
Mang lại lợi ích kinh tế (thu nhập) cho người nghèo	1	2	3	4	5
Nâng cao kiến thức và nhận thức của người nghèo	1	2	3	4	5
Nâng cao năng lực và đào tạo kỹ năng cho người dân địa phương	1	2	3	4	5
Cải thiện quan hệ giữa các bên tham gia vào du lịch	1	2	3	4	5
Tăng cường đoàn kết cộng đồng	1	2	3	4	5
Giảm sự phụ thuộc của người dân vào tài nguyên rừng/du lịch	1	2	3	4	5
Tăng cường vai trò của người nghèo trong quá trình ra quyết định	1	2	3	4	5

25. Hãy cho biết mức độ đồng ý của bạn đối với các ý kiến dưới đây bằng cách khoanh tròn số thích hợp.

	Rất không đồng ý			Rất đồng ý	
	1	2	3	4	5
Du lịch giúp phát triển kinh tế địa phương	1	2	3	4	5
Du lịch góp phần bảo vệ văn hóa truyền thống của cộng đồng	1	2	3	4	5
Du lịch góp phần nâng cao mức sống của cộng đồng	1	2	3	4	5
Du lịch giúp cải thiện mối quan hệ giữa người dân với chính quyền địa phương	1	2	3	4	5
Du lịch nâng cao kiến thức, kỹ năng và năng lực cho người dân địa phương	1	2	3	4	5
Du lịch chủ yếu mang lại lợi ích cho người nghèo ở địa phương	1	2	3	4	5
Du lịch mang lại nhiều lợi ích tích cực hơn là các tác động tiêu cực	1	2	3	4	5
Tôi hài lòng với cách thức du lịch đã phát triển ở địa phương	1	2	3	4	5
Tôi đã duy trì quan hệ tốt với chính quyền địa phương	1	2	3	4	5
Tôi đã duy trì quan hệ tốt với các doanh nghiệp du lịch địa phương	1	2	3	4	5
Tôi đã đóng vai trò tích cực trong phát triển du lịch ở địa phương	1	2	3	4	5
Tôi sẵn sàng bảo vệ tài nguyên du lịch ở địa phương	1	2	3	4	5
Nói chung tôi rất ủng hộ phát triển du lịch để phát triển kinh tế và xóa đói giảm nghèo ở địa phương	1	2	3	4	5

26. Những khó khăn trong công tác xóa đói giảm nghèo ở địa phương là gì? Cách thức để vượt qua các khó khăn đó?

.....

.....

.....

.....

27. Những đề xuất của bạn để du lịch có thể đóng góp hữu hiệu vào việc xóa đói giảm nghèo ở địa phương?

.....

.....

.....

.....

HẾT

Xin chân thành cảm ơn bạn!

Appendix 8. Human Ethics Approval



HUMAN ETHICS COMMITTEE

Secretary, Lynda Griffioen
Email: human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz

Ref: HEC 2012/106

20 August 2012

Dao Truong
Department of Management
UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY

Dear Dao

The Human Ethics Committee advises that your research proposal "Tourism and poverty alleviation: a case study of Sapa, Vietnam" has been considered and approved.

Please note that this approval is subject to the incorporation of the amendments you have provided in your email of 17 August 2012.

Best wishes for your project.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Michael Grimshaw'.

Michael Grimshaw
Chair
University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee

Appendix 9. Medicinal Fruit Grown in Sapa



Source: LCPC's website

Appendix 10. Vietnam's Fertility Rate by Region 2008-2012 (Unit: child/woman)

Region	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Northern Midlands and Mountain Areas	2.30	2.24	2.22	2.21	2.31
Red River Delta	2.13	2.11	2.04	2.06	2.11
North Central and Central Coast Areas	2.30	2.21	2.21	2.21	2.32
Central Highlands	2.68	2.65	2.63	2.58	2.43
South East	1.73	1.69	1.68	1.59	1.57
Mekong River Delta	1.87	1.84	1.80	1.80	1.92
Whole country	2.08	2.03	2.00	1.99	2.05

Source: GSOV 2012

Appendix 11. Educational Levels and Occupations

Occupation Education						Total
	Agriculture	Forestry	Business	Tourism & services	Unemployed	
Primary school	75	6	1	8	0	90
Secondary school	34	0	4	9	3	50
High school	12	1	7	7	4	31
Vocational training	4	1	4	1	1	11
College	1	0	2	0	0	3
University	0	0	1	1	0	2
Total	126	8	19	26	8	187

Appendix 12. Occupations and Income Levels (Unit: million VND)

Income Occupation							Total
	< 0.5	0.5 - 1	1 - 2	2 - 3	3 - 4	> 4	
Agriculture	42	31	34	14	4	1	126
Forestry	0	0	3	3	1	1	8
Business	1	0	3	6	1	8	19
Tourism & services	1	5	9	8	0	3	26
Unemployed	0	0	0	1	6	1	8
Total	44	36	49	32	12	14	187

Appendix 13. Self-assessment of Living Conditions and Income Levels (Unit: million VND)

Self-assessment Income							Total
	Very rich	Rich	Better off	Average	Poor	Very poor	
< 0.5	0	1	0	18	18	7	44
0.5 – 1	0	2	1	22	7	4	36
1 – 2	0	0	4	41	4	0	49
2 – 3	0	1	1	30	0	0	32
3 – 4	0	2	1	8	1	0	12
> 4	1	6	0	7	0	0	14
Total	1	12	7	126	30	11	187

Appendix 14. Use of Forest Resources and Income Levels (Unit: million VND)

Income	Number of users	%
< 0.5	8	11.76
0.5 – 1	16	23.53
1 – 2	18	26.47
2 – 3	18	26.47
3 – 4	6	8.82
> 4	2	2.94
Total	68	100

Appendix 15. Ethnic Groups and Use of Forest Resources

Ethnic group	Number of users	%
H'Mong	30	44.12
Red Dzao	19	27.94
Dzay	12	17.65
Tay	5	7.35
Kinh	2	2.94
Other	0	0
Total	68	100

This article was downloaded by: [University of Canterbury]

On: 02 July 2013, At: 16:19

Publisher: Routledge

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: Mortimer House, 37-41 Mortimer Street, London W1T 3JH, UK



Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rprt20>

Tourism policy development in Vietnam: a pro-poor perspective

V. Dao Truong^a

^a Department of Tourism and Hospitality, National Economics University, Hanoi, Vietnam

^b Department of Management, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand

Published online: 09 Jan 2013.

To cite this article: V. Dao Truong (2013) Tourism policy development in Vietnam: a pro-poor perspective, Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events, 5:1, 28-45, DOI: [10.1080/19407963.2012.760224](http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/19407963.2012.760224)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/19407963.2012.760224>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Taylor & Francis makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of all the information (the "Content") contained in the publications on our platform. However, Taylor & Francis, our agents, and our licensors make no representations or warranties whatsoever as to the accuracy, completeness, or suitability for any purpose of the Content. Any opinions and views expressed in this publication are the opinions and views of the authors, and are not the views of or endorsed by Taylor & Francis. The accuracy of the Content should not be relied upon and should be independently verified with primary sources of information. Taylor and Francis shall not be liable for any losses, actions, claims, proceedings, demands, costs, expenses, damages, and other liabilities whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with, in relation to or arising out of the use of the Content.

This article may be used for research, teaching, and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, redistribution, reselling, loan, sub-licensing, systematic supply, or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden. Terms & Conditions of access and use can be found at <http://www.tandfonline.com/page/terms-and-conditions>

Tourism policy development in Vietnam: a pro-poor perspective

V. Dao Truong^{a,b*}

^a*Department of Tourism and Hospitality, National Economics University, Hanoi, Vietnam;*

^b*Department of Management, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand*

(Received July 2012; final version received November 2012)

This paper examines Vietnam's tourism policies with a focus on poverty alleviation. The development of Vietnam's tourism is divided into three main periods. Tourism was developed for political purposes in the period 1960–1975. Its economic potential was recognised between 1976 and 1990. Since the 1990s, tourism has been supported as a tool of economic growth and poverty alleviation. Using a model of the tourism policy-making process, this paper indicates that the government has been actively involved in tourism, playing the roles of operator/entrepreneur, regulator, planner, promoter, coordinator, and educator. Though poverty alleviation has been included in many tourism policies and strategies, it has often been secondary to tourism growth. This represents the neoliberal perspective, which assumes that tourism growth will increase benefits for poor people. This paper proposes that the local tourism policies should place a greater emphasis on poverty if poverty is to be alleviated through tourism.

Keywords: tourism policy; Vietnam tourism; pro-poor tourism

Resumen

Este trabajo examina las políticas turísticas en Vietnam con el objetivo de reducir la pobreza. El desarrollo turístico en Vietnam se divide en tres periodos esenciales. Debido a fines políticos, el turismo fue desarrollado en el periodo 1960–1975. Su potencial económico fue reconocido entre 1976 y 1990. Desde 1990 se ha apoyado al turismo como una herramienta de crecimiento económico y reducción de la pobreza. Utilizando un modelo del proceso de política turística, este trabajo indica que el gobierno ha estado activamente implicado en turismo, jugando los roles de operador/emprendedor, regulador, planificador, promotor, coordinador y educador. Aunque la reducción de la pobreza se ha incluido en muchas políticas y estrategias turísticas, con frecuencia ha sido secundario en el crecimiento turístico. Esto representa una perspectiva neoliberal, que asume que el crecimiento turístico aumentará los beneficios de los pobres. Este trabajo propone que las políticas turísticas locales deberían jugar dar un mayor énfasis a la pobreza si la pobreza ha de reducirse a través del crecimiento turístico.

Palabras claves: Política turística; turismo en Vietnam; turismo para reducir pobreza

Résumé

Cet article étudie les politiques touristiques au Vietnam, en se concentrant sur la réduction de la pauvreté. Le développement du tourisme au Vietnam a connu trois

*Emails: van.truong@pg.canterbury.ac.nz; vandao83@yahoo.co.uk

This article was originally published with errors. This version has been corrected. Please see Erratum (<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/19407963.2013.772839>).

moments principaux. Le tourisme a été développé avec des objectifs politiques dans la période 1960–1975. Ses potentialités économiques ont primé entre 1976 et 1990. Depuis les années 1990, le tourisme est perçu comme un outil de la croissance économique et de la réduction de la pauvreté. S'appuyant sur un modèle de politiques touristiques, l'article montre que le gouvernement a joué un rôle actif dans le tourisme, à la fois entrepreneur, aménageur, contrôleur, promoteur, coordinateur et formateur. Bien que la réduction de la pauvreté ait été intégrée dans de nombreuses politiques et stratégies touristiques, elle est souvent passée au second plan derrière la croissance touristique. Cela illustre la perspective néolibérale qui assume le fait que la croissance touristique augmente les bénéfices pour les plus pauvres. L'article montre que les politiques locales du tourisme accorderaient davantage d'attention à la pauvreté si la pauvreté devait être réduite par le tourisme.

Mots clés: politique touristique; tourisme au Vietnam; tourisme en faveur des plus faibles

摘要

该文考察越南旅游政策中的减贫政策。越南旅游发展被分为三个主要时期。在1960–1975年，主要为政治目的发展旅游。1976–1990年，逐渐认识到它的经济潜力。从1990年代起，旅游作为一项发展经济和消减贫困的工具得到发展。这篇文章使用一个旅游决策过程模型，表明政府一直积极参与到旅游中，扮演经营者/企业家、监管者、规划者、宣传者、协调者和教育者的角色。尽管很多旅游政策和战略中都包含减贫，它还是常被放在旅游发展之后考虑。这代表了新自由主义立场，即假设旅游发展会给贫困人口增加收益。该文提出，若要通过旅游消减贫困，当地旅游政策就应该把更多重心放到贫困上。

关键词: 旅游政策; 越南旅游; 旅游扶贫

Introduction

Since the pro-poor tourism (PPT) concept emerged in the 1990s, it has captured considerable attention of both tourism scholars and practitioners (see, e.g. Ashley, Roe, & Goodwin, 2001; Goodwin, 2009; Harrison, 2008 for discussions of the emergence, definition, and key features of PPT). PPT has been investigated at various scales. Some tourism researchers have considered PPT at the macro-level, where policy implications have been identified (e.g. Bolwell & Weinz, 2008; Bowden, 2005; Chok, Macbeth, & Warren, 2007; Croes & Vanegas, 2008; Gartner, 2008). Meanwhile, others have focused on the micro-level of PPT with specific references to distributional issues (e.g. Blake, Arbache, Sinclair, & Teles, 2008; Mitchell & Ashley, 2010; Wattanakuljarus & Coxhead, 2008), local people's expectations, experiences, and perceptions (e.g. Akyeampong, 2011), and the effectiveness of tourism in meeting the needs of the poor (e.g. Mensah & Amuquandoh, 2010; Muganda, Sahli, & Smith, 2010). In addition, the PPT discourse has been enriched by initiatives from numerous development agencies. Many funding organisations have devoted resources to developing community-based tourism as a means of poverty alleviation (Harrison & Schipani, 2007), where, however, the benefits for poor people may be secondary to conservation or other needs (Harrison, 2008). They include the Canadian Agency for International Development with projects in Indonesia, the New Zealand Agency for International Development in Fiji, and the Australian Development Agency in the South Pacific (Harrison & Schipani, 2007), as well as the Asian Development Bank (ADB) in the Greater Mekong Sub-region (GMS) (Harrison, 2008). Yet, scant research attention has been paid to the ideological philosophy that underpins the formulation and implementation of tourism policies as well as the various roles of governments.

The scarcity of research on tourism policies can be attributed to several reasons. First, PPT is still a relatively new concept that has mostly concentrated on African countries (Ashley & Goodwin, 2007; Mitchell & Ashley, 2010). Second, the general tourism literature has scarcely discussed the politics of tourism (Dredge & Jenkins, 2007; Hall, 1994, 2008, 2011). Third, political science has been slow to include aspects of tourism in its teaching and scholarly research (Hall, 1994; Matthews & Richter, 1991). Politics is primarily about the exercise and arrangement of power (Hall, 1994, 2011; Henderson, 2003), and the study of politics focuses on ideological power and conflicts as well as the impacts of ideologies at both macro-levels and micro-levels (Matthews & Richter, 1991). Meanwhile, tourism research has often been considered as unserious (Robinson, Heitmann, & Dieke, 2011) and hence incongruent for mature (political) scholars (Matthews & Richter, 1991).

Hall (1994) indicated that it is necessary to unpack the political nature of tourism before obtaining a thorough understanding of tourism development and its impacts in any given country. According to Hall (1994), the role of governments in tourism is an outcome of their tourism policy formulation and implementation, which is set in a wider policy agenda with individual and institutional arrangements, values, powers, and ideologies influencing tourism policies. It is thus important to analyse tourism policies to understand the roles and ideologies of governments in tourism development. Hall (1994) also suggested a model of the tourism policy-making process, which consists of four main components: demands, decisions, outputs, and impacts (see also Dredge & Jenkins, 2007). Since then, the politics of tourism has often been explored in the context of developing countries (e.g. Blake, 2008; Cipolatti, 2008; Hall, 2011; Henderson, 2003; Mowforth, Charlton, & Munt, 2008; Mowforth & Munt, 1998; Muganda et al., 2010; Suntikul, 2005). Yet, relatively few tourism studies have been conducted on Vietnam (Suntikul, Butler, & Airey, 2008), where the government has shown a growing interest in using tourism as an important tool of economic growth and poverty alleviation. The 2005 Law on Tourism states that 'tourism is encouraged in remote and isolated areas and those with socioeconomic difficulties for hunger elimination and poverty reduction' (Government of Vietnam [GOV], 2005, p. 9). The few studies that have considered Vietnamese tourism policies have neglected the issue of poverty (e.g. Brennan & Nguyen, 2000; Cooper, 2000; Sadi & Henderson, 2001). Where the poverty component of Vietnam's tourism policies was critiqued, the government's roles were not indicated (e.g. Dung, Loi, Cuong, & Minh, 2007). These studies also lacked a rigorous theoretical framework that conceptualised the specific components of tourism policies.

This paper thus contributes to the limited analysis of Vietnam's tourism policies with reference to poverty alleviation. First, it chronicles tourism development and highlights the changes in tourism policies based on Hall's (1994) model as noted above. Second, it critiques the poverty content of tourism policies and then provides some implications for future research.

Vietnam's tourism: history and policy development

The development of Vietnam's tourism can be divided into three main periods. In the first period (1960–1975), tourism was primarily developed for political purposes (Brennan & Nguyen, 2000; Thanh, 2005). In the second period (1976–1990), tourism was recognised as an economic sector (Cooper, 2000; Thanh, 2005). Since the 1990s, tourism has been regarded as an important tool of economic growth and poverty alleviation (GOV, 2005).

Period 1960–1975

This period saw the country being divided into two regions, the North and the South, during the American War (or the Vietnam War in the West). Tourism was developed to achieve political goals (Vietnam National Administration of Tourism [VNAT], 2005). Most foreign tourists were political delegates. Leisure and business tourists were rare (Mok & Lam, 1997). The total international arrivals were thus very limited (Thanh, 2005). The Vietnam Tourist Company was established in 1960 in the North and was placed under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It was later managed by the Ministry of Public Security (Thanh, 2005; VNAT, 2005). The evidence suggests that tourism was put at the highest level of state management. Though some tourist sites were already in place (Thanh, 2005; VNAT, 2005), economic benefits were not a priority (Cooper, 2000) and hence policies were not issued until the next two periods (Table 1).

Period 1976–1990

It was still difficult to develop tourism because the country had been severely damaged during the American War (Mok & Lam, 1997). Yet, tourist sites were gradually expanded to include Ho Chi Minh City, Hue, Da Nang, Vung Tau, and Can Tho (VNAT, 2005). Some state-owned tourist companies were established in these areas and were managed by local people's committees. However, there were very limited numbers of foreign tourists (Brennan & Nguyen, 2000) and these mainly consisted of those coming from the former Soviet Union (Cooper, 2000; VNAT, 2005). Tourism was primarily developed to promote patriotism, enhance the mutual understanding between the North and the South, and introduce Vietnam as a peaceful country (VNAT, 2005). Following the 1986 Renewal Policy, tourism was recognised as an economic sector and it started to attract more foreign tourists (Thanh, 2005).

Demands for tourism policies

First, a state agency responsible for managing tourism was unavailable. The tourism sector was lacking both well-trained human resources and professional facilities (Thanh, 2005). Second, the state management of tourism was ineffective. The Vietnam National Administration of Tourism (VNAT) undertook the roles of both a management agency and a business at the same time. These roles were not clearly separated. In addition, the VNAT was inexperienced in managing tourism (Thanh, 2005). Third, foreign tourists were increasing. However, tourism infrastructure was poor and tourist sites were limited (Hobson et al., 1994; Mok & Lam, 1997).

Policy decisions and outputs

The VNAT was formulated in 1978 to manage all tourism activities. It also managed over 30 state-owned tourist companies, hotels, guesthouses, and villas nationwide (Thanh, 2005). This suggests that the government was playing the role of an operator and an entrepreneur in tourism. Yet, the VNAT was inexperienced as noted above, so it could not effectively implement both the state management and business functions. Thus, Decree No. 20 was issued to specify three main responsibilities of the VNAT: undertaking state management of tourism, managing tourism training institutions, and managing state-owned tourism businesses (VNAT, 2005).

Table 1. Summary of Vietnam's tourism policies.

Policy issues	Period	
	1976–1990	1991–present
Policy-making context	(a) Local government's perception changed (b) 1986 Renewal Policy adopted (c) Tourism used for economic growth, though still politically driven	(a) Significant perceptual changes in government (b) Tourism development for economic growth over political purposes (c) Pro-poor potential of tourism recognised
Demands for tourism policies	(a) Lack of a state management agency (b) Ineffective state management (c) Poor infrastructure, unskilled human resources, and limited tourist sites	(a) Tourists increased (b) Foreign investments required (c) Tourist sites needed expanding (d) Tourism quality needed improving
Policy decisions	(a) Formulating a state management agency (b) Separating business function from state management function (c) Transferring from state monopoly to joint ventures	(a) Separating state management from provincial management (1994) (b) Coordinating tourism development among regions and industries (c) Expanding types of tourism businesses (d) Classifying and standardising tourism businesses (e) Formulating tourism strategies and plans (f) Increasing tourism promotion (g) Intensifying tourism education
Policy outputs	(a) The VNAT established (1978) (b) The VNAT became a state management function (c) Joint-venture hotels emerged (post-1986) (d) Vietnam's Tourism Year campaign launched (1990) (e) Tourism schools established	(a) Local Departments of Tourism established (1994) (b) National Steering Committee for Tourism Development established (1999), followed by provincial committees (c) More business types involved in tourism (d) Tour guiding standardised (2005) (e) National standards built (2009) (f) Tourism strategies and plans implemented at the national and local levels (g) Tourism Year campaigns implemented (h) Promotional campaigns implemented (i) Visa exemption agreements signed (g) Tourism educated at various levels
Policy impacts	(a) Foreign tourists increased considerably (b) Tourism recognised as an industry (c) Tourist sites expanded (d) Lack of flights and hotels	(a) Tourism recognised as a spearhead industry (b) Target of one million foreign tourists achieved, a fourfold increase when compared with that in 1990; total tourism receipts increased by

(Continued.)

Table 1. (Continued.)

Policy issues	Period	
	1976–1990	1991–present
		53 times; direct jobs created for about 334,000 people and indirect jobs for 510,000 people. State funding and FDI increased (c) Concerns: distribution of benefits, environmental impacts, and pro-poor contribution
Government's roles	Operator/entrepreneur, coordinator, promoter, and educator	Operator (weakened), coordinator, planner, and promoter (intensified), and educator (weakened)

Sources: Cooper (2000); GOV (1999, 2001, 2005, 2011); Hobson, Heung, and Chon (1994); Mok and Lam (1997); Thanh (2005); and VNAT (2005, 2009a, 2009b, 2010).

There was a significant transfer from state monopoly to joint-venture businesses. This transfer was most evident in the hotel sector. Before 1986, most state-owned hotels and guesthouses were of old styles and were equipped with very basic facilities and unskilled staff (Mok & Lam, 1997). After the Law on Foreign Investment was approved (1987), joint-venture hotels started to emerge. The Saigon Floating Hotel was opened in 1989 and was managed by Southern Pacific Hotels. It was the first five-star hotel in Ho Chi Minh City that offered international standards of services (Suntikul et al., 2008). At the end of this period, 45 hotel investment projects were recorded (Hobson et al., 1994), indicating that the state monopoly over tourism was reducing and that the government started to act as the coordinator of foreign direct investment (FDI) in tourism.

In 1990, Vietnam's Tourism Year campaign was launched to promote the country's image to the world (Cooper, 2000; Hobson et al., 1994) in order to accelerate economic growth. It suggested that the government was acting as the promoter of tourism. In addition, some tourism schools were established, including Hanoi Hospitality School, Vung Tau Hospitality School, and Centre for Tourism and Hospitality Training. They were managed by the VNAT, which revealed that the government was also the provider of tourism education.

Impacts of tourism policies

This period witnessed a sharp increase in foreign tourists, from 36,900 (Thanh, 2005) to 250,000 (Brennan & Nguyen, 2000). The tourism income generated totalled US\$140 million in 1989 (Suntikul et al., 2008). Though the Tourism Year campaign succeeded in introducing Vietnam to the world community, it failed to handle the rapid influx of tourists and provide sufficient hotels and flights. Added to this was the lack of well-trained human resources (Cooper, 2000; Hobson et al., 1994).

Tourist sites were expanded to include Hue, Nha Trang, Can Tho, and Ho Chi Minh City (VNAT, 2005) apart from those developed in the previous period. Moreover, the local human resources in tourism were improved in terms of both quantity and quality (Thanh, 2005). From only 112 direct employees in the 1960s (Thanh, 2005), the tourism industry had created about 8000 direct jobs in 1989 (Suntikul et al., 2008).

Yet, it was still facing such difficulties as inadequate infrastructure, poor service quality, and ineffective inter-sectoral coordination. These challenges ushered the industry into a new period when a sound legal framework was created.

Period 1991–present

Barriers to private investments were gradually removed and foreign investments were encouraged (Cooper, 2000) with the issuance of the Law on Private Companies, the Company Law, the Law on Domestic Investment, and the amendment of the Law on Foreign Investment (Brennan & Nguyen, 2000). This led to a rapid increase in foreign tourists, who sought business and investment opportunities (Hobson et al., 1994; Mok & Lam, 1997). It also resulted in a significant perceptual change in the government from considering tourism as a political means towards focusing more on its economic benefits (Agrusa & Prideaux, 2002; Cooper, 2000). The 1991 Congress affirmed the importance of international cooperation in tourism. Then, the 1996 Congress stressed the need for a master plan for tourism development. Most importantly, the 2001 Congress set the target of turning tourism into a spearhead sector.

Demands for tourism policies

Effective tourism policies have been required for three main reasons. First, foreign tourists have increased annually (Table 2), who come from many other countries besides those from the former Soviet Union (VNAT, 2005). Second, the roles of foreign partners and investors have been recognised, particularly in developing the hotel sector that requires intensive funding. Foreign investments are even more important as Vietnam aims to construct some tourist sites of regional and international significance and turn the country into a tourist centre in Asia (VNAT, 2005). Third, the increase in foreign tourists has required the expansion of tourist sites to other regions. It has also called for diversified and high-quality products and services (Thanh, 2005).

Policy decisions and outputs

Tourism management has been separated between the state level and the provincial level. Decree No. 9 was issued in 1994, specifying the responsibilities of provinces and cities for managing their own tourism activities (GOV, 1994). Departments of Tourism were thus established in 14 provinces and cities where tourism was more developed. There are now Departments of Tourism or Departments of Tourism and Trade in 61 provinces and cities countrywide (VNAT, 2005). Tourism coordination has been strengthened, as evidenced by the establishment of the National Steering Committee for Tourism Development in 1999 (GOV, 1999). Headed by the Deputy Prime Minister, the Committee assists the government in coordinating relevant ministries in developing tourism. Similar committees were established in over 51 provinces and cities, where cooperation agreements have been signed (VNAT, 2005).

Many types of businesses have participated in tourism, including collective, private-owned, household, and foreign-invested businesses. Some state-owned businesses were reformed such as Hanoi tourist Company, Saigontourist Company, and Ben Thanh Tourist Company (VNAT, 2005). The government's role as an entrepreneur has thus tended to weaken. However, its role as a promoter has been intensified, as demonstrated by many strategies and plans implemented. At the national level, the Master Plan for

Table 2. Tourism arrivals (thousand) and receipts (trillion VND) 2000–2011.

Year	Domestic	Foreign	Total receipts
2000	11,200	2140	17.4
2001	11,700	2330	20.5
2002	13,000	2628	23
2003	13,500	2429	22
2004	14,500	2928	26
2005	16,100	3477	30
2006	17,500	3583	51
2007	19,200	4229	56
2008	20,500	4254	64
2009	25,000	3772	70
2010	28,000	5049	96
2011	30,000	6014	130

Sources: Brennan and Nguyen (2000) and VNAT (2009a, 2011).

Tourism Development 1995–2010 was made in 1994. The National Strategy for Tourism Development (NSTD) 2001–2010 was formulated (GOV, 2002), which was developed into the National Action Plans for Tourism Development for 2002–2005 (GOV, 2002) and 2006–2010 (GOV, 2006). These plans were followed by the National Action Plan for 2007–2012 (GOV, 2007). In 2011, the NSTD up to 2020 (vision 2030) was approved (GOV, 2011). At the local level, tourism development plans were approved in over 50 provinces and cities (VNAT, 2005). ‘National Tourism Year’ programmes were implemented in various locales (e.g. Quang Ninh, Quang Nam, Hanoi, and Thua Thien Hue). In addition, until 2011 visa exemption agreements were signed with 63 countries worldwide (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Vietnam, 2011).

Further, policies have been issued to classify tourism businesses. The 2005 Law on Tourism divides tourism businesses into tour operators, tourist accommodation establishments, tourist transportation providers, tourist spots and resorts development businesses, and providers of other tourism services (GOV, 2005). Tourist accommodation establishments include tourist hotels, tourist villages, tourist villas, tourist apartments, tourist campsites, tourist guesthouses, houses for tourist rental, and other tourist accommodation establishments (GOV, 2005). Tourist hotels are classified into city hotels, hotel resorts, motels, and floating hotels and are ranked in terms of location and architecture, facilities and amenities, quantity and quality of services, quality of executive and service staff, and security and environmental protection (VNAT, 2009b). The Law also sets five conditions for international tourist guides: being Vietnamese citizens, demonstrating good ethics and personality, being in good health, demonstrating a good command of at least one foreign language, and holding a tertiary degree in tour guiding (GOV, 2005), which may actually discriminate against poor people, particularly the ethnic minorities (see the next section). This has led to an increase in tourism training institutions (over 40 universities, colleges, and 30 vocational schools) (VNAT, 2005). The Institute for Tourism Development Research was established in 1993. It is responsible for conducting research on policy-making, master plan-building, and strategy formulation. The government’s role as an educator has tended to weaken because most tourism institutions are independent of the VNAT.

Impacts of tourism policies

The target of one million foreign tourists was achieved in 1994 (Thanh, 2005; VNAT, 2009a), a fourfold increase when compared with that in 1990. This figure increased about 17 times between 1990 and 2008. Domestic tourists increased about 20 times in the same period. Total tourism receipts increased about 53 times, from VND 1350 billion (1999) to VND 70,000 billion (2009). In 2011, tourism contributed over 5% to GDP (VNAT, 2011). There are now 12,500 hotels and 987 international tour operators. About 50% of hotels are ranked from one star to five stars (VNAT, 2010). Tourism has created direct jobs for about 334,000 people and indirect jobs for about 510,000 people (VNAT, 2009a). It has also led to increased state funding for infrastructure development, from VND 266 billion (2001) to VND 700 billion (2009) (VNAT, 2005, 2010). Between 1988 and 1997, Vietnam attracted over US\$30 billion FDI, of which over 20% was for tourism (Sadi & Henderson, 2001). From 2000 to 2009, FDI increased by 15.5 times in terms of project number and 385 times in terms of capital amount (VNAT, 2010). However, concerns have been raised about the environmental consequences as well as the pro-poor impacts of tourism (Doan, 2010; Dung et al., 2007; Linh, 2009; Rogers & Harman, 2010). It is necessary to address these issues because 10.7% of the population lives under the poverty line (VND 400,000 and VND 500,000 *per capita* per month in rural and urban areas, respectively) (General Statistics Office, 2010). The next section thus turns to examine the poverty component of the local tourism policies.

Tourism policies and poverty alleviation: a critique

A summary of the main tourism policies and strategies is provided in Table 3.

Until the late 1990s, the main orientation for tourism development was ‘cultural tourism and ecotourism for preservation of good morals and good customs’ (translated in Article 3, GOV, 1999). The 1999 Tourism Ordinance stated that ‘all tourist activities having negative impacts on the environment, cultural values, traditional customs, national independence and sovereignty, defence and security are forbidden’ (translated in Article 8, GOV, 1999). This was because the government was afraid of losing its political power in the transitional process and was sensitive to the undesired consequences of tourism. Tourism was thus placed at the national administration level. Yet, it was still regarded as an important way for the country to integrate into the world economy (Brennan & Nguyen, 2000). The Master Plan for Tourism Development 1995–2010 set the ambitious targets of receiving 3.5–3.8 million foreign visitors and 11 million domestic visitors, with an expected turnover of US\$2.6 billion by 2000 (VNAT, 2005). These targets suggested that economic benefits were the most important and tourism was regarded as a panacea for all the economic problems that the country was facing (Cooper, 2000). This is correct given that the country needed a huge amount of foreign currency for its industrialisation and modernisation (Cooper, 2000; Doan, 2010). Tourism, as a major foreign exchange earner, was thus developed as much as possible to meet those needs. Understandably, the tourism industry tended to follow the fast-track model of Thailand and the Philippines by opening the domestic market to overseas investments and actively promoting inbound tourism (Agrusa & Prideaux, 2002). The Plan also indicated a policy transfer from considering tourism as a political tool to focusing more on its economic benefits. The Plan was later revised to make its targets more achievable and to include sustainable tourism as a key goal (Brennan & Nguyen, 2000; Cooper, 2000).

Table 3. Tourism policies, strategies, and plans.

Publication	Year of approval	Main objective	Poverty component
Master Plan for Tourism Development 1995–2010	1994	By 2000: 3.5–3.8 million foreign tourists; 11 million domestic tourists; turnover US\$2.6 billion By 2010: 9 million foreign tourists; 25 million domestic tourists; turnover US\$11.8 billion	Economic opportunities emphasised for disadvantaged regions
Tourism Ordinance	1999	Tourism considered as an important industry that improves intellectual standards, creates employment, and contributes to socioeconomic development	Tourism encouraged in socially and economically backward regions
National Action Plan for Tourism Development 2002–2005	1999	Ensure that tourism would be a key industry and turn Vietnam into an advanced tourist destination by 2005. Receive 3–3.5 million foreign tourists and 15–16 million domestic tourists by 2005	Sustainable tourism mentioned. Poverty alleviation neglected
SEDS 2001–2010	2001	Lift Vietnam out of the state of underdevelopment, improve local living standards, and lay the foundation for Vietnam to become an industrialised country by 2020	Efforts encouraged to develop tourism into a spearhead industry. Poverty alleviation ignored
NSTD 2001–2010	2002	Develop tourism into a spearhead industry and turn Vietnam into an important tourist destination in Asia	Effective use of tourism resources encouraged, but poverty alleviation not mentioned
CPRGS	2003	Lift Vietnam out of the state of underdevelopment and lay the foundation for it to become an industrialised country by 2020	Rapid and sustainable economic growth emphasised as the best way out of poverty
Law on Tourism	2005	Issue policies to ensure that tourism could become a spearhead industry	Tourism encouraged in remote regions for hunger elimination and poverty reduction
National Action Plan for Tourism Development 2006–2010	2006	Turn Vietnam into an advanced tourist destination in Asia by 2010. Foreign tourists increase about 10–20% annually. Domestic tourists increase about 15–20% annually	Poverty alleviation not mentioned

(Continued.)

Table 3. (Continued.)

Publication	Year of approval	Main objective	Poverty component
National Action Plan for Tourism Development 2007–2012	2007	Achieve targets set by NSTD 2001–2010: develop tourism into a spearhead industry; receive 5.5–6 million foreign tourists and 25 million domestic tourists	
NSTD to 2020 (vision 2030)	2011	Affirm tourism as the spearhead industry and use total tourism receipts as the primary indicator of tourism development	Many action plans made to promote tourism growth. Only one plan proposed for PPT development

In the 2000s, Vietnam sought to link tourism with poverty alleviation. As tourism was perceived to have significant impacts on the broad population, particularly on the poor, the government incorporated it into various development plans and strategies. For example, under the Socioeconomic Development Strategy (SEDS) 2001–2010, accelerating economic growth for poverty alleviation was considered as one of the most significant goals (GOV, 2001). By then, tourism had been recognised as a spearhead sector. The strategy signified the need for the ‘socialisation of tourism’ where benefits would be allocated to the wider population and income retained in host communities (Linh, 2009). However, the SEDS attached great importance to economic growth because the ultimate goal was to ‘lift the country out of the underdevelopment state, significantly improve people’s living standards, lay the foundation for the country to become an industrialised country by 2020 and heighten its status in the international arena’ (translated in GOV, 2001, p. 5). Therefore, it set the target of increasing the national foreign currency reserve and doubling the rate of export growth when compared with that of GDP (GOV, 2001). This implied that economic growth was considered as not only necessary but also as sufficient for poverty alleviation.

Similarly, the 2003 Comprehensive Poverty Reduction and Growth Strategy (CPRGS), which was considered as the concretisation of the SEDS 2001–2010, also stated that ‘the Government of Vietnam believes that a strategy focused on achieving high and sustainable economic growth is key to narrowing down the economic development gap between Vietnam and other countries in the region and the world’ (GOV, 2003, p. 2). The government also claimed that high economic growth was the best way out of poverty (GOV, 2003). This evidence reveals a persistent neoliberal belief (Mowforth et al., 2008; Scheyvens, 2007; Schilcher, 2007) in Vietnam that as long as the whole country becomes wealthier, thanks to economic development, the benefits will eventually ‘trickle down’ to the poor. The growth of the tourism industry as a dominant foreign exchange earner has thus prevailed over poverty alleviation. In addition, the CPRGS paid special attention to the development in other sectors (e.g. agro-forestry, industry, and construction), while the tourism sector was only grouped in ‘other services’ category, suggesting that tourism was not really a separate sector, let alone a spearhead. Tourism was developed to satisfy the demands of domestic and foreign tourists, but its linkage with poverty alleviation was neglected (GOV, 2001). It was neither included in the six development areas (agriculture, healthcare, education and training,

transportation, science and technology, and environmental protection) nor supported by the national target programmes set in the CPRGS (Dung et al., 2007). This reveals that though tourism was considered as an important tool of economic growth, its pro-poor potential was neglected by many policies and strategies.

The above neoliberal approach to tourism has often been advocated by other developing countries (Blake, 2008; Muganda et al., 2010) as well as funding agencies. The ADB, for instance, has provided about US\$38.2 million assistance to promote tourism growth in the GMS, including Vietnam, since 1992 (Asian Development Bank [ADB], 2008). Since 2001, the Bank has been guided by its long-term and medium-term strategy that aims to help the Bank respond to the challenges of poverty and achieve the Millennium Development Goals in the Asia and Pacific region. As a result, a GMS tourism strategy was formulated for the period 2006–2015 with the overall goal of ‘promoting the Mekong as a single destination, offering a diversity of good-quality and high-yielding subregional products’ so that ‘all regional countries and tour operators earn more from tourism and over a long period of time’ (www.mekongtourism.org). A revised road map for the period 2011–2015 was approved at the GMS Tourism Ministers’ Meeting in January 2011, focusing on the development of multi-country tour circuits along the GMS economic corridor and the Mekong River tourism corridor. This suggests that the growth of the tourism industry is the ultimate goal of this strategy, where the development of the private sector plays an important part. Though a PPT programme has been implemented with one pilot project in each country, there has been ‘no concrete evidence of likely reduced poverty arising from ADB-supported GMS tourism operations’ (ADB, 2008, p. vii). The same can be seen in the work of the Netherlands Development Organisation (SNV). Starting its operations in Vietnam in the late 1990s, SNV has introduced a number of concepts such as ‘local participation’, ‘community involvement’, ‘community-based tourism’, ‘pro-poor sustainable tourism’, and ‘multi-stakeholder approach’. It has also changed its ways of measuring development impact from counting the number of beneficiaries and/or number of people trained in tourism projects to estimating the increased income and jobs of poor people (Hummel & van der Dium, 2012). Yet, there has been no clearly quantifiable figure that proves the net benefits of tourism for the poor. Consequently, SNV has recently terminated its tourism programme and shifted towards an advisory agency, illustrating the challenge of demonstrating the pro-poor impact of tourism.

It is notable that while tourism was regarded as a spearhead sector and efforts were made to generate more income for local communities, significant legal constraints remained. For example, the 1999 Tourism Ordinance had stipulated that to apply for a tour-guiding licence, all applicants were required to obtain a university/college degree (GOV, 1999). This requirement had indeed prevented most poor ethnic minority people from working as tourist guides, which meant that they had fewer income-earning opportunities. This barrier has not been lifted though the Law on Tourism has come into effect since 2005. In addition, the VNAT has required a deposit of VND 50 million if a business wishes to be involved in domestic tour operations. This amount is VND 250 million for international tour operations (VNAT, 2001). Yet, *per capita* income was estimated at about VND 600,000 in 2000 (GOV, 2003) when the Ordinance was approved. It can thus be claimed that these policies may have actually marginalised poor people, particularly those in remote areas, given that they could not afford to start their own tour businesses.

Moreover, though the government has tended to adopt a neoliberal approach to tourism and hence created a sound legal framework as mentioned, it is still not easy

to establish a private tourism business in Vietnam given that access to credit has often favoured state-owned businesses (Masina, 2006). Some of these businesses are holding several joint-stock companies. For example, the state-owned Hanoitourist Corporation is holding Hanoi Youth Tourism Trading Joint Stock Company and Hoan Kiem Tourism and Trade Company, apart from several smaller state-owned companies. Similarly, the state-owned Saigontourist Holding Company has invested in over 90 joint-stock companies nationwide (www.saigon-tourist.com). These joint-stock companies can thus be considered as parastatal agencies, which demonstrate the government's lack of enthusiasm in giving up control over entities in such a sensitive area as tourism. Added to this is the cumbersome and bureaucratic nature of the administrative processes, which presents a major challenge for local entrepreneurs (Bennett, 2009). As for foreign investors, they are only permitted to join a joint-venture travel enterprise pursuant to the Law on Tourism (Article 51). It is impossible for them to establish a private-owned travel enterprise. In addition, they often have to face numerous 'unwritten laws'. For example, their application for a business project largely depends on their social ties with the government agencies. Even when the application is granted by the national level government agencies, there is no guarantee that it will be approved by the provincial authorities (Bennett, 2009).

After the 2001 Congress, the NSTD 2001–2010 was approved. It set the target of developing tourism into a spearhead sector (GOV, 2002). Specifically, it aimed to achieve an average annual sectoral GDP growth rate of 11–11.5% and attract 3–3.5 million (by 2005) and 5.6–6 million (by 2010) foreign tourists. It also called for the effective use of tourism resources so that by 2010 Vietnam could be ranked a top-10 regional country in terms of tourism development (GOV, 2002). To achieve this goal, education and training were used to raise tourists' and local people's awareness about the importance of tourism resources. However, the task of poverty alleviation was neglected. In addition, plans were made to promote tourism in strategic locations (e.g. Hanoi, Hai Phong, Quang Ninh, Hue, Da Nang, and Ho Chi Minh City). Investment projects were called for major cities (e.g. Ha Long, Da Lat, and Sapa). Meanwhile, disadvantaged areas, which might be in greater need, were ignored (GOV, 2002).

The NSTD 2001–2010 was developed into two main action plans. The National Action Plan for Tourism Development 2002–2005 was aimed at laying the foundation for tourism to become a spearhead sector as determined by the 2001 Congress. This suggested that the growth of the tourism industry was the most important and thus the task of poverty alleviation was not a concern. Similarly, the National Action Plan for Tourism Development 2006–2010 made no mention of poverty alleviation. It instead aimed to

increase the growth rates of international and domestic visitors from 10% to 20% and from 15% to 20% per annum, respectively; improve the quality and diversification of tourism products and services; enhance the position of Vietnam's tourism sector in the international market; and develop sustainable tourism. (translated in GOV, 2006, p. 1)

To achieve this goal, various sectors were encouraged to invest in developing tourism infrastructure (GOV, 2006). The role of local communities and the task of poverty alleviation were ignored. As a result, numerical data on the actual impacts of these plans on poor people were rare. The evaluation report of the National

Action Plan for Tourism Development 2002–2005 stated that tourism had contributed to improving the living standards of the broader population. It, however, neglected to provide any convincing numerical data (VNAT, 2006). Questions may be raised if most tourism benefits had actually accrued to powerful stakeholders while the cost of price skyrocketing and environmental degradation had been borne out by poor people. Even if there had been improved living standards of the poor in particular and of the general public overall, it might have been attributed to many other economic activities (e.g. people selling off their land and labour migration), not necessarily because of tourism development as Larsen (2008) had investigated in the Phong Nha-Ke Bang World Heritage site. Thus, it can be claimed that these plans have contradicted the commitment to poverty alleviation made by the above-mentioned 2005 Law on Tourism. It is also plausible to claim that the ‘trickle-down’ mechanism has not been effective, given that tourism has failed to benefit poor people (Dung et al., 2007; Larsen, 2008; Linh, 2009; Rogers & Harman, 2010).

The sector is now implementing the National Action Plan for Tourism Development 2007–2012 (GOV, 2007). Again, tourism impacts are measured by visitor numbers, GDP growth, and employment creation. Though sustainable development and poverty alleviation are mentioned, they are only considered as a means to achieve tourism growth and earnings:

[The tourism sector] strives to attract 5.5–6 million foreign visitors with an average growth rate of 11.4%; attract 25 million domestic visitors ... increase tourism revenue to US\$4.0–4.5 billion/year; increase the sector's GDP growth rate to 5.3% of the national GDP ... create 1.4 million jobs, including 350,000 direct jobs. (translated in GOV, 2007, p. 2)

In 2011, the NSTD up to 2020 (vision 2030) was approved, where the main orientation is to make tourism become a spearhead sector so that it can contribute more to GDP and serve as a driving force for other sectors (GOV, 2011). While numerous action plans have been prepared to promote tourism growth (e.g. product development, marketing and promotion, quality management, infrastructure improvement, and tourism satellite accounts), only one plan has been proposed for PPT development (GOV, 2011). It can be inferred that funding for the PPT plan would be much less than that for other plans. This demonstrates that Vietnam, as many other developing countries, has not looked beyond tourism as a means of economic growth to focus more on its contributions to poverty alleviation.

Discussion and conclusion

Tourism researchers (e.g. Hall, 1994; Jenkins & Henry, 1982) indicated that government involvement in tourism is necessary, particularly in the early stages of development. This is true with Vietnam's tourism industry. In the period 1976–1990, the government played the roles of operator/entrepreneur, coordinator, promoter, and educator. These roles were necessary because the private sector was non-existent and Vietnam was lacking international cooperation experience. This is also true with other developing countries, especially those in the socialist system such as China (Hall, 1994). Since the 1990s, the government has played the additional roles of planner and regulator. Its role as an educator has been weakened, while the role as a promoter has been intensified. The government's current involvement in the tourism

industry remains strong and necessary. Indeed, it has striven to turn tourism into a spearhead industry from a sole political tool. It has also increased both domestic and foreign tourists as well as total tourism receipts as discussed above.

Yet, successes have come along with failures. Though the 1990 Tourism Year campaign led to a sharp increase in foreign tourists and the expansion of some tourist sites, it failed to provide sufficient hotels and flights. It also failed to meet the demands for service quality, infrastructure, facilities, and amenities. In the second period, the tourism industry has faced the challenges of ensuring the balance of economic profitability, social sustainability, and environmental integrity. In addition, it has also been required to contribute more to poverty alleviation. To achieve this goal, the task of poverty alleviation needs to be placed at the centre of the tourism agenda; that is, the benefits for and the roles of poor people should be a fundamental policy prerequisite. As Harrison (2008) has argued, 'the impact of any PPT projects, even if on a large scale, is likely to be limited unless a state's entire tourism strategy is constructed around the aim of poverty alleviation' (p. 863). The local tourism policies should move out of the neoliberal approach that favours tourism growth and benefits for the less poor and the tour operators to focus more on poor people. Emphasis should also be placed on the development of appropriate measures that quantify the pro-poor impact of tourism (policies). This is consistent with what de Kadt (1979) reported, who claimed that growth alone is insufficient to alleviate poverty and that the distribution of tourism benefits requires special attention. It is also consistent with what Krippendorf (1982) reported, who argued that the negative social and ecological impacts of tourism can outweigh its economic effects and can even turn economic advantages into disadvantages. Therefore, tourism policies were proposed to duly consider the interests of local people. Krippendorf (1982) also saw the need to change the attitude of policy-makers if any change in tourism policies was to be achieved. These arguments still hold today, particularly for a developing country such as Vietnam.

Interestingly, Hall's (1994) model has demonstrated to be a useful framework for analysing the development of the local tourism policies and its impacts. By identifying the key components of the tourism policy-making process, the model has assisted in understanding the various roles of the local government in tourism. Yet, it has neglected to investigate the changes to these roles over time as well as the relationships between them. While this paper has examined the contextual demands for tourism policies and the perceptual changes in the government over time, it has not studied the roles of significant individuals in making tourism policies. This is acknowledged as a limitation to this paper and thus provides some gap for future research.

In conclusion, the analysis of Vietnam's tourism policies may provide some useful insights for other developing countries in promoting tourism as a means of poverty alleviation. Though tourism growth is necessary, the task of poverty alleviation should be regarded as being equally important and hence should be included as a significant component of any tourism policy. It is not an issue of how many tourism policies are implemented, but more an issue of where poor people are placed in tourism policies and how their living conditions are improved by tourism.

Acknowledgements

The author thanks Professor C. Michael Hall (University of Canterbury, New Zealand), Dr Tony Garry (University of Otago, New Zealand) as well as the two anonymous referees for their

valuable comments on the earlier drafts of this article. The author also wishes to thank Ms Huong Pham (Phuong Dong Univeristy, Hanoi, Vietnam) for providing some important material.

References

- Agrusa, J., & Prideaux, B. (2002). Tourism and the threat of HIV/AIDS in Vietnam. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research*, 7(1), 1–10.
- Akyaamong, O. A. (2011). Pro-poor tourism: Residents' expectations, experiences and perceptions in the Kakum National Park area of Ghana. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 19(2), 197–213.
- Ashley, C., & Goodwin, H. (2007). *Pro-poor tourism: What's gone right and what's gone wrong?* London: ODI.
- Ashley, C., Roe, D., & Goodwin, H. (2001). *Pro-poor tourism strategies: Making tourism work for the poor*. London: Pro-poor Tourism Partnership.
- Asian Development Bank. (2008). *Tourism sector in the Greater Mekong Subregion*. Manila: Author.
- Bennett, J. (2009). The development of private tourism business activity in the transitional Vietnamese economy. In M. Hitchcock, V. T. King, & M. Parnwell (Eds.), *Tourism in Southeast Asia: Challenges and new directions* (pp. 146–164). Copenhagen: NIAS Press.
- Blake, A. (2008). Tourism and income distribution in East Africa. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 10, 511–524.
- Blake, A., Arbache, J. S., Sinclair, M. T., & Teles, V. (2008). Tourism and poverty relief. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 35(1), 107–126.
- Bolwell, D., & Weinz, W. (2008). *Reducing poverty through tourism*. Gevena: International Labour Office.
- Bowden, J. (2005). Pro-poor tourism and the Chinese experience. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research*, 10(4), 379–398.
- Brennan, M., & Nguyen, N. B. (2000). *Vietnamese tourism: The challenges ahead*. Retrieved from <http://ir.lib.oita-u.ac.jp/dspace/handle/10559/7058>
- Chok, S., Macbeth, J., & Warren, C. (2007). Tourism as a tool for poverty alleviation: A critical analysis of PPT and implications for sustainability. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 10(2–3), 144–165.
- Cipolarri, C. (2008). Setting the scene: Politics of transformation and narratives of preservation in Botiza (Romania). In P. Burns & M. Novelli (Eds.), *Tourism development: Growth, myths, and inequalities* (pp. 126–140). Oxford: CABI.
- Cooper, M. (2000). Tourism in Vietnam: Doi Moi and the realities of tourism in the 1990s. In C. M. Hall & S. Page (Eds.), *Tourism in South and Southeast Asia: Issues and cases* (pp. 167–177). Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.
- Croes, R., & Vanegas, M. (2008). Co-integration and causality between tourism and poverty reduction. *Journal of Travel Research*, 47, 1–10.
- Doan, N. T. K. (2010). Sustainable tourism development in Vietnam. In T. Hundloe (Ed.), *Linking green productivity to ecotourism: Experiences in the Asia-Pacific region* (pp. 249–263). Tokyo: Asian Productivity Organization.
- Dredge, D., & Jenkins, J. M. (2007). *Tourism planning and policy*. Milton: John Wiley.
- Dung, N. K., Loi, C. C., Cuong, V. H., & Minh, T. (2007). *PPT in the GMS: The Vietnam case study*. Retrieved from www.cdri.org.kh
- Gartner, M. (2008). *Tourism, development and poverty reduction: A case study from Nkhata Bay, Malawi* (Master's thesis). University of Waterloo, Canada.
- General Statistics Office. (2010). *Statistical yearbook of Vietnam*. Hanoi: Statistical.
- Goodwin, H. (2009). Reflections on 10 years of pro-poor tourism. *Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events*, 1(1), 90–94.
- Government of Vietnam. (1994). *Decree No. 9 on the organisation and management of tourism businesses*. Retrieved from www.vietnamtourism.gov.vn
- Government of Vietnam. (1999). *Tourism ordinance*. Hanoi: National Political.
- Government of Vietnam. (2001). *Socioeconomic development strategy 2001–2010*. Hanoi: Author.

- Government of Vietnam. (2002). *National strategy for tourism development 2001–2010*. Hanoi: Author.
- Government of Vietnam. (2003). *Comprehensive poverty reduction and growth strategy*. Hanoi: Cartography.
- Government of Vietnam. (2005). *Law on tourism*. Hanoi: National Political.
- Government of Vietnam. (2006). *National action plan for tourism development 2006–2010*. Hanoi: Author.
- Government of Vietnam. (2007). *National action plan for tourism development 2007–2012*. Hanoi: Author.
- Government of Vietnam. (2011). *National strategy for tourism development to 2020, vision 2030*. Hanoi: Author.
- Hall, C. M. (1994). *Tourism and politics: Policy, power and place*. London: Wiley.
- Hall, C. M. (2008). *Tourism planning: Policies, processes and relationships* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Prentice Hall.
- Hall, C. M. (Ed.). (2011). Researching the political in tourism: Where knowledge meets power. In *Fieldwork in tourism: Methods, issues and reflections* (pp. 39–54). London: Routledge.
- Harrison, D. (2008). Pro-poor tourism: A critique. *Third World Quarterly*, 29(5), 851–868.
- Harrison, D., & Schipani, S. (2007). Lao tourism and poverty alleviation: Community-based tourism and the private sector. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 10(2–3), 194–230.
- Henderson, J. C. (2003). The politics of tourism in Myanmar. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 6(2), 97–118.
- Hobson, P. J., Heung, V., & Chon, K. S. (1994). Vietnam's tourism industry: Can it be kept afloat? *Cornell Hotel and Restaurant Administration Quarterly*, 35(5), 42–48.
- Hummel, J., & van der Dium, R. (2012). Tourism at work: 15 years of tourism and poverty reduction within the SNV Netherlands Development Organisation. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 20(3), 319–338.
- Jenkins, C. L., & Henry, B. M. (1982). Government involvement in tourism in developing countries. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 9(4), 499–521.
- de Kadt, E. (1979). Social planning for tourism in the developing countries. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 6(1), 36–48.
- Krippendorf, J. (1982). Towards new tourism policies: The importance of environmental and sociocultural factors. *Tourism Management*, 3, 135–148.
- Larsen, P. B. (2008). Linking livelihoods and protected area conservation in Vietnam: Phong Nha-Ke Bang World Heritage, local futures? In G. M. Haller (Ed.), *People, protected areas and global change: Participatory conservation in Latin America, Africa, Asia and Europe* (Vol. 3, pp. 431–470). Bern: Geographica Bernensia.
- Linh, D. H. (2009). *Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and development: An illustration of foreign NGOs in Vietnam* (Master's thesis). Ohio University.
- Masina, P. P. (2006). *Vietnam's development strategies*. London: Routledge.
- Matthews, H. G., & Richter, L. (1991). Political science and tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 18, 120–135.
- Mensah, E. A., & Amuquandoh, F. E. (2010). Poverty reduction through tourism: Residents' perspectives. *Journal of Travel and Tourism Research*, Spring/Fall, 77–96.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Vietnam. (2011). *List of visa exemption agreements between Vietnam and other countries*. Retrieved from www.mofa.gov.vn
- Mitchell, J., & Ashley, C. (2010). *Tourism and poverty alleviation: Pathways to prosperity*. London: ODI & Earthscan.
- Mok, C., & Lam, T. (1997). Hotel and tourism development in Vietnam. *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing*, 7(1), 85–91.
- Mowforth, M., Charlton, C., & Munt, I. (2008). *Tourism and responsibility: Perspective from Latin America and the Caribbean*. London: Routledge.
- Mowforth, M., & Munt, I. (1998). *Tourism and sustainability: Development and new tourism in the Third World*. London: Routledge.
- Muganda, M., Sahli, M., & Smith, K. A. (2010). Tourism's contribution to poverty alleviation: A community perspective from Tanzania. *Development in Southern Africa*, 27(5), 629–646.
- Robinson, P., Heitmann, S., & Dieke, P. U. C. (2011). Research themes in tourism: An introduction. In P. Robinson, S. Heitmann, & P. U. C. Dieke (Eds.), *Research themes for tourism* (pp. xi–xvi). Oxfordshire: CABI.

- Rogers, P., & Harman, P. (2010). *Case studies Asia*. The Hague: SNV.
- Sadi, M., & Henderson, J. (2001). Tourism and foreign direct investment in Vietnam. *International Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Administration*, 2(1), 67–90.
- Scheyvens, R. (2007). Exploring the tourism-poverty nexus. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 10(2–3), 231–254.
- Schilcher, D. (2007). Growth versus equity: The continuum of pro-poor tourism and neoliberal governance. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 10(2–3), 166–193.
- Suntikul, W. (2005). *The role of political transition in tourism development: The example of Vietnam* (PhD thesis). University of Surrey, UK.
- Suntikul, W., Butler, R., & Airey, D. (2008). A periodization of the development of Vietnam's tourism accommodation since the open door policy. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research*, 13(1), 67–80.
- Thanh, T. D. (2005). *Introduction to tourism* (4th ed.). Hanoi: VNU.
- Vietnam National Administration of Tourism. (2001). *Circular no. 4 on guiding the implementation of decree no. 27/2001/ND-CP on tour operations and tourist guiding*. Retrieved from www.vietnamtourism.gov.vn
- Vietnam National Administration of Tourism. (2005). *45 years of construction and development of Vietnam's tourism sector*. Retrieved from www.vietnamtourism.gov.vn
- Vietnam National Administration of Tourism. (2006). *Final evaluation report – national action plan for tourism development 2002–2005*. Retrieved from www.vietnamtourism.gov.vn
- Vietnam National Administration of Tourism. (2009a). *Some achievements in the development of Vietnam's tourism sector*. Retrieved from www.vietnamtourism.gov.vn
- Vietnam National Administration of Tourism. (2009b). *National standards for hotel classification*. Retrieved from www.vietnamtourism.gov.vn
- Vietnam National Administration of Tourism. (2010). *Mobilising investments to construct tourism infrastructure, diversify tourist products and improve quality*. Retrieved from www.vietnamtourism.gov.vn
- Vietnam National Administration of Tourism. (2011). *Tourism development 2011 – final evaluation*. Retrieved from www.vietnamtourism.gov.vn
- Wattanakuljarus, A., & Coxhead, I. (2008). Is tourism-based development good for the poor? A general equilibrium analysis for Thailand. *Journal of Policy Modelling*, 30, 929–955.

Social Marketing Quarterly

<http://smq.sagepub.com/>

Social Marketing and Tourism: What Is the Evidence?

V. Dao Truong and C. Michael Hall

Social Marketing Quarterly 2013 19: 110 originally published online 10 April 2013

DOI: 10.1177/1524500413484452

The online version of this article can be found at:

<http://smq.sagepub.com/content/19/2/110>

Published by:



<http://www.sagepublications.com>

On behalf of:

NSMC



FHI360



Additional services and information for *Social Marketing Quarterly* can be found at:

Email Alerts: <http://smq.sagepub.com/cgi/alerts>

Subscriptions: <http://smq.sagepub.com/subscriptions>

Reprints: <http://www.sagepub.com/journalsReprints.nav>

Permissions: <http://www.sagepub.com/journalsPermissions.nav>

Citations: <http://smq.sagepub.com/content/19/2/110.refs.html>

>> [Version of Record](#) - Apr 26, 2013

[OnlineFirst Version of Record](#) - Apr 10, 2013

Social Marketing and Tourism: What Is the Evidence?

Social Marketing Quarterly
19(2) 110-135

© The Author(s) 2013

Reprints and permission:

sagepub.com/journalsPermissions.nav

DOI: 10.1177/1524500413484452

smq.sagepub.com



V. Dao Truong^{1,2} and C. Michael Hall^{2,3,4,5}

Abstract

Though the effectiveness of social marketing has been proven in various areas, it has captured scant research attention of tourism scholars. This article analyzes the social marketing characteristics of a number of tourism-related projects that have been funded by nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in Vietnam. The importance of NGOs in Vietnam's development process is highlighted. A search strategy is described where some terms and phrases are combined to identify tourism-related development projects. Forty-five projects were found and assessed against a set of six social marketing benchmarks. Twenty-one projects match all the criteria, where different evaluation measures are noted. Significantly, no project labeled itself in terms of social marketing attributes. The social marketing label is thus not necessarily effective in identifying social marketing interventions in tourism-related projects. Despite some caveats, the article indicates that social marketing may be effective in promoting behavior change for sustainable tourism development and poverty alleviation.

Keywords

social marketing, behavior change, tourism, poverty alleviation, Vietnam

Introduction

Since the term *social marketing* was first coined (Kotler & Zaltman, 1971), it has been applied in various fields such as public health, family planning, driver safety (Fox & Kotler, 1980; MacFadyen, Stead, & Zaltman, 1999), smoking prevention (Gordon, McDermott, Stead, & Angus, 2006; MacKintosh, MacFadyen, & Hastings, 1999), waste recycling, and environmental protection (Kassirer, 1997; Tabanico & Schultz, 2007). Yet, relatively little research attention is paid to the potential of social marketing in the field of tourism (Chhabra, Andereck, Yamanoi, & Plunkett, 2011; Dinan & Sargeant, 2000; Kaczynski, 2008; Kim, Borges, & Chon, 2006). This is despite widespread attention being given to the importance of changing the behaviors of both tourists and tourism businesses, especially with

¹ Department of Tourism and Hospitality, National Economics University, Hanoi, Vietnam

² Department of Management, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand

³ Department of Geography, University of Oulu, Oulu, Finland

⁴ Centre for Tourism Studies, University of Eastern Finland, Savonlinna, Finland

⁵ Freiburg Institute of Advanced Studies, Freiburg, Germany

Corresponding Author:

V. Dao Truong, Department of Management, University of Canterbury, Christchurch 8140, New Zealand.

Email: van.truong@pg.canterbury.ac.nz

respect to the development of sustainable tourism (Gössling, Hall, Lane, & Weaver, 2008). Although some researchers have explicitly noted the potential role of social marketing in improving the sustainability of tourism practices (Dinan & Sargeant, 2000), especially with respect to ethical consumption (Hall & Gössling, 2013) and emissions reduction (Peeters, Gössling, & Lane, 2009; Scott, Gössling, & Hall, 2012b). The general situation is well summed up by Lane (2009, p. 26) “the whole area of Social Marketing, of how to promote behavioural change, seems to be a blank for sustainable tourism researchers.”

Tourism is the short-term (usually less than 12 months) voluntary movement of people away from their home environment. Although often identified with leisure travel, tourism includes a wide range of short-term travel behavior for reasons including business, visiting friends and relations, religion, health, and education. Tourism is one of the largest global economic sectors and a significant contributor to many national and regional economies. From 1950 to 2010, international arrivals increased by an average of over 6% per year, from an estimated 25 million in 1950 to 940 million in 2010 (United Nations World Tourism Organization [UNWTO], 2010). Importantly, international tourism trips are estimated to represent only 15% of all tourist trips (Scott et al., 2012a). The UNWTO (2011) forecasts that international tourism will exceed 1.8 billion arrivals by 2030. According to the World Travel & Tourism Council (2012), an international association of tourism-related corporations, globally tourism’s direct contribution to gross domestic product in 2011 was US\$2 trillion and the industry generated 98 million jobs.

The scale of tourism-related movement has a range of impacts that may potentially be ameliorated by social marketing. Tourism is a significant contributor to global environmental change and contributes to changes in land cover and land use; energy use; biotic exchange and extinction of wild species; exchange and dispersion of diseases; and the production of pollution and carbon emissions (Hall, 2011). Changes in travel behavior have been identified as a means to reduce emissions, for example, by adopting different modes of transport (Scott et al., 2012a, 2012b), and in reducing introductions of diseases and pests, for example, by making tourists aware of prohibited plant and animal products (Hall & James, 2011). In addition, there have been concerted efforts by governments and the UNWTO to encourage the adoption of more environmentally friendly behaviors of tourism businesses with respect to lowering levels of energy use, emissions, and water use (Scott et al., 2012a, 2012b).

Tourism is also associated with more positive impacts. Tourism is a significant source of foreign exchange earnings in the majority of the least developed countries and is promoted by the UNWTO, WTTC, and international development agencies as a means of poverty reduction and contributing to U.N. millennium development goals (Gössling, Hall, & Scott, 2009). However, in order to achieve such ambitions without unwanted sociocultural effects, long-term changes in visitor behavior at sites of cultural and heritage significance, as well as improvements in the mutual understanding between hosts and guests, may be required (Zapata, Hall, Lindo, & Vanderschaeghen, 2011).

Given the growing interest in the relevance of social marketing to tourism, it is therefore appropriate to examine its potential effectiveness in promoting behavior change for more sustainable tourism development and, in the case of the present study, for poverty alleviation in particular. Before examining social marketing in the context of NGO poverty alleviation projects in Vietnam as an exemplar of social marketing’s role in tourism-related economic and social development projects, this article will briefly discuss the main focus on existing tourism literature that explicitly recognizes the role of social marketing.

Social Marketing in Tourism

The exploration of social marketing in the tourism field began with Bright’s (2000) article published in the *Journal of Leisure Research*, which argued that the use of social marketing to communicate the

multifaceted benefits of recreation and tourism activities to the public would help improve individual and societal quality of life. Bright also claimed that social marketing is consistent with the social welfare philosophy that drives the work of public recreation professionals, implying that there is a natural fit between tourism and social marketing, given that tourism is one form of recreation.

In the same year, Dinan and Sargeant (2000) argued that tourism development in a region could produce substantial unwanted economic and environmental impacts on local communities if it attracted a “wrong” type of tourist with behavior that was incongruent with the local context. Dinan and Sargeant proposed two strategies for sustainable tourism development. The first concentrated on attracting the segment of sustainable tourists who are attracted primarily by the natural beauty and historical values of the destinations. The second strategy, in contrast, focused on the least sustainable tourists where a social marketing mix could be used to influence their behavior and encourage them to adopt a visitors’ code of conduct (Dinan & Sargeant, 2000). Although not explicitly labeled social marketing, such codes of conduct are now widespread in the tourism industry (Hall, 2008).

Subsequent research has also focused on behavior change in potential tourists. For example, Beeton (2001) introduced the concept of demarketing which entails the temporary or permanent discouragement of general customers or a specific segment of customers. Beeton and Pinge (2003) proposed to move Australians from involvement in gambling behavior to spending money on domestic holidays. This process consists of two steps. First, demarketing is adopted to discourage gambling behavior. Second, remarketing is utilized to encourage holiday-taking behavior. Beeton and Benfield (2002) argued that demarketing could also be used as a form of demand control for environmentally sensitive areas. An approach was also suggested by Wearing, Archer, and Beeton (2007) for developing a greater focus on more targeted audiences and ecological messages in national park (NP) marketing.

The potential contribution of social marketing to the development of more environmentally friendly consumption behaviors is an increasingly significant theme in the tourism literature (Gössling, Hultman, Haglund, Källgren, & Revahl, 2009; Peeters et al., 2009; Scott et al., 2012a, 2012b). Kim, Borges, and Chon (2006) examined the psychological constructs of visitors attending the International Festival of Environmental Film and Video held in Brazil and proposed social marketing as means of improving participants’ environmental awareness. They indicated that the highly proenvironmental group of visitors was more likely to attend the festival given its thematic relevance to their existing psychological constructs. Kim et al. suggested that by adopting social marketing approaches, the balance between the host community’s long-term environmental interests, sociocultural constructs, and customers’ expectations could be maintained. However, the behavioral impacts of the psychological constructs were not examined. In addition, other factors influencing the target visitors’ choice of behavior (e.g., peer influence, contextual factors) were ignored.

Social marketing research has also targeted behavior change in tourism operations. Shang, Basil, and Wymer (2010) note that some hotels have adopted social marketing methods to encourage their customers to reuse towels and linen so as to help hotels reduce resource use (while also lowering operating costs and improving their image). George and Frey (2010) explored the possibility of developing social marketing strategies to encourage tour business owners in Cape Town to adopt positive attitudes and behaviors toward responsible tourism practices, while government-sponsored promotion of positive environmental behaviors to the accommodation and hospitality industries has been identified as a potentially significant mechanism to improve resource efficiencies (Gössling, 2010).

Social marketing has also been applied to tourism advertising. Sirakaya and Sonmez (2000) suggested that women in tourism advertisements are often depicted in a stereotypical fashion as being submissive, subordinate, and dependent on men and noted the potential for social marketing approaches to change the behaviors of tourism marketing organizations toward promoting gender equity. Chhabra, Andereck, Yamanoi, and Plunkett (2011) indicated that tourism marketing organizations can adopt social marketing to dispel gender-biased images in their advertising with the

generation of two main benefits. First, tourism organizations can better attract women as a lucrative target segment. Second, their members and customers' awareness about marketing ethics can be improved (Chhabra et al., 2011).

Direct tourism-related research on social marketing is still very limited. A majority of tourism research exploring the potential contribution of social marketing is conceptual with discussions of social marketing and its departures from cognate concepts (e.g., Beeton & Pinge, 2003; Bright, 2000; Kaczynski, 2008). However, studies that are theoretically and methodologically informed are gaining prominence, with growing use of surveys, focus groups, and observational techniques (e.g., Chhabra et al., 2011; Dinan & Sargeant, 2000; George & Frey, 2010; Kim et al., 2006; Shang, Basil, & Wymer, 2010; Sirakaya & Somez, 2000). In general, empirical studies connecting social marketing with tourism are lacking. Nevertheless, the overall interest in academic and nongovernmental tourism research on behavioral change, especially in relation to sustainability, raises the question as to whether some tourism development initiatives may use the social marketing concept but may not actually label themselves as social marketing projects. It is thus necessary to devise appropriate social marketing criteria against which tourism projects can be assessed. This would then help demonstrate the effectiveness of social marketing as a possible means to encourage sustainable tourism as well as to add to the evidence base of social marketing itself. Therefore, the remainder of the article examines the social marketing characteristics of tourism-related projects funded by foreign NGOs in Vietnam, a nation where the government has regarded tourism as a spearhead sector in the national economy (Truong, 2013).

The Roles of Foreign NGOs in Vietnam

Prior to examining the social marketing characteristics of tourism-related projects in Vietnam, the roles of foreign NGOs in these projects are discussed as well as their importance in the development of the country overall. In this research, NGOs are defined as private organizations that are established to meet some social objectives, are nonprofit focused, and independent of formal state systems (Dang, 2009; Gray, 2003).

After the American War (known as the *Vietnam War* in the West), Vietnam did not recognize civil society organizations, including NGOs, as independent entities until the 1986 renewal process. In the 1990s, foreign NGOs formally started to operate in the country (Dang, 2009; Gray, 2003) and were considered as important actors in the development arena for several reasons. First, the country was seeking rural development initiatives (Gray, 2003). Second, the country needed foreign aid and funding for industrialization and modernization (Dang, 2009). Third, the collapse of the former Soviet Union resulted in less financial support for the country while it was still subject to U.S. economic sanctions (Dang, 2009).

Since the late 1990s, more foreign NGOs have commenced operations in Vietnam, gradually shifting from providing relief aid to alleviating poverty and sponsoring or implementing development projects (Dang, 2009). In the poverty alleviation field, foreign NGOs have contributed significantly to strengthening capacity for other civil society organizations, redefining poverty, and making it a policy priority. They are among the first to introduce the notion of public participation in governance in Vietnam (Nguyen, 2006), thereby creating opportunities for various publics to voice their opinions on policies and decision making. The success of foreign NGOs can be attributed to their independence from state structures, wide community outreach, and ability to work creatively and negotiate with the government (Nguyen, 2006). As of 2009, over 500 foreign NGOs were operating in Vietnam, representing over 28 countries and territories (Dang, 2009).

In tourism, foreign NGOs have primarily played the roles of sponsors and consultants in development projects. Initially, the primary focus was on tourism's role as an economic justification for biodiversity conservation. In the early 1990s, NGOs introduced and funded a number of Integrated

Conservation and Development projects (ICDPs) in protected areas (PAs) such as NPs and nature reserves (NRs) (Sage & Nguyen, 2001). In the following years, the scope of NGO activity has broadened, especially with respect to a focus on poverty alleviation and sustainable tourism (Dang, 2009). The German Technical Cooperation (GIZ, formerly GTZ), the Netherlands Development Organization (SNV), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and Fauna and Flora International (FFI), often in conjunction with the Global Environment Facility (GEF), are among the most active in providing funding and technical assistance for many tourism-related projects country-wide. However, no comparative systematic assessment of these NGO projects has been conducted, with most assessments instead focused on individual projects (Choegyal & Clark, 2000; Dickinson & Hoang, 2008; Frontier Vietnam, 2003). Therefore, to analyze the contents of these projects, a systematic search for project documents was made.

Search Strategy

To identify relevant projects and project documents, a search was made of relevant terms and phrases via electronic databases, which included Google, Google Scholar, the Mekong Tourism Coordinating Office website, Mekong Info Portal, and the library portals of major funding/consulting agencies (UNDP, GEF, FFI, and SNV). Personal correspondences with local tourism scholars and project organizations were also made to obtain project documents that were not otherwise available. Forty-five projects were found with sufficient relevant factsheets, baseline study reports, midterm, and/or final evaluation reports for analysis, while other projects with too little data were excluded.

Social Marketing Benchmarks

Determining whether tourism-related projects can be considered in social marketing terms is difficult. This is because a widely accepted and easily applied definition of social marketing is lacking (McDermott, Stead, & Hastings, 2005; Stead, Gordon, Angus, & McDermott, 2007), although more than 45 academic definitions of social marketing have been suggested as of 2010 (Dann, 2010). One way to overcome this difficulty is to select project interventions that are labeled social marketing in their factsheets and/or final evaluation reports. However, prior research suggests that this is not an effective approach, given that a number of project interventions that appear to utilize the social marketing concept are excluded, whereas those that are more about advertising are included (McDermott et al., 2005; Stead et al., 2007). In addition, tourism scholars and practitioners have paid limited explicit attention to the role of social marketing as discussed earlier. Consequently, results obtained from a search strategy that is simplistically based on the social marketing label are most likely to be insufficient and even flawed. Thus, a more helpful solution is to identify what essential elements constitute a social marketing intervention. Andreasen (2002) proposes a set of six benchmarks for labeling and evaluating social marketing interventions: voluntary behavior change, audience research, audience segmentation, use of social marketing mix, exchanges, and competition. These benchmarks have been applied by scholars and have proven useful in identifying the social marketing components of program interventions (e.g., McDermott et al., 2005; Stead et al., 2007). The present study therefore applies these benchmark criteria to the field of tourism.

However, a sole focus on individuals (*downstream level*) would limit social marketing's effectiveness (Buchanan, Reddy, & Hossain, 1994; Smith & Strand, 2008) because, in some cases, institutional arrangements and structures affect individual behaviors (Hastings, MacFadyen, & Anderson, 2000). The notion of targeting the "upstream level" is thus suggested as a constituent of social marketing (Donovan & Henley, 2003; Goldberg, 1995; Hastings et al., 2000; Kotler & Lee, 2008), which will be included in this research. In addition, given their close relationship, the criteria of audience research and audience segmentation are combined. Hence, the six social marketing benchmarks used in this

Table 1. Social Marketing Benchmark Criteria.

Benchmarks	Description
Behavior change goal	Program interventions consider behavior change as an objective and adopt measures for evaluation
Audience research and segmentation	Interventions are designed based on understanding of audience needs and wants. Formative research is conducted to achieve this target. Intervention elements are pretested. The audience are divided into homogenous segments
Social marketing mix	Interventions attempt to use the set of 4Ps in the traditional marketing mix. This includes product, price, place, and promotion. Interventions that only use the promotion element are social advertising or communications. Other Ps may include people and policy. The use of these elements should be flexible
Exchange	Something the target audience are interested in or want is offered to motivate behavior change. It may be tangible (financial incentives, rewards) or intangible (emotional satisfaction, community pride)
Upstream targeting	Program interventions seek to influence other people relating to the target audience (e.g., local authorities, professional organizations, policy makers)
Competition	Competing behaviors are considered by program interventions. They include internal (e.g., the target audience's current behavior) and/or external factors (e.g., weak policies). Strategies are used to eliminate or minimize these factors

Note. Adapted from Andreassen (2002), McDermott, Stead, & Hastings (2005), and Stead, Gordon, Angus, & McDermott (2007).

research include behavior change goal, audience research and segmentation, use of social marketing mix, exchanges, upstream targeting, and competition (Table 1).

Findings

Project final evaluation reports were used for analysis given that they provided comparable information on project background, rationale, objectives, time frame, activities, and achieved results. Project fact-sheets, baseline studies, and mid-term reports were also referred to where relevant or where information was otherwise missing. They were assessed against the criteria outlined in Table 1. Twenty-one projects were judged to pass the six social marketing benchmarks. This means they had to:

1. Have a behavior change goal. This goal included preventing or mitigating illegal logging, hunting, forest burning; promoting the conservation of natural resources in tourist destinations; encouraging environmentally and socially responsible/sustainable tourism; motivating local people to actively participate in tourism; improving cooperation among various stakeholders; and motivating local authorities to establish and enforce conservation laws and regulations.
2. Have used audience research and segmentation. Projects demonstrated the implementation of community needs assessment, training assessment, interviews, focus groups, or piloting of project interventions. Segmentation typically included activities tailored to specific ethnic minority groups, communities, or villages.
3. Have used more than one element of the social marketing mix. This mix included product, price, place, and promotion and might also include people and policy.
4. Have considered what motivates people to change their behavior (exchange). Such exchanges might be tangible (new farming techniques, new rice varieties) or intangible (community pride).
5. Have targeted upstream level. This included the participation of local authorities, PA management boards and staff in project activities, and the use of advocacy activities for policy formulation and enforcement.

6. Have considered barriers to behavior change and adopted measures to minimize or eliminate these barriers (competition). The barriers might be internal and/or external. Measures might thus be taken to minimize these barriers.

These projects are listed in date-commenced order, with Table 2 providing their background information and Table 3 presenting their social marketing characteristics.

Discussion and Conclusion

The projects differ considerably by location, objectives, duration, and funding sources. Fourteen projects were based in PAs. The other seven projects were focused on popular tourist destinations (e.g., Sapa, Ha Giang, Hue, Quang Tri, Quang Nam) and traditional villages (e.g., Duong Lam, Phuoc Tich, Duong Huong Hoa). While the 14 PA projects were primarily targeted at mitigating local residents' dependence on forest resources for food and income, the other seven projects were aimed at promoting residents' participation in tourism, enhancing stakeholder partnerships, motivating responsible tourism practices, and encouraging tourism stakeholders to reduce their resource consumption. All 21 projects followed on from the success of ICDPs (Sage & Nguyen, 2001) by targeting poor ethnic minorities residing within PAs and tourist destinations; and by adopting a participatory approach to project design, implementation, and evaluation. The most popular competing factors identified were local people's poor perception of conservation needs and traditional dependence on forest resources (internal), stakeholder conflicts, and weak policy enforcement mechanisms (external). Socioeconomic baseline studies were widely used to gain insights into the living conditions of the target audience.

With respect to the exchange element, most projects used tangible incentives such as tourism benefits and alternative livelihoods (e.g., sustainable farming techniques, quality rice varieties) to motivate behavior change in the target audience. Only three projects used intangible factors (community pride and empowerment) in exchange for the proposed behavior (Bidup Nui Ba NP project, Cultural Conservation and Poverty Alleviation project, Support to Sustainable Tourism in Sapa project). While the offering of physical incentives seemed to have behavior impacts on the target audience, intangible benefits might lead to cognitive effectiveness on a broader (community-wide) scale. For example, the Cultural Conservation and Poverty Alleviation project provided new incomes for only 58 local households. Yet, the promotion of community pride through cultural vitalization resulted in the local community's increased belief in the positive effects of tourism. It also gave local people more pride in their own community (Netherlands Development Organisation [SNV], 2007). These effects contributed to improving the local community's awareness of sustainability issues in relation to tourism development and hence reducing their dependence on natural resources.

Social marketing is not a theory in itself (Kotler & Zaltman, 1971; MacFadyen et al., 1999). It instead combines several theories and models to motivate behavior change (Donovan & Henley, 2003; Kotler & Zaltman, 1971). Some projects were underpinned by theories of community organization and participation that have also been influential in tourism (Hall, 2008). Community activities organized by these projects included drawing competitions, community consultations, community meetings, and community training (e.g., projects in Bai Tu Long NP, Kien Giang Biosphere Reserve, Pu Luong NR, Promoting Self-sustaining Community Development project, Cultural Conservation, and Poverty Alleviation project). A wide range of community members was encouraged to participate, including local men and women, village chiefs, teachers, and schoolchildren. Considerable attention was paid to the role of local Women Unions and, to a lesser extent, Youth Unions, in community organization (e.g., projects in Cat Ba NP, Kien Giang NR, and Sapa).

Social learning theory (see Donovan & Henley, 2003) also appeared to be utilized. Examples of this include the offering of financial rewards to encourage local people to stop hunting and logging, and the

Table 2. Tourism-Related Projects: Description.

Project Details	Sponsors/Implementers	Location and Participants	Core Approach
<p>Name: Creating Protected Areas for Resource Conservation Using Landscape Ecology (PARC)</p> <p>Duration: 1998–2003</p> <p>Reference: Choegy and Clark (2000); United Nations Development Programme (2004)</p>	<p>United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), Global Environment Facility (GEF), German Technical Cooperation (GIZ), Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (MARD), Vietnam National Administration of Tourism (VNAT)</p>	<p>Be Ba national park (NP), Na Hang nature reserve (NR), and Yok Don NP are popular tourist destinations. They are home to some ethnic minority groups who depend on natural resources for food and income</p>	<p>Participatory landscape ecology</p>
<p>Name: Forest Protection and Rural Development</p> <p>Duration: 1998–2004</p> <p>Reference: World Bank (2007)</p>	<p>World Bank (WB), Dutch Government, MARD</p>	<p>This project was focused on Cat Tien NP and Chu Mom Ray NR and the natural forests outside these areas</p>	<p>Integrated conservation and development</p>
<p>Name: Contributing to Biodiversity Conservation in Cat Ba NP through community activity</p> <p>Duration: 2000–2003</p> <p>Reference: UNDP Vietnam</p>	<p>UNDP, GEF, local Women Union</p>	<p>The project focused on Gia Luan and Viet Hai communes that are situated in the core and buffer zone of the Park. The Park's natural resources are overexploited by local people</p>	<p>Participatory</p>
<p>Name: Support to Sustainable Tourism in Sapa</p> <p>Duration: 2001–2003</p> <p>Reference: SNV (2004)</p>	<p>SNV, IUCN, local people's committees</p>	<p>Sapa was chosen for its natural and cultural values. The town has attracted large numbers of both domestic and foreign tourists</p>	<p>Participatory community-based tourism (CBT) development</p>
<p>Name: Bai Tu Long NP Biodiversity Awareness</p> <p>Duration: 2001–2004</p> <p>Reference: Bottrill, Beharrel, and Willson (2003, 2004)</p>	<p>Darwin Initiative, Frontier Vietnam</p>	<p>The NP was established in 2001 with a total area of 13,000 ha. Among the most serious problems facing the NP are insufficient and ineffective management mechanisms, and continued abuse of natural resources</p>	<p>Environmental education and awareness raising</p>
<p>Name: Sapa Integrated Environmental Education</p> <p>Duration: 2001–2004</p> <p>Reference: Frontier Vietnam (2003)</p>	<p>The Dutch Embassy, Frontier Vietnam, local people's committee, local schools</p>	<p>This project was conducted in Sapa district that is home to the tourist town of Sapa and the Hoang Lien Son NP. A majority of the local residents are of poor ethnic minority groups</p>	<p>Education and training</p>

(continued)

Table 2. (continued)

Project Details	Sponsors/Implementers	Location and Participants	Core Approach
<p>Name: Developing a Community Project to Contribute to Conserving Biodiversity and Natural Resources of Van Long NR</p> <p>Duration: 2002–2004</p> <p>Reference: UNDP Vietnam</p>	UNDP, local Farmers' Association	Located in the northern province of Ninh Binh, the NR is home to a variety of the most endangered primate species. Its biodiversity values are in danger of being overexploited by local people	Participatory conservation and development
<p>Name: Community-based Conservation of Hoang Lien Son Mountain Ecosystem</p> <p>Duration: 2002–2005</p> <p>Reference: Fauna and Flora International (n.d.)</p>	European Commission (EC), Fauna and Flora International (FFI), local forest protection departments	The Hoang Lien Son mountain range is rich in both natural and cultural resources. It is home to a variety of significant flora and fauna. It is also home to ethnic minority groups who are poor and rely on forest resources for subsistence	Community participation
<p>Name: Ecotourism project in Pu Luong NR</p> <p>Duration: 2002–2007</p> <p>Reference: N.Q. Nguyen, (former) Project Manager, FFI Vietnam, personal correspondence</p>	Irish Aid, FFI	Located in the central province of Thanh Hoa, Pu Luong NR is known for its outstanding natural beauty and cultural diversity. Most local people are Thai and Muong ethnic minorities who cause much pressure on forest resources	Community-based ecotourism
<p>Name: Cultural Conservation and Poverty Reduction</p> <p>Duration: 2003–2004</p> <p>Reference: SNV (2007)</p>	SNV, local tourism department	Located in Nam Dong district, Kazan hamlet is home to 26 ethnic minority households. It is considered among the poorest hamlets in Vietnam where local people rely on extraction of forest resources	CBT development
<p>Name: Tam Dao NP and Buffer Zone Management</p> <p>Duration: 2003–2009</p> <p>Reference: German Technical Cooperation (GIZ, 2005)</p>	GIZ, MARD, local provinces	Established in 1996, the NP is home to a wide range of valuable flora and fauna. Its buffer zone is situated in the provinces of Vinh Phuc, Thai Nguyen, and Tuyen Quang	Participatory
<p>Name: The Green Corridor—Meeting Global Conservation Targets in a Productive Landscape</p> <p>Duration: 2004–2008</p> <p>Reference: Dickinson and Hoang (2008); Dickinson and Le (2008)</p>	World Wildlife Fund, SNV, GEF	The corridor is located between Phong Dien NR and Bach Ma NP in central Vietnam covering 134,000 ha. It is home to some poor ethnic minority groups who exploit forest resources for food and income	Conservation and development

(continued)

Table 2. (continued)

Project Details	Sponsors/Implementers	Location and Participants	Core Approach
<p>Name: Ngoc Son Ngo Luong project</p> <p>Duration: 2006–2010</p> <p>Reference: Mekong Tourism Coordinating Office Portal</p>	<p>Spanish Agency for International Cooperation and Development, local forest protection department</p>	<p>The project site is home to the Ngoc Son Ngo Luong NR that was declared in 2004. Most local inhabitants are ethnic minorities, over 50% of whom are poor</p>	<p>Participatory management planning</p>
<p>Name: Nature Conservation and Sustainable Management of Natural Resources in Phong Nha-Ke Bang NP</p> <p>Duration: 2007–2010; 2011–2013</p> <p>Reference: GIZ Vietnam</p>	<p>GIZ, KfW Bank, local people's committee</p>	<p>Located in the central province of Quang Binh, the NP is rich in biodiversity value, and is a popular United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) recognized tourist site. Natural resources here are overexploited by the local poor and uncontrolled tourism development</p>	<p>Multisectoral planning and integrated conservation and development</p>
<p>Name: Conservation and Development of Kien Giang Biosphere Reserve</p> <p>Duration: 2008–2011; 2012–2016</p> <p>Reference: Alexander (2009); GIZ (2011); Mackay (2009); Sebastian (2008)</p>	<p>GIZ, Australian Agency for International Development (AUSAID), local people's committee</p>	<p>The project is conducted in the southern province of Kien Giang. Local people live in low-lying areas and expose to the threats of rising sea levels as well as the effects of natural disasters</p>	<p>Participatory</p>
<p>Name: Responsible Travel Pilot</p> <p>Duration: 2009–2012</p> <p>References: Mekong Tourism Coordinating Office Portal; Nguyen (2010)</p>	<p>The Dutch Government, VNAT, local people's committees</p>	<p>This project is carried out in Hanoi and three central provinces of Hue, Quang Tri, and Quang Nam</p>	<p>Pro-poor tourism (PPT) value chain development</p>
<p>Name: Pro-poor Tourism in Ha Giang province</p> <p>Duration: 2009–2013</p> <p>Reference: Mekong Tourism Coordinating Office Portal</p>	<p>Caritas Luxembourg, Caritas Switzerland, and Misereor</p>	<p>Ha Giang is among the poorest provinces in Vietnam. Over 80% of its population is ethnic minorities who live on agriculture and deforestation</p>	<p>PPT</p>
<p>Name: Pro-poor Partnerships for Agroforestry Development</p> <p>Duration: 2009–2015</p> <p>Reference: N.Q. Nguyen, (former) Project Manager, FFI Vietnam, personal correspondence</p>	<p>International Fund for Agricultural Development, GEF, local government</p>	<p>This project follows on the success of the PARC project above. It is carried out in Bac Kan that is among the poorest provinces and home to a number of ethnic minority groups</p>	<p>Participatory</p>

(continued)

Table 2. (continued)

Project Details	Sponsors/Implementers	Location and Participants	Core Approach
Name: Strengthening the Community-based Management Capacity of Bidup Nui Ba NP Duration: 2011–2013 Reference: Mekong Tourism Coordinating Office Portal	Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), local government	The Park covers an area of 70,038 ha with abundant biodiversity values. Most local people living around the Park are ethnic minorities who maintain traditional farming practices	Community-based ecotourism
Name: Promote Self-sustaining Community Development in Vietnam through Heritage Tourism Duration: 2011–2014 Reference: Mekong Tourism Coordinating Office Portal	JICA, local partners	Cultural resources, including traditional villages, may vanish if they are not preserved properly. The three villages of Duong Lam (Hanoi), Phuoc Tich (Hue), and Dong Huong Hoa (Tien Giang) are located in three main regions in Vietnam	CBT development
Name: Environmentally and Socially Responsible Tourism Capacity Development Duration: 2011–2015 Reference: Mekong Tourism Coordinating Office Portal	European Union (EU), local people's committees	Funded by the EU Developing Countries Instrument, this project covers popular tourist destinations in the capital of Hanoi and provinces in the northern, southern and central parts of the country	Responsible tourism

organization of domestic and/or foreign study tours (Table 3). The creation of community groups and clubs (e.g., Protected Areas for Resource Conservation (PARC) project, Responsible Travel Pilot project, Kien Giang Biosphere Reserve project) not only made local people, ex-hunters, and ex-loggers more responsible for conserving tourism resources, but also allowed them to learn from practical experience and act as role models. In addition, the formation of these groups suggests the importance of establishing community partnerships in promoting resource conservation as well as responsible pro-poor tourism practices. While these theories can be more or less focused on motivational, behavioral, or cognitive change, they all contribute to achieving the ultimate goal of behavior change in the target audience (Donovan & Henley, 2003).

Yet, research suggests that in some cases local people's participation is more "relational" than "participatory" since no power is delegated to them (Liu, 2003). Given that most local people residing in the above project locations are poor and lack formal education, participation without distribution of power may turn out to be challenging (Arnstein, 1969). To this end, tourism projects using a social marketing approach may benefit from Arnstein's (1969) model of citizen participation, where participation is classified into eight levels and is arranged in a ladder pattern. The bottom rungs of the ladder are "manipulation" and "therapy," which represent the "nonparticipation" level where local people are not enabled to participate in planning and implementing programs, but are "educated" or "trained" by power holders. The "tokenism" level, which consists of "informing," "consultation," and "placation," allows opinions to be voiced by local people, who, however, are unable to make decisions affecting their lives. The highest level of participation includes "partnership," "delegated power," and "citizen control," where local people are given full power in decision-making and management processes (Arnstein, 1969). Nevertheless, other scholars, such as Choguill (1996), argued

Table 3. Tourism-Related Projects: Social Marketing Characteristics.

Project	Social Marketing Characteristics
Protected Areas for Resource Conservation (PARC)	<p>Behavior change goal: promote biodiversity conservation in protected areas (PAs). Prevent illegal hunting and exploitation of forest resources</p> <p>Customer research and segmentation: site visits, surveys, hotspot analysis, local needs assessment, socioeconomic analysis</p> <p>Marketing mix: buffer zone development plan, visitor information brochure, national park (NP) regulations brochure, environmental curricular introduced into local schools, local people's awareness raising, training in biodiversity conservation and tour guiding, Village Forestry Clubs and Lake Management Cooperative establishment, stakeholder workshops, community discussions</p> <p>Exchange: include local representatives on management boards and site rangers; improve local livelihoods; introduce quality rice varieties and livestock breeds in exchange for hunting guns, provide sustainable farming methods, and benefits from ecotourism</p> <p>Upstream targeting: local authorities participated in designing management tools and regulations; local restaurants committed not to selling wild animals, other stakeholders trained in conservation</p> <p>Competition: local people's belief in losing rights to access forest resources; population immigration; infrastructure development</p>
Forest Protection and Rural Development	<p>Behavior change goal: prevent illegal harvesting and transport of forest products, reduce forest fire, and reduce local people's dependence on forest resources</p> <p>Customer research and segmentation: participatory rural appraisal, community consultation, socioeconomic and biodiversity baseline surveys conducted</p> <p>Marketing mix: ecotourism programs, awareness campaigns taught community members and school pupils, staff training, community advisory and community working groups, commune forest protection groups, management regulations</p> <p>Exchange: diversified livelihood options (new farming techniques, crops, livestock, farm management skills), ecotourism benefits</p> <p>Upstream targeting: provincial and district authorities, social and cultural institutions</p> <p>Competition: population growth and migration, expansion of arable land</p>
Contributing to Biodiversity Conservation in Cat Ba NP through Community Activity	<p>Behavior change goal: reduce exploitation of Park resources</p> <p>Customer research and segmentation: surveys conducted to identify threats to forest resources, major barriers to conservation, and target audience in two communes</p> <p>Marketing mix: farming skills training courses, community policy dialogue, student exchange, advocacy activities, study tours, conservation regulations</p> <p>Exchange: new agricultural production models and alternative income opportunities included indigenous orange varieties, vegetable plantation, bee keeping, and financial loans</p> <p>Upstream targeting: local authorities, Women Union, and relevant agencies. Advocacy for environmental protection was included in Women Unions' activities</p> <p>Competition: population growth, low living standards, unclear responsibilities among government organizations, local people's poor knowledge of conservation, traditional dependence on resources, uncontrolled tourism development</p>
Support to Sustainable Tourism in Sapa	<p>Behavior change goal: promote the active participation of local people in tourism development</p> <p>Customer research and segmentation: organization of community workshops, identification of community needs and activities, inventory and resource assessment</p>

(continued)

Table 3. (continued)

Project	Social Marketing Characteristics
Bai Tu Long NP Biodiversity Awareness	<p>Marketing mix: trekking trail, tourism service and information center, cultural house, tourist fee system, guides training, community discussions and agreements, school paintings, tree planting, rubbish collection, study tours, English classes, Australian and American teachers</p> <p>Exchange: increased benefit sharing and employment, reduced negative impacts of tourism, sense of ownership</p> <p>Upstream targeting: tourism stakeholders, national and provincial authorities</p> <p>Competition: local people's passive role in tourism, negative impacts of tourism, poor communication among tourism stakeholders and management levels</p> <p>Behavior change goal: reduce illegal logging, hunting, and dynamite fishing within the NP; enhance management capacity of local authorities</p> <p>Customer research and segmentation: community meetings held to prioritize management needs; informal interviews and discussions; socioeconomic and biodiversity baseline surveys</p>
	<p>Marketing mix: community environmental awareness program, sustainable tourism, biodiversity information boards, biodiversity interpretation center, newsletters, field guides and posters. Classroom training for NP staff and postgraduate students. School environmental education, local radio and TV, Park Law, study tours</p> <p>Exchange: curricular taught environmental protection lessons; study tours created opportunities to learn awareness raising experiences</p> <p>Upstream targeting: Park authority and staff training; linkages with professional organizations</p> <p>Competition: traditional dependence on forest for lifestyle and livelihood. Law enforced</p>
Sapa Integrated Environmental Education	<p>Behavior change goal: reduce tourism stakeholders' consumption of natural resources (including local residents)</p> <p>Customer research and segmentation: focus group meetings, school visits and assessment, pilot project interventions made</p> <p>Marketing mix: local teachers taught in environmental education workshops, environmental education booklet, manual, and workbook, environmental poster campaign and competition, leaflets, local schools, study tours, training programs</p> <p>Exchange: ecotourism benefits, direct income, nature trail, medical plants</p> <p>Upstream targeting: teachers, local Department of Education and Training, tourists, other tourism stakeholders, mass organizations (Youth Union, Women Union)</p> <p>Competition: curricular taught conservation knowledge and skills</p>
Developing a Community Project to Contribute to Conserving Biodiversity and Natural Resources of Van Long NR	<p>Behavior change goal: prevent illegal exploitation of natural resources by local people</p> <p>Customer research and segmentation: conservation needs assessed, threats identified, residents in buffer zone selected, socioeconomic baseline study conducted</p> <p>Marketing mix: environmental education curricular taught in schools, local people and authorities trained in management skills, seven buffer zone communes, radio broadcasts, training workshops, study tours</p> <p>Exchange: alternative livelihood options (biogas installment and operations, bee keeping, fish farming, gardening, bamboo mat making), financial loans</p> <p>Upstream targeting: community leaders, NR management board, hamlet chiefs, forest rangers, forestry committees</p> <p>Competition: local people's poor understanding of conservation needs, low living standards, unsustainable tourism, weak law enforcement</p> <p>Behavior change goal: prevent illegal logging and wide spread hunting</p>

(continued)

Table 3. (continued)

Project	Social Marketing Characteristics
Community-based Conservation of Hoang Lien Son Mountain Ecosystem	<p>Customer research and segmentation: Participatory land use planning and participatory zoning conducted to understand local livelihoods, resource use, and agricultural knowledge and practices; biodiversity threat assessment</p> <p>Marketing mix: forest comanagement plan, tourism development plan, small medical plants, local people training, cattle keeping methods, community rangers communicate key conservation messages, multistakeholder forest protection councils, awareness raising activities, study tours, printed materials, local radio</p> <p>Exchange: community participation in planning, decision making and management; employment for ex-hunters and ex-loggers; alternative income opportunities (bee keeping, nursery, tourism benefits)</p> <p>Upstream targeting: Park authorities and staff, local authorities, rangers, government officials, mass organizations</p> <p>Competition: traditional farming practices, fast population growth, local people's lack of understanding of conservation needs, traditional top-down management</p>
Ecotourism project in Pu Luong NR	<p>Behavior change goal: reduce local people's dependence on forest resources, promote sustainable ecotourism practices</p> <p>Customer research and segmentation: survey made to assess local needs and resources in 43 villages; feasibility study conducted to inform project interventions</p> <p>Marketing mix: stakeholder consultations, community ecotourism meetings, community commitment, study tours, drawing competition, local people and rangers trained in guiding, benefit-sharing regulations, multimedia exhibitions, TV documentaries, radio broadcasts</p> <p>Exchange: sustainable ecotourism model, community fund, economic incentives, alternative livelihoods</p> <p>Upstream targeting: NR management board, mass organizations, local authorities, tour operators</p> <p>Competition: weak institutional capacity, unsustainable tourism, poor stakeholder cooperation, local people as outsiders of tourism development</p>
Cultural Conservation and Poverty Reduction	<p>Behavior change goal: stop extracting forest resources for sustainable tourism</p> <p>Customer research and segmentation: appreciative participative planning and action to identify community tourism potential and interests; community organization activities</p> <p>Marketing mix: cultural performances, dance performances, traditional community house, community development fund, tourism service teams, community tourism management board, tourism infrastructure and facilities, community seminars, study tours, exchange visits, community activities, skills training</p> <p>Exchange: tourism product, increased income opportunities, equitable distribution of tourism benefits, sense of empowerment and community pride</p> <p>Upstream targeting: local people's committee, tourism colleges, tour companies, Youth Union</p> <p>Competition: local people were not used to thinking for long-term benefits and sustainability, the sustainable tourism concept was new to the locals</p>
Tam Dao NP and Buffer Zone Management	<p>Behavior change goal: reduce illegal hunting, wood extraction, plant collection, and mining</p> <p>Customer research and segmentation: baseline survey (with interviews, focus groups, questionnaires, and case studies) piloted and conducted to identify socioeconomic and environmental characteristics of the target residents</p> <p>Marketing mix: resource use planning model, medical plant gardens, agroforestry model, training programs, incentives for participation, forest school with information center, education and awareness raising activities, mass media,</p>

(continued)

Table 3. (continued)

Project	Social Marketing Characteristics
The Green Corridor— Meeting Global Conservation Targets in a Productive Landscape	<p>information posting in villages, study tours, multidisciplinary working groups</p> <p>Exchange: alternative income earning options, credit access, agricultural extension services, tourism activities and facilities</p> <p>Upstream targeting: NP board and staff, key government agencies and authorities</p> <p>Competition: population growth, weak management, poor cooperation between authorities and communities, poor environmental awareness, local people's dependence on forest resources</p> <p>Behavior change goal: reduce illegal logging, hunting, and forest burning; increase community commitments to conservation</p> <p>Customer research and segmentation: site surveys conducted to identify target groups, major threats, and hotspots; socioeconomic baseline analysis</p> <p>Marketing mix: pro-poor tourism (PPT) program, information networks, education and awareness raising, effective regulations, community workshops, forest rangers training, local teachers and students, photo exhibitions and competitions, brochures, leaflets, posters, species school book, radio, and TV</p> <p>Exchange: incentives through forest bee keeping and fruit gardens, better land use rights and benefits, tourism profits</p> <p>Upstream targeting: local authorities cooperate with local people; local restaurants commitment to stop trading wildlife meat; conservation rules enforced</p> <p>Competition: easy access to forest resources due to road expansion, traditional farming practices, lack of effective law enforcement, and integration with local communities</p>
Ngoc Son Ngo Luong project	<p>Behavior change goal: enhance good practices in the NP</p> <p>Customer research and segmentation: socioeconomic and biodiversity surveys, ecotourism workshops and study trips, ecotourism forum, piloted institutional agreement</p> <p>Marketing mix: ecotourism development plan, forest management plan, villa development plan, field personnel training, training workshops, environmental education in local schools and mass organizations, printed materials (brochures, calendars, maps), mass media, study tours, stakeholder meetings, code of practice</p> <p>Exchange: training local people in farming, ecotourism, and forest management, ecotourism benefits, alternative socioeconomic activities</p> <p>Upstream targeting: strengthening the capacity of NR authorities and staff, development agencies, mass organizations, tour operators, tourists</p> <p>Competition: NR legal framework not fully developed. Environmental regulations established</p>
Nature Conservation and Sustainable Management of Natural Resources in Phong Nha-Ke Bang NP	<p>Behavior change goal: improve the conservation and management of forest resources</p> <p>Customer research and segmentation: socioeconomic baseline study with interviews, group discussions, surveys, and case studies; value chains study in 13 communes</p> <p>Marketing mix: sustainable tourism development plan, sustainable land use planning employed with adequate training, educated trainers provide training for other people, tour guide training, stakeholder meetings, consultation workshops, seminars, study tours</p> <p>Exchange: forest land allocation techniques, sustainable planning methods, ecotourism benefits, resource-friendly utilization and management methods, alternative livelihoods</p> <p>Upstream targeting: awareness raising and advocacy activities aimed at provincial decision makers and managers, tour operators, tourists</p>

(continued)

Table 3. (continued)

Project	Social Marketing Characteristics
Conservation and Development of Kien Giang Biosphere Reserve	<p>Competition: inadequate nonagricultural jobs, uncontrolled tourism development, and poor management mechanisms</p> <p>Behavior change goal: promote sustainable use of natural resources in the Reserve</p> <p>Customer research and segmentation: biodiversity audits conducted to inform target interventions. Participatory socioeconomic survey carried out to understand current situation of targeted areas. Different training programs designed to suit local capacity and resources. Livelihood interventions piloted</p> <p>Marketing mix: training programs, primary school teachers, trainers, community groups, printed materials disseminated by local agencies, radio and TV, community events, drawing competitions and environmental education programs in commune schools</p> <p>Exchange: new livelihood activities, sustainable methods of production</p> <p>Upstream targeting: government officials, local Women Union, Youth Union, and NP staff</p>
Responsible Travel Pilot	<p>Competition: low environmental awareness, high population density, lack of alternative employment</p> <p>Behavior change goal: promote socially responsible tourism practices</p> <p>Customer research and segmentation: tourism resources assessed, training needs evaluated, market research conducted</p> <p>Marketing mix: responsible tourism initiative/model, value chain development, responsible travel clubs, skills training, national workshops, media coverage, awareness raising activities</p> <p>Exchange: responsible tourism certification, access to socially responsible tourism market place, tourism benefits</p> <p>Upstream targeting: tourism administrations, tour operators, hotels, travel associations, tourists</p>
Pro-poor Tourism in Ha Giang province	<p>Competition: inadequate stakeholder cooperation, poor management capacity, inadequate understanding of sustainable tourism practices</p> <p>Behavior change goal: use natural and cultural resources sustainably for poverty alleviation</p> <p>Customer research and segmentation: poor villages and households identified. Tour operators selected. Three remote villages targeted first, five others follow</p> <p>Marketing mix: memorandum of PPT understanding, forest management schemes, vocational training, training programs and materials, study tours, poorest farmers and women, tree planting</p> <p>Exchange: PPT development; community development fund; tourism infrastructure, facilities, and benefits</p> <p>Upstream targeting: local authorities, tour operators, homestay, and hotel staff</p>
Pro-poor Partnerships for Agroforestry Development	<p>Competition: population pressure on land, water scarcity</p> <p>Behavior change goal: promote biodiversity conservation, equitable forest management, and sustainable ecotourism</p> <p>Customer research and segmentation: survey conducted. Three districts chosen as target locations where poor upland residents, particularly women, identified as target segments</p> <p>Marketing mix: community development fund, ecotourism strategy, environmental manuals, codes of conduct, community workshops, training courses in villages and schools, site visits, environmental awareness program, village forest management boards, women's interest groups</p> <p>Exchange: alternative livelihood options, pro-poor ecotourism benefits</p> <p>Upstream targeting: local and foreign NGOs, government agencies and staff</p>

(continued)

Table 3. (continued)

Project	Social Marketing Characteristics
Strengthening the Community-based Management Capacity of Bidup Nui Ba NP	<p>Competition: local people's dependence on forest, limited livelihoods, poor management of environmental resources and cultural heritages</p> <p>Behavior change goal: reduce local people's dependence on natural resources</p> <p>Customer research and segmentation: survey conducted (2007) revealed target audience and major threats. Formulation of intervention plans and piloting of target communes</p> <p>Marketing mix: ecotourism trail, infrastructure and facilities; centre for ecotourism and environmental education; Japanese experts and consultants, and community stakeholders; training and awareness raising activities, stakeholder discussions, rubbish collection campaign, study tours, brochures, website, conservation rules, and regulations</p> <p>Exchange: benefits of community-based ecotourism, alternative livelihood options (e.g., coffee processing techniques, healthy vegetable planting), community development fund, local cultural pride</p> <p>Upstream targeting: Park management board and staff, relevant tourism stakeholders</p>
Promote Self-sustaining Community Development in Vietnam through Heritage Tourism	<p>Competition: poor management mechanisms, weak cooperation between local people and authorities</p> <p>Behavior change goal: promote the preservation of traditional villages through heritage tourism</p> <p>Customer research and segmentation: community-based groups formulated to evaluate local resources and develop action plans</p> <p>Marketing mix: rural heritage/ecotourism programs, local inhabitants, maps, brochures, information centers, community meetings, study tours, local universities</p> <p>Exchange: training in guiding skills, advice on revival of local resources and industries, tourism benefits</p> <p>Upstream targeting: staff of local mass organizations, tour companies, and administrations</p>
Environmentally and Socially Responsible Tourism Capacity Development	<p>Competition: local people's inadequate appreciation of local cultural values</p> <p>Behavior change goal: promote environmentally and socially responsible tourism practices</p> <p>Customer research and segmentation: training needs assessed, pilot initiatives conducted, tourism policies and initiatives reviewed and assessed</p> <p>Marketing mix: tourism information system, sector performance framework, tourism occupational skills standards, training of trainers, workshops, education and awareness raising, public-private sector dialogue and partnership, tourism schools</p> <p>Exchange: environmental and social standards for tourism projects, voluntary environmental standard for hotels, sustainable benefits for entire sector</p> <p>Upstream targeting: VNAT, Institute for Tourism Development Research, local administrators, professional associations, tour operators, hotels</p> <p>Competition: fast tourism growth, high poverty rate, conflicting policies and stakeholder interests</p>

that Arnstein's model lacks applicability in developing countries, where power or control is not enough to guarantee community participation. Given the substantial interest in community-based tourism models and participatory development and community-based conservation (Campbell & Vainio-Mattila, 2003), further empirical research is needed to evaluate the efficacy of community participation models in the context of developing countries such as Vietnam.

Mass media and advocacy activities were utilized in 5 of the 21 projects, particularly when policy and regulation adjustments were required. For example, local radio and TV channels were used in the Ngoc Son Ngo Luong project because the local legal framework was not fully developed. Similar media channels were employed in the Bai Tu Long Bay project where poor mechanisms for conservation enforcement were identified. A number of TV documentaries and radio broadcasts were used in the Pu Luong project due to the local authorities' weak capacity in making and enforcing conservation policies.

The use of evaluation methods varies among projects. Behavior change results were reported in five projects (Kien Giang Biosphere Reserve, Cat Tien NP and Chu Mom Ray NR, PARC project, Hoang Lien Son ecosystem, and Green Corridor project). These results were measured by the decrease in the number of violating behaviors (e.g., illegal hunting, logging, forest burning) after interventions were made. Seven of these projects measured their impacts in terms of increased environmental/conservation awareness (Bai Tu Long, Ngoc Son Ngo Luong, Tam Dao, Phong Nha-Ke Bang, Cat Ba, Van Long). Self-completion questionnaires were administered in the Sapa Integrated Environmental Education project where environmental awareness scores were used to measure the target audience's change before and after interventions. The measure of increased participants adopting proposed behaviors was employed by six projects (Nam Dong, Tam Dao, Pu Luong, Responsible Travel Pilot, Van Long, and Support to Sustainable Tourism project in Sapa). Results are not available in five projects (Self-sustaining Community Development project, Bidup Nui Ba project, Ha Giang project, Environmentally and Socially Responsible Tourism project, and Bac Kan project) as they are still in progress. Table 4 describes the areas and methods of evaluation used in these projects and their results. It indicates that some projects combined more than one area in their evaluations. Most projects were assessed by preevaluation and postevaluation in the form of surveys conducted on the same target audience. No project compared changes in attitude, awareness, or behavior of the target audience with those of the nontarget audience. In addition, almost all project evaluations were activity based, that is, they were made in accordance with the activities outlined in project time logs.

Socioeconomic baseline surveys were conducted to gain insights into the target audience's lived conditions, needs, and wants (audience research) as noted earlier. Surveys were also administered to identify barriers facing the target audience in adopting the proposed behaviors (competition) as well as forces that might motivate them to adopt and maintain such behaviors (exchange). In addition, surveys were utilized to evaluate the effectiveness of project interventions. The evidence suggests that surveys are among the most widely used methods in social marketing (Redmond & Griffith, 2006; Tabanico & Schultz, 2007). The use of surveys to measure the change in knowledge, attitude, awareness, and behavior of the target audience was also consistent with the incorporation of various theories and models aimed to conceptualize behavioral influences as discussed above.

The 21 projects were judged to have adopted social marketing principles in their design and implementation, that is, they attempted to achieve behavior change objectives, conducted surveys, and/or other methods to understand their target audience's needs and wants. They also divided their target audience into different segments on which interventions were made and considered factors that motivated awareness and behavior change in the target audience (exchange). In addition, they demonstrated the use of different elements of the social marketing mix and addressed various barriers to behavior change (competition). Finally, they attached importance to the upstream level that included tourism stakeholders, local authorities, professional organizations, and government bodies.

Some projects did not have "specific" behavior change objectives (e.g., projects in Cat Ba NP, Cat Tien NP, Chu Mom Ray NR). However, evidence that they actually attempted to address behavior change could be found in project factsheets and evaluation reports (e.g., project indicators). Some projects only considered behavior change as one of a number of core objectives (e.g., Sustainable Tourism project in Sapa), while other projects identified specific barriers to and enablers of behavior change (e.g., Kien Giang Reserve project; Sebastian, 2008). Nevertheless, behavior change was not

Table 4. Project Evaluation—Areas, Methods, and Results.

Evaluation Areas	Projects	Evaluation Methods	Results
Behavior change	Kien Giang Biosphere Reserve Conservation	Preproject baseline surveys versus postproject surveys	Community environmental awareness was low (<3% in 2008) but improved significantly (77% in 2011), leading to positive behavior: over 2,000 participants in tree planting, 2,000 in environment cleaning, and 1,000 in training programs. Local people apply new methods of production. National park (NP) staff use skills in fire and water management and biodiversity monitoring
	Forest Protection and Rural Development		Illegal harvesting and transport of forest products reduced to 0. Forest fires reduced by 50%. Increased conservation awareness seen in 100% governmental staff, 70% farmer families, and 80% youngsters. No conservation agreement reached before the project. Yet, after the project, violations were reported at 0.7% in the buffer zone of Cat Tien NP and 0.6% in that of Chu Mom Ray NR
	The Green Corridor		Conservation attitudes enhanced in 70% households in 2008 versus 30% in 2006. 80% households are not dependent on forest. Illegal activities decreased, leading to reduced threats to forest resources. Total number of violations by district showed significant difference (analysis of variance, $n = 21,755$, $p = .0001$). Forest fires also remarkably reduced by districts ($p = .0001$)
	Protected Areas for Resource Conservation (PARC)	Participatory evaluation with mixed tools (mid-term reviews, audit reports, independent evaluations)	20,746 people trained in 42 courses. Nine environmental education courses taught in local schools. Hunting and livestock grazing reduced (marginal level). Forest fire ceased in Yok Don (unsatisfactory level). Illegal logging, mining, cultivation, and dynamite fishing ceased (satisfactory level)
	Hoang Lien Son Mountain Ecosystem	Nonindicator most significant change method used both qualitative and quantitative measures	Local residents are an active force in forest protection. Community rangers demonstrate responsibility for conservation. Threats to biodiversity decreased. Pressure from hunting reduced by 40%. Conflicts between Park authority and local residents were eased. Local authorities considered communities an important force in forest protection
Awareness change	Ngoc Son Ngo Luong	Project impacts were measured by the increased awareness of local communities and authorities, and the improved relationship between local	Local community showed increased awareness of and responsibility for the NR conservation. Conservation contract signed with local people. 51 villages inside the NR now select alternative activities, alongside tourism, for sustainable conservation and development

(continued)

Table 4. (continued)

Evaluation Areas	Projects	Evaluation Methods	Results
	Bai Tu Long NP Biodiversity Awareness	communities and rangers Environmental Education concept used for evaluations. Main indicators: alternative livelihood methods, training workshops, environmental education programs, newsletters, posters, communication channels	Project impacts and outcomes were measured by the increased awareness of the target audience through training and awareness activities. Behavior change was not reported (Bottrill, Beharrel, & Willson, 2004)
	Cat Ba NP Biodiversity Conservation		Key participants and beneficiaries showed increased awareness of the importance of conservation. Exploitation of Park resources significantly reduced with alternative livelihood options. Fruit planting techniques applied by 81 households. Bee keeping model adopted by 10 households. Four vegetable plantation models developed
	Tam Dao NP and Buffer Zone Management	Participatory evaluation approach	Over 80 village-based resource use plans applied by local people and authorities. Increased environmental awareness seen in all stakeholders. Sustainable cultivation model attracted 36 households, organized nine training classes with 450 participants. 19 classes organized by local Farmers' Association for 1,500 participants. Crop pattern change model attracted 60 households
	Van Long NR Biodiversity Conservation		Increased awareness of nature conservation seen in local people. More households engaged in alternative livelihood options such as bee keeping (33), fish farming (91), and fruit tree gardening (50). Cooperation between various stakeholders improved. Pressure on natural resources reduced
	Nature Conservation in Phong Nha-Ke Bang	Preproject surveys versus postproject surveys	Community residents show positive attitudes toward conservation and participate more actively in planning and consulting processes. All relevant stakeholders support conservation efforts. The project is still in progress, so a detailed evaluation is not available yet
	Sapa Integrated Environmental Education		Self-completion questionnaire administered on 557 third-grade students in six local schools. Follow-up at 6 months. Taught students showed better conservation awareness and reduced rubbish emission. Average awareness scores: 7.2 (after) versus 4.8 (before) in Ta Van school; 6.0 (after) versus 5.4 (before) in Ban Ho school
Increased participation	Cultural Conservation and Poverty Alleviation	Questionnaire surveys combined with interviews and/or community meetings and workshops	More local people involve in cultural activities, resulting in fewer people relying on natural resources. Traditional houses and dance performances revitalized. Cultural activities restored including weaving and musical instrument making. 58 of the 110 households enjoy new income sources

(continued)

Table 4. (continued)

Evaluation Areas	Projects	Evaluation Methods	Results
	Pu Luong Ecotourism		Conservation awareness increased in local people who actively participated in ecotourism planning, community meetings, and fund management. Their roles and responsibilities in ecotourism management defined. Forest violations reduced significantly. Stakeholder cooperation improved
	Responsible Travel Pilot		Responsible Travel Club and Responsible Travel Group formed. Responsible Travel Action Plan made. Green criteria applied by local hotels in water and power management. Green office guidelines followed by local tour operators
	Support to Sustainable Tourism in Sapa		Local people actively support tourism in their villages and manage its benefits. They identify and develop tourism resources more effectively. Overall, they hold an active role in developing tourism

always an explicitly stated project objective. Behavior change outcomes were often combined with other results or reported by the improved awareness in or increased involvement of the target audience as noted above. Although behavior change outcomes were not always clearly reported, changes in the target audience's awareness, cognition, or perception of value might to a greater or lesser extent influence their choice of behavior in the long term.

This article aims neither to evaluate the effectiveness of social marketing in tourism-related projects in Vietnam nor to compare social marketing with other approaches. It instead seeks to identify the social marketing components in these projects and add to the evidence base of social marketing itself. The article shows that although some tourism-related projects used all elements of the social marketing concept, they did not refer explicitly to the field. No project labeled itself social marketing. Hence, the social marketing label was not useful in the search for project documents. This is also consistent with public health-related projects (Stead et al., 2007). The reported positive results suggest projects that are developed using social marketing principles may be effective. Although most projects were conducted over several years, their effects were assessed immediately after they finished. Often long-term effects were not reported. Many of these projects seemed to have had major influences on the upstream level, as evidenced by increased public participation and the use of mass media for advocacy activities.

These projects should be considered in light of some limitations. As noted, some projects did not consider behavior change as a specific objective. Their outcomes were thus reported by qualitative indicators such as increased awareness and/or participation. Quantitative indicators were untypical. The absence of a solid monitoring and evaluation system was a weakness in many projects (D. Hainsworth, former SNV Vietnam Tourism Advisor, personal communication, October 2011). Another important issue is quality of implementation. There were cases where the "exchange" element was not properly applied. For example, the PARC project conducted in Ba Be NP offered financial incentives for every hunting gun exchanged (United Nations Development Programme, 2004). Yet, local people perceived the incentives as low and felt that they were forced to exchange their guns (Zingerli, 2005). This highlights three issues. First, the perceived cost of exchanging guns was higher than the perceived benefit of incentives. Second, the exchange was not voluntary. Third, the evidence might indicate the power imbalance between the project organization and local people, where the former had financial and technical resources and support from the local authorities while the latter was mostly poor people. These issues actually limited the project's effectiveness, as demonstrated by the worsened relationships between the local authorities and communities. Local people instead turned to sell their guns in nearby markets for higher prices, where they might be repurchased and used for hunting again (Zingerli, 2005). Another example is the Sustainable Tourism project in Sapa that offered benefit sharing in exchange for the active participation/support of local people. Leakage and corruption was reported in the local tourism fee collecting system (SNV, 2004) and might reduce the benefits that the locals were entitled to, increase skepticisms among them, and discourage them from supporting and participating in tourism.

Despite these caveats, this research may offer some suggestions for funding and consulting agencies. First, voluntary behavior change should be adhered to as the bottom line, that is, an explicit project objective and outcome. The change should be voluntary. To do this, the target audience need to be offered something they really need so that they volitionally adopt the proposed behavior. Second, the article supports the importance of audience research and segmentation in understanding the perceptions, needs, and wants of the target audience, as well as the barriers they face in adopting the proposed behavior. This suggestion thus confirms the importance of identifying and eliminating the "competition" element. Projects are regarded as social marketing if they demonstrate consideration of the competing behaviors or forces that prevent the target audience from adopting the proposed behavior. These may be internal or external or both. The competition to the termination of hunting, logging, and forest burning may be the local people's poor understanding, their traditional dependence

on natural resources for food and livelihood (internal), or the weak management capacity of the local authorities (external). To eliminate external barriers, the advocacy of policy makers, authorities, and professional organizations (upstream level) is very important. Overall, the findings suggest that the explicit adoption of social marketing may be a promising approach to addressing social issues in tourism development such as resource conservation and poverty alleviation.

Finally, it is noted that to label and evaluate social marketing interventions largely depends on the applicable criteria. This is a challenge for two reasons. First, a widely accepted definition of social marketing is lacking (McDermott et al., 2005; Stead et al., 2007). Second, relatively little attention has been paid to the labeling and evaluation of social marketing interventions (Andreasen, 1994, 2002; Doner, 2003; Forthorfer, 1999). Further research, including tourism research, into this issue is thus much needed.

Acknowledgments

The authors would like to thank Dr. Tony Garry (Department of Marketing, University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand), the SMQ editors, and reviewers for valuable comments on an earlier draft of this article.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author(s) received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

References

- Alexender, N. (2009). *Livelihood improvement for people living in the Kien Giang Biosphere reserve*. Kien Giang, Vietnam: GIZ.
- Andreasen, A. R. (1994). Social marketing: Its definition and domain. *Journal of Public Policy and Marketing*, 3, 108–114.
- Andreasen, A. R. (2002). Marketing social marketing in the social change marketplace. *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 21, 3–13.
- Arnstein, S. R. (1969). A ladder of citizen participation. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 35, 216–224.
- Beeton, S. (2001). Cyclops and Sirens—Demarketing as a proactive response to negative consequences of one-eyed competitive marketing. *Travel and Tourism Research Association 32nd Annual Conference Proceedings* (pp. 125–136). Idaho, USA: Travel and Tourism Research Association.
- Beeton, S., & Benfield, R. (2002). Demand control: The case for demarketing as a visitor and environmental management tool. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 10, 497–513.
- Beeton, S., & Pinge, I. (2003). Casting the holiday dice: Demarketing gambling to encourage local tourism. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 6, 309–322.
- Bottrill, L., Beharrel, N., & Willson, M. (2003). *Bai tu long bay biodiversity awareness project annual report*. London, England: The Society for Environmental Exploration.
- Bottrill, L., Beharrel, N., & Willson, M. (2004). *Bai tu long bay biodiversity awareness project final report*. London, England: The Society for Environmental Exploration.
- Bright, A. D. (2000). The role of social marketing in leisure and recreation management. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 32, 12–17.
- Buchanan, D. R., Reddy, S., & Hossain, H. (1994). Social marketing: A critical appraisal. *Health Promotion International*, 9, 49–57.
- Campbell, L. M., & Vainio-Mattila, A. (2003). Participatory development and community-based conservation: Opportunities missed for lessons learned? *Human Ecology*, 31, 417–437.

- Chhabra, D., Andereck, K., Yamanoi, K., & Plunkett, D. (2011). Gender equity and social marketing: An analysis of tourism advertisements. *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing*, 28, 111–128.
- Choegyal, L., & Clark, L. (2000). *Ecotourism development for ba be and na hang: Second mission report and appendices*. Ha Noi, Vietnam: PARC Project VIE/95/G31&031, Government of Viet Nam (FPD)/UNOPS/UNDP/Scott Wilson Asia-Pacific Ltd.
- Choguill, M. B. G. (1996). A ladder of community participation for underdeveloped countries. *Habitat International*, 20, 431–444.
- Dang, L. H. (2009). *Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs) and development: An illustration of foreign NGOs in Vietnam* (master's thesis). Ohio University, Athens, OH.
- Dann, S. (2010). Redefining social marketing with contemporary commercial marketing definitions. *Journal of Business Research*, 63, 147–153.
- Dickinson, C., & Hoang, N. K. (2008). *The green corridor project final report (2004-2008): Lessons learned and key outcomes*. Retrieved May 2012, from www.thegreencorridor.org
- Dickinson, C., & Le, V. D. (2008). *Final monitoring and evaluation report: The green corridor project thua thien hue province, Vietnam*. Retrieved May 2012, from www.thegreencorridor.org
- Dinan, C., & Sargeant, A. (2000). Social marketing and sustainable tourism: Is there a match? *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 2, 2–14.
- Doner, L. (2003). Approaches to evaluating social marketing programs. *Social Marketing Quarterly*, 9, 18–26.
- Donovan, R., & Henley, N. (2003). *Social marketing: Principles and practice*. Melbourne, Australia: IP Communications.
- Fauna and Flora International. (n.d.). *A compendium of case studies, lessons and recommendations*. Retrieved May 2012, from www.fauna-flora.org
- Forthorfer, M. S. (1999). Evaluating social marketing campaigns: Strategies for assessing implementation and campaign impact. *Social Marketing Quarterly*, 5, 68–71.
- Fox, K. F. A., & Kotler, P. (1980). The marketing of social causes: The first ten years. *Journal of Marketing*, 44, 24–33.
- Frontier Vietnam. (2003). *Sapa Integrated Environmental Education Project—An end of project report*. Hanoi, Vietnam: Society for Environmental Exploration, UK and Institute of Ecology and Biological Resources.
- George, R., & Frey, N. (2010). Creating change in responsible tourism management through social marketing. *South African Journal of Business Management*, 41, 11–23.
- German Technical Cooperation. (2005). *Rural Household Economics Baseline Survey—Tam Dao National Park and Buffer Zone Management Project*. Retrieved May 2012, from www.giz.de
- German Technical Cooperation. (2011). *Conservation and development of the Kien Giang Biosphere Reserve Project*. Retrieved May 2012, from www.giz.de
- Goldberg, M. E. (1995). Social marketing: Are we fiddling while Rome burns? *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, 4, 347–370.
- Gordon, R., McDermott, L., Stead, M., & Angus, K. (2006). The effectiveness of social marketing interventions for health improvement: What's the evidence? *Public Health*, 120, 1133–1139.
- Gössling, S. (2010). *Carbon management in tourism: Mitigating the impacts on climate change*. London, England: Routledge.
- Gössling, S., Hall, C. M., Lane, B., & Weaver, D. (2008). The Helsingborg Statement on Sustainable Tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 16, 122–124.
- Gössling, S., Hall, C. M., & Scott, D. (2009). The challenges of tourism as a development strategy in an era of global climate change. In E. Palosou (Ed.), *Rethinking development in a carbon-constrained world* (pp. 100–109). Helsinki, Finland: Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- Gössling, S., Hultman, J., Haglund, L., Källgren, H., & Revahl, M. (2009). Voluntary carbon offsetting by Swedish air travellers: towards the co-creation of environmental value? *Current Issues in Tourism*, 12, 1–19.
- Gray, M. L. (2003). NGOs and highland development: A case study in crafting new roles. In K. Heng & Koh (Eds.), *Getting organised in Vietnam: Moving in and around the Socialist State* (pp. 110–125). Singapore: ISEAS.

- Hall, C. M. (2008). *Tourism planning* (2nd ed.). Harlow, England: Pearson.
- Hall, C. M. (2011). Policy learning and policy failure in sustainable tourism governance: From first and second to third order change? *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 19, 649–671.
- Hall, C. M., & Gössling, S. (Eds.). (2013). *Sustainable culinary systems: Local foods, innovation, and tourism & hospitality*. London, England: Routledge.
- Hall, C. M., & James, M. (2011). Medical tourism: Emerging biosecurity and nosocomial issues. *Tourism Review*, 66, 118–126.
- Hastings, G., MacFadyen, L., & Anderson, S. (2000). Whose behaviour is it anyway? The broader potential of social marketing. *Social Marketing Quarterly*, 6, 46–58.
- Kaczynski, A. T. (2008). A more tenable marketing for leisure services and studies. *Leisure Sciences: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 30, 253–272.
- Kassirer, J. (1997). *Development of community-based social marketing approaches to achieving sustainability final report*. Retrieved May 2012, from www.publications.gc.ca
- Kim, H., Borges, M. C., & Chon, J. (2006). Impacts of environmental values on tourism motivation: The case of FICA, Brazil. *Tourism Management*, 27, 957–967.
- Kotler, P., & Lee, N. R. (2008). *Social marketing: Influencing behaviours for good*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Kotler, P., & Zaltman, G. (1971). Social marketing: An approach to planned social change. *Journal of Marketing*, 35, 3–12.
- Lane, B. (2009). Thirty years of sustainable tourism drivers, progress, problems—And the future. In S. Gössling, C. M. Hall, & D. Weaver (Eds.), *Sustainable tourism futures: Perspectives on systems, restructuring and innovations* (pp. 19–32). London, England: Routledge.
- Liu, Z. (2003). Sustainable tourism development: A critique. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 11, 459–475.
- MacFadyen, L., Stead, M., & Hastings, G. (1999). A synopsis of social marketing. *Health Promotion International*, 9, 59–63.
- Mackay, P. (2009). *Participatory socio-economic survey—A socioeconomic baseline of coastal communities in Kien Giang Biosphere Reserve*. Kien Giang, Vietnam: GIZ.
- MacKintosh, A. M., MacFadyen, L., & Hastings, G. (1999). Developing a methodology to monitor the impact of the tobacco advertising and sponsorship ban in the UK. *Social Marketing Quarterly*, 5, 40–46.
- McDermott, L., Stead, M., & Hastings, G. (2005). What is and what is not social marketing: The challenge of reviewing the evidence. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 21, 545–553.
- Netherlands Development Organisation. (2004). *Equitable tourism development in Sapa*. Retrieved March 2012, from www.snvworld.org
- Netherlands Development Organisation. (2007). *Development of a community-based tourism monitoring and evaluation toolkit for poverty reduction planning, assessment and management*. Retrieved March 2012, from www.snvworld.org
- Nguyen, P. L. (2010). *The responsible tourism initiative in Hue*. Retrieved September 2011, from <http://my.opera.com/InspiringVietnam/blog/the-responsible-tourism-initiative-in-hue-case-study>
- Nguyen, T. L. H. (2006). Civil society's engagement in the poverty reduction strategy paper process in Vietnam: An evaluation of opportunities and challenges. In Asian NGO Coalition (Ed.), *CSO/NGO engagement in poverty reduction strategies in Asia: A discussion of key issues and challenges* (pp. 61–74). Manila, Philippines: Asian NGO Coalition.
- Peeters, P., Gössling, S., & Lane, B. (2009). Moving towards low-carbon tourism: New opportunities for destinations and tour operators. In S. Gössling, C. M. Hall, & D. Weaver (Eds.), *Sustainable tourism futures: Perspectives on systems, restructuring and innovations* (pp. 240–257). London, England: Routledge.
- Redmond, E. C., & Griffith, C. J. (2006). A pilot study to evaluate the effectiveness of a social marketing-based consumer food safety initiatives using observation. *British Food Journal*, 108, 753–770.
- Sage, N., & Nguyen, C. (2001). *Analysis of constraints and enabling factors of ICDPs in Vietnam*. Discussion Paper, ICDP Working Group, Hanoi, Vietnam.

- Scott, D., Gössling, S., & Hall, C. M. (2012a). International tourism and climate change. *WIREs Climate Change*, 3, 213–232 (published online: Mar 22 2012) doi:10.1002/wcc.165
- Scott, D., Gössling, S., & Hall, C.M. (2012b). *Tourism and climate change: Impacts, adaptation and mitigation*. London, England: Routledge.
- Sebastian, D. (2008). *Using the mass media to develop awareness for conservation and development of the Kien Giang biosphere reserve*. Kien Giang, Vietnam: GIZ.
- Shang, J., Basil, D. Z., & Wymer, W. (2010). Using social marketing to enhance hotel reuse programs. *Journal of Business Research*, 63, 166–172.
- Sirakaya, E., & Somez, S. (2000). Gender images in state tourism brochures: An overlooked area in socially responsible tourism marketing. *Journal of Travel Research*, 38, 353–362.
- Smith, W. A., & Strand, J. (2008). *Social marketing: A resource guide for social change professionals*. Washington, DC: Academy for Educational Development.
- Stead, M., Gordon, R., Angus, K., & McDermott, L. (2007). A systematic review of social marketing effectiveness. *Health Education*, 107, 126–191.
- Tabanico, J. J., & Schultz, P. W. (2007). Community-based social marketing. *BioCycle*, 48, 41–47.
- Truong, V. D. (2013). Tourism policy development in Vietnam: A pro-poor perspective. *Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events*, 5(1), 28–45.
- United Nations Development Programme. (2004). *Creating protected areas for resource conservation using landscape ecology (PARC)*. Hanoi, Vietnam: Author.
- United Nations World Tourism Organization. (2010). *Historical perspective of world tourism*. Retrieved June 2011, from www.unwto.org/facts/eng/historical.htm
- United Nations World Tourism Organization. (2011). *Tourism towards 2030—Global overview*. Madrid, Spain: Author.
- Wearing, S., Archer, D., & Beeton, S. (2007). *The sustainable marketing of tourism in protected areas*. Gold Coast, Australia: Sustainable Tourism Cooperative Research Centre.
- World Bank. (2007). *Forest Protection and Rural Development Implementation Completion and Results Report*. Retrieved May 2012, from www.worldbank.org
- World Travel & Tourism Council. (2012). *Economic impact research*. Retrieved August 2012, from www.wttc.org/research/economic-impact-research/
- Zapata, M. J., Hall, C. M., Lindo, P., & Vanderschaeghen, M. (2011). Can community-based tourism contribute to development and poverty alleviation? *Current Issues in Tourism*, 14, 725–749.
- Zingerli, C. (2005). Colliding understandings of biodiversity conservation in Vietnam: Global claims, national interests, and local struggles. *Society and Natural Resources*, 18, 733–747.

Author Biographies

V. Dao Truong is a lecturer in the Department of Tourism and Hospitality, National Economics University, Hanoi, Vietnam, and is a PhD candidate in the Department of Management, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand.

C. Michael Hall is professor of marketing, Department of Management, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand.



Journal of Sustainable Tourism

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rsus20>

Tourism and poverty alleviation: perceptions and experiences of poor people in Sapa, Vietnam

V. Dao Truong^{ab}, C. Michael Hall^{bcd} & Tony Garry^f

^a Department of Tourism and Hospitality, National Economics University, Hanoi, Vietnam

^b Department of Management, Marketing and Entrepreneurship, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand

^c Department of Geography, University of Oulu, Oulu, Finland

^d Centre for Tourism Studies, University of Eastern Finland, Savonlinna, Finland

^e Freiburg Institute for Advanced Studies, University of Freiburg, Freiburg, Germany

^f Department of Marketing, University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand

Published online: 13 Jan 2014.

To cite this article: V. Dao Truong, C. Michael Hall & Tony Garry, Journal of Sustainable Tourism (2014): Tourism and poverty alleviation: perceptions and experiences of poor people in Sapa, Vietnam, Journal of Sustainable Tourism, DOI: [10.1080/09669582.2013.871019](https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2013.871019)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2013.871019>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Taylor & Francis makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of all the information (the "Content") contained in the publications on our platform. However, Taylor & Francis, our agents, and our licensors make no representations or warranties whatsoever as to the accuracy, completeness, or suitability for any purpose of the Content. Any opinions and views expressed in this publication are the opinions and views of the authors, and are not the views of or endorsed by Taylor & Francis. The accuracy of the Content should not be relied upon and should be independently verified with primary sources of information. Taylor and Francis shall not be liable for any losses, actions, claims, proceedings, demands, costs, expenses, damages, and other liabilities whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with, in relation to or arising out of the use of the Content.

This article may be used for research, teaching, and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, redistribution, reselling, loan, sub-licensing, systematic supply, or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden. Terms & Conditions of access and use can be found at <http://www.tandfonline.com/page/terms-and-conditions>

Tourism and poverty alleviation: perceptions and experiences of poor people in Sapa, Vietnam

V. Dao Truong^{a,b,*}, C. Michael Hall^{b,c,d,e} and Tony Garry^f

^a*Department of Tourism and Hospitality, National Economics University, Hanoi, Vietnam;*

^b*Department of Management, Marketing and Entrepreneurship, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand;*

^c*Department of Geography, University of Oulu, Oulu, Finland;*

^d*Centre for Tourism Studies, University of Eastern Finland, Savonlinna, Finland;* ^e*Freiburg Institute for Advanced Studies, University of Freiburg, Freiburg, Germany;* ^f*Department of Marketing, University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand*

(Received 31 December 2012; accepted 13 November 2013)

This paper examines the perceptions and experiences of poor people in Sapa, Vietnam, regarding tourism as a means of poverty alleviation. Participant observations and semi-structured interviews were conducted with local people and key informants. The paper indicates that local people perceive poverty as a lack of rice and/or income and attribute it to both internal and external causes. The local tourism sector has primarily benefited the non-poor and tour operators, resulting in conflicts of interest among community members. However, more local people consider tourism a contributor to poverty alleviation than those who do not. All interviewees wish to become homestay owners or tourist guides. The most important barrier to the former is the lack of capital, while foreign language proficiency is the main hindrance to the latter. It is concluded that while an appropriate approach is required to involve local people in tourism, alternative livelihoods other than tourism are also needed. The study suggests that poor people's interpretation of poverty may be substantially different from that of academics and policy-makers. It argues that by valuing the perspectives of those experiencing poverty we can establish more meaningful approaches to alleviating poverty through tourism that are more likely to succeed.

Keywords: pro-poor tourism; poverty reduction; gender; hunger; barefoot economics

Introduction

Poverty alleviation is a fundamental task in many countries, with tourism being perceived as a significant contributor to economic development and the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (United Nations World Tourism Organisation [UNWTO], 2011). One outcome of this policy relationship was the emergence of the pro-poor tourism (PPT) concept in the late 1990s. PPT aims to “increase the net benefits for the poor from tourism” and ensures that “tourism growth contributes to poverty reduction” (Ashley, Roe, & Goodwin, 2001, p. viii). The use of tourism for poverty alleviation has been advocated through three channels: institutional, e.g. the UNWTO's Sustainable Tourism – Eliminating Poverty Initiative and Foundation (UNWTO, 2011); national, e.g. the UK Department for International Development (Holden, Sonne, & Novelli, 2011); and development agencies, e.g. SNV Netherlands Development Organisation (Hummel & van der Duijn, 2012).

*Corresponding author. Email: van.truong@pg.canterbury.ac.nz

Proponents of PPT have argued that although tourism is an industry primarily driven by economic interests, it has greater potential for poverty alleviation than other sectors because of its particular characteristics. First, tourism is a diverse industry that provides scope for wide participation, including through the informal sector. Second, the customer comes to the product, creating opportunities for linkages (e.g. souvenir selling). Third, tourism is dependent on resources, some of which may be owned by poor people. Fourth, tourism is labour-intensive and can generate employment for many people. Finally, compared to other sectors, a higher proportion of tourism benefits accrue to women (Ashley et al., 2001; see also Akyeampong, 2011).

Mitchell and Ashley (2010) suggest three main pathways through which tourism can contribute to poverty alleviation. The first involves direct effects of tourism that include labour income and other forms of earnings (e.g. craft selling). The second pathway concerns secondary effects that cover indirect earnings from tourism activities and induced effects from tourism workers re-spending their earnings in the local economy. The third pathway involves long-term changes in the macro-economy due to tourism growth. However, such pathways are essentially no different from any other kind of tourism-related economic impact (Hall & Lew, 2009), and reflect criticisms that a focus on international tourism development as a means of creating jobs for poorer people and issues of mobility disguise broader issues of wealth distribution (Coles & Morgan, 2010; Hall, 2007), with tourism not necessarily being more effective in promoting poverty alleviation than other sectors (Hall, 2007). The use of related new methods, however, such as a value chain approach (Mitchell, 2012), does highlight ways in which the benefits of tourism can be maximised and better targeted as tourism spend flows through the economy. However, although PPT is in principle not confined to promoting international tourism, the involvement of international non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and aid agencies has generally meant a PPT focus on international tourism projects rather than on domestically focused tourism development, when domestic tourism may actually generate greater benefits for the poor (Zapata, Hall, Lindo, & Vanderschaeghen, 2011).

PPT has also been subject to other criticisms. Although PPT places a strong focus on increasing the “net benefits” for poor people, it is unclear as to whether these benefits are positive over time. While immediate economic and financial gains seem direct and visible, the non-economic effects are often indirect and long-lasting (Gössling, Scott, & Hall, 2013; Mitchell & Ashley, 2010). In addition, the allocation of benefits is often not a direct concern in PPT (Ashley et al., 2001; Deller, 2010). In some cases, poor people are not the beneficiaries of tourism. Instead, those who are already in a position in the tourism system to take advantage of PPT-related opportunities, whether “locals” (Truong, 2013a) or non-locals (Deller, 2010; Mitchell & Ashley, 2010), benefit more. Meanwhile, poor people often lack the skills, knowledge, and capital that are needed for them to produce quality products, compete for employment, and establish businesses (Holden et al., 2011; Huynh, 2011).

Besides job and income generation, PPT also aims to diversify the non-economic livelihoods of poor people (e.g. vulnerability mitigation, capacity building, skills training), which are considered an advantage of PPT over other forms of tourism (Ashley et al., 2001). This suggests that PPT is potentially a people-centred and holistic approach (Akyeampong, 2011; Schilcher, 2007). However, it requires insights into what poor people themselves prioritise and need, as well as into how they interpret tourism as a means of poverty alleviation which, despite the extant literature at various scales of analysis, remains a substantial knowledge gap (Holden et al., 2011; Pleumarom, 2012; Truong, 2013b). Some scholars have investigated PPT at a macro-level by studying the policy implications (e.g. Nelson, 2012; Truong, 2013a; Winters, Corral, & Mora, 2013). Others

have examined PPT at a micro-level through a focus on benefit distribution (e.g. Blake, 2008; Trau, 2012) and on the effectiveness of tourism in satisfying people's needs (e.g. Mensah & Amuquandoh, 2010; Muganda, Sahli, & Smith, 2010). PPT has also been studied with reference to corporate social responsibility (e.g. Ashley & Haysorn, 2006; Spenceley & Goodwin, 2007). Furthermore, increasing attention has been paid to the value chain approach as a means of quantifying the pro-poor impact of tourism (e.g. Mitchell, 2012; Thomas, 2013). Nevertheless, little has been revealed about the perceptions and experiences of poor people (Holden et al., 2011). Even where poor people's experiences in tourism are explored (Akyeampong, 2011), their perceptions of poverty, its causes, and tourism as a means of poverty alleviation are generally ignored. Indeed, Pleumarom (2012) argues that PPT discourses and initiatives are of little value if the realities on the ground and the voices of poor people are not duly considered.

Most PPT initiatives have concentrated on African countries (Truong, 2013a, 2013b). Other less developed countries, including those in South-east Asia such as Vietnam, have attracted limited research attention (Truong, 2013a). The Government of Vietnam (GOV) considers tourism an important tool of economic growth and poverty alleviation. Vietnam's *Law on Tourism* states, "Tourism is encouraged in remote and isolated areas and in areas with socioeconomic difficulties where there are tourism potentials so as to make use of the labour force, goods and services in the spot, contributing to raising local people's intellectual level and to hunger elimination and poverty reduction" (GOV, 2005, p. 9). However, studies on Vietnamese tourism have neglected poverty issues (Hitchcock, Nguyen, & Wesner, 2010; Vu & Sato, 2010) and poor people's perceptions of tourism as a mechanism of poverty alleviation (Huynh, 2011; Truong, 2013a; Truong & Hall, 2013).

Therefore, this article contributes to the limited PPT research on the "voice" of the poor, and also to the limited PPT studies on Vietnam, by focusing on the perceptions and experiences of poor people in the district of Sapa in Vietnam with respect to poverty and tourism. Although Sapa is a popular tourist destination in north-western Vietnam and is a focus of development assistance, it has significant levels of poverty (Huxford, 2010). This paper next provides an overview of Sapa before describing its research methods and presenting the main results. The paper concludes with discussion of the research findings and the study's implications for future research.

Background on Sapa

Sapa is located in the mountainous province of Lao Cai, 38 km from the Lao Cai city centre and 400 km from Vietnam's capital city of Hanoi. The district covers an area of 68,329 ha and it is 1600 m above sea level. It is home to the Hoang Lien Son mountain range and Vietnam's highest mountain of Fansipan (Sapa District People's Committee [SPC], 2009). Throughout this paper, "Sapa" is used to indicate the name of the district and "local" refers to entities that are based in Sapa, unless otherwise stated.

Administratively, Sapa consists of Sapa town and 17 communes with a total population of 53,549 inhabitants (General Statistics Office of Vietnam [GSOV], 2010). Each commune has a people's committee and a people's council that control several villages. Each village comprises a number of households. In terms of ethnicity, besides the Kinh people (lowland Vietnamese) who account for 17.91% of population, Sapa is home to a number of ethnic minority groups: H'Mong (51.65%), Red Dzao (23.04%), Tay (4.74%), Dzay (1.36%), Xa Pho (1.06%), and other ethnic groups (0.24%) (SPC, 2009).

The regional economy is undergoing substantial change, with the contribution of agro-forestry and fishing to Sapa's economy decreasing from 44.68% in 2000 to 29.83% in 2010,

while that of tourism and services increased from 48.86% to 58.68% in the same period. Although Sapa's household poverty rate decreased from 48.7% (2005) to 26.91% (2009) (SPC, 2009), it remains much higher than the national poverty rate (10.7%), where poor people are defined as those who earn under VND (Vietnam Dong) 500,000 (about \$23.80) and 400,000 (about \$19) per month in urban and rural areas, respectively (GSOV, 2010).

Tourism development in Sapa

Sapa's tourism development began in the early 1900s when the French developed the area as a hill station for the military (Michaud & Turner, 2006). In 1913, a sanatorium was completed to house sick military officers and foreigners. A tourist office was opened in 1917, followed by several villas in 1918 to host top-ranked military officers. The town had 80 km of footpaths by 1925, offering a great variety of walking trips. Other privately owned villas and hotels were built in the region between 1920 and 1940.

During the French War (1945–1954), the area was severely damaged (Vu & Sato, 2010). In the 1990s, a railway network was built to connect Sapa with Hanoi and other provinces, creating favourable conditions for tourism development. Sapa was officially reopened to tourists in 1993 (Vu & Sato, 2010). It has since attracted increasing numbers of tourists (Table 1) for its natural beauty and ethnic cultures.

Since 1993, tourism has been considered a significant area of economic development and contributor to poverty alleviation (SPC, 2009). The roles of tourism in economic development have been recognised in a number of non-tourism policy documents (e.g. *Lao Cai Cultural Conservation and Development Plans* 2001–2005 and 2006–2010, *Lao Cai Poverty Alleviation and Hunger Elimination Plan* 2001–2005, *Lao Cai Sustainable Poverty Alleviation Plan* 2006–2010). Although evidence suggests that the tourism–poverty linkage has not been a specific focus in tourism-related policies, the pro-poor potential of tourism is recognised by Sapa's authority as part of its overall development strategy (*Socio-Economic Development Plan up to 2020*) (SPC, 2011). By 2020, tourism and services are expected to comprise over 60% of Sapa's economy and the poverty rate reduced to below 5% (SPC, 2011). However, although the notion of sustainable tourism has been stressed and measures have been proposed for infrastructure development, trekking route upgrades, and promotional activities, a clear link between tourism growth and

Table 1. Sapa's tourist arrivals 2000–2012.

Year	Domestic	Foreign	Total
2000	25,799	18,435	44,234
2001	19,854	25,146	45,000
2002	25,566	34,434	60,000
2003	90,368	48,254	138,622
2004	106,667	63,333	170,000
2005	138,424	61,600	200,024
2006	193,724	65,355	259,079
2007	206,868	99,039	305,907
2008	182,000	100,716	282,716
2009	295,000	110,000	405,000
2010	319,665	130,603	450,268
2011	407,912	112,889	520,799
2012	485,000	125,000	610,000

Sources: SPC (2009); personal correspondence with Sapa's Culture and Tourism Office, April 2013.

poverty alleviation has not been established in tourism-specific regional policy-making (see SPC, 2011).

Methodology

A phenomenological approach that focuses on the lived experiences of members of the study communities (Szarycz, 2009) is used throughout this research to provide local people with the opportunity to “voice” their opinions and experiences of poverty (Holden et al., 2011). The data collection process took place from August to November 2012. Semi-structured interviews were conducted in English and Vietnamese with tourism consultants in Hanoi who were chosen for their experience in tourism projects in Sapa, and staff of Vietnam National Administration of Tourism and local universities. One consultant advised the lead author to interview local women and members of the local Women’s Union because they clearly understood local living conditions and were key gatekeepers to local networks, and that approach was used. A local guide was also hired who spoke both Vietnamese and the ethnic minority language.

Most fieldwork was conducted in Sapa town and Lao Chai, Ta Van, and Ta Phin communes, where tourism has developed more than in other communes (Huxford, 2010). In Sapa town, formal observations were made in Sapa Square and Sapa Market where local people trade their products and which are close to the popular attraction of Sapa Cathedral. In Ta Phin, the commune’s bus terminal was chosen as the observation point as it is the first place of arrival for tourists and hence it is the assembly venue of handicraft sellers. The intersection between Ta Van and Lao Chai was selected for observing local people both inside and outside of the tourism context. Field notes were taken throughout the fieldwork period and were used to help contextualise and reflect on the experiences and conversations and to improve over time the richness of data obtained from the interviews (Hall, 2011).

A number of interviewees were asked to participate based on their being below the official national poverty lines (GSOV, 2010; SPC, 2009), other participants identified by the local guide and a member of the local Women’s Union might not be included in the poverty data. There were two main reasons for this selection. First, local people might perceive poverty very differently from the government (as will be analysed below). Second, it acknowledges that although income is important, other factors (e.g. vulnerability to shocks, access to social services) also need to be considered in identifying poor people that official poverty lines may not capture (Mitchell & Ashley, 2010). Using these data, a list of interviewees was made, which included rice farmers, handicraft weavers and sellers. Interviews were undertaken until a saturation point was reached, i.e. when the responses to the interview questions became relatively homogeneous. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 47 local people (in Vietnamese, 25–45 minutes) and five tourism consultants (in English, 40–60 minutes). Notes were also taken from conversations with foreign tourists. The interviews were transcribed and complemented by notes taken from the observations. The transcripts were coded by key themes. The thematic analysis approach assisted in identifying and analysing key patterns within the data-set (Pearce, 2012). The key themes identified include local people’s (1) interpretation of poverty and poverty causes, (2) perception of tourism benefits, (3) experiences as handicraft sellers, (4) perception of conflicts of interest, and (5) perception of tourism as a means of poverty alleviation and the barriers facing participation in tourism. The reporting of the findings presented next broadly follows this sequence of themes.

Findings

Interviewees' profiles

Of the 47 local people interviewed, 36 were female (76.1%) ranging in age from 15 to 71 and 11 male (23.9%) from 13 to 71. (A full breakdown of interviewees is available as supplementary data online – supplementary Table 1.) Local women were a majority in the interview sample because they are often the heads of their families. They are thus more sensitive to financial matters and clearly understand the living conditions of their families. This was supported by participant observations, which revealed that local women are the principal money earners in their families. The interviewees were an average of 36 years old. The average ages of female and male interviewees were 37 and 31 years, respectively. Of the 47 interviewees, 20 are H'Mong, 18 are Red Dzao, six are Kinh, and three are Dzay. Eleven people are based in Ta Van, 10 in Ta Phin, six in Lao Chai, five in Sapa town, and 15 in other communes. All quotes are anonymised. The locals' perception of poverty is presented first.

Perception of poverty

Of the 47 interviewees, 36 indicated that they are rice farmers. Of these, six stated that they also grow corn and medicinal fruit (medicinal fruit is grown under forest trees and is often exported to China for medical production). They all indicated that growing rice is their main occupation, and hence it generates most income for their families. Their perception of poverty is closely related to the amount of rice they produce per year. Thirty-one people were asked what the term "poverty" means, and over two-thirds (22) said it meant not producing enough rice to feed their families:

I think poverty means having a lack of rice. I do not know the poverty criteria that are applied by the local authority. (Linh, Ta Van)

We grow rice and have enough rice for the whole year. We earn money to buy food everyday. . . Our perception of poverty is not based on income. (Lien, San Xa Ho)

We do not have enough rice to eat, so we have to save money to buy rice. Normally the rice we have is enough for four months only. Thus, we have to buy rice for the rest of the eight months. (Chung, Lao Chai)

The other nine people indicated that poverty is associated with a lack of income. To them, although they may have enough rice to feed their families, they are poor if they have no money to meet their daily needs. Some of them also distinguish "hunger" from "poverty". If they do not have enough rice to feed their families throughout the year, they suffer hunger. They consider themselves "poor" if they produce enough rice but have no money to buy vegetables and meat:

My family has enough rice to eat but we are still poor because we have no money. (Dzung, Lao Chai)

People here think of poverty as not having enough rice. . . However, my family has enough rice for the whole year but we still consider ourselves poor. If we do not have enough rice to eat, we call ourselves hunger sufferers. (Pham, Ta Van)

Local people's perception of poverty also varies by their level of education. The ones defining poverty as a lack of rice are rice farmers, who often had not received formal education. Younger and more educated respondents have holistic views of poverty:

Poor people are those who lack economic resources. For example, local people often define poverty based on the amount of rice produced. People that do not have enough rice to eat throughout the year are called poor. Those that do not have money to buy instruments and facilities for their families are also called poor. (My, Ta Van, secondary school teacher)

I think poverty is identified by the farming land area, the number of people in a family and total incomes. In general, many factors can be used to define poor families. (Do, Sapa town, university graduate)

However, such holistic views of poverty are uncommon. Most local people frame poverty as something closely related and integral to their lives, i.e. rice to feed their families. This understanding is similar to that of poor people in other developing countries, such as Laos (Harrison & Schipani, 2007), although it is different from the perception of poverty as a lack of income and/or opportunities as indicated in Holden et al.'s (2011) study in Ghana. This evidence further supports the notion that poverty is a complex and multi-dimensional issue that is specific to particular locations and experiences.

No interviewee understands the poverty criteria that are applied by the local authority. Nor does s/he have any idea about the poverty lines applied by the GOV. While this may be attributed to his/her level of education, it also suggests that academic and governmental views of poverty are significantly different from those of poor people. Although what it means to be "poor" has triggered a long-standing debate among development scholars and practitioners (Misturelli & Heffernan, 2010), in the tourism literature poverty measures have generally been based on income and/or job generation (Pleumarom, 2012). Criticism of the term "poverty" or "poor" is neither to deny the hardships from which local residents suffer nor to undermine efforts to estimate the number of poor people. Rather, it emphasises that poor people often comprehend poverty very differently from non-poor people (Huxford, 2010). This suggests that poverty measures need to start from an understanding of poverty and poverty causes at a local level. The next section thus explores the locals' perception of the causes of poverty.

Perception of poverty causes

Of the 38 people asked to explain the causes of poverty, 14 people attributed poverty to external causes, where limited arable land and bad weather were frequently cited. Ten people blamed internal causes for poverty, including overpopulation, lack of education, and hesitance to change. The other 14 people ascribed poverty to both external and internal causes.

A majority of local residents are rice farmers. It is thus understandable that limited farming land is cited as the most important cause of poverty, which is worsened by bad weather:

We used to have a lot of land. Yet, land has been allocated to children as they grow up. Meanwhile, we can grow one rice crop per year only because of bad weather. During the dry season, there is no water for the rice fields. Fog and cold wind also prevents rice from growing. (Thao & Huan, Ta Phin)

The mountainous rice fields can accommodate one crop per year only (April to October). During winter (November to March), it is impossible to grow either rice or corn. There is often a shortage of water for the uphill terraced fields in the dry season.

Local poverty is also exacerbated by high population growth. Traditionally, local people got married when they were very young and they had large families. This practice is still maintained, particularly among H'Mong people (Kim, Ta Van). When children grow up, their parents' farming land is distributed equally, and the resulting small land parcels thus produce less rice.

Some respondents attributed poverty to the peripheral location, increased commodity prices, and ineffective poverty policies. For example, Hoa (Ta Van) stated that despite being poor, her family has never received government aid. This also happened to Kim in the same commune, who claimed that government assistance, which often comes in the forms of financial aid and free provision of power and rice, has benefited the communal authority rather than poor households. This suggests that the GOV's poverty policies have not been sufficiently targeted. The GOV has also attempted to implement a policy of one to two children per family. However, there is also a suggestion that part of the local population is not open to changes:

It is very difficult to encourage local people to start anything new. A few years ago, a new rice variety was introduced but the locals did not trust it. A small group of people thus had to lead the way, showing that this rice variety could generate higher productivity. Then the locals believed and started growing the new rice variety. (Chung, Lao Chai)

Local people's hesitance may be because they tend to trust people whom they "admire", instead of government officials (My, Ta Van). However, Shu (Sapa town) disagreed, stating that government officials explain nothing to local people, who are culturally different. Shu's argument may hold in that there are considerable cultural differences between the majority Kinh and ethnic minorities in Sapa. The GOV's approach to poverty alleviation may not have fully considered the different cultural contexts and gaps between groups of people. However, the subsistence lifestyle also makes local people more hesitant to changes. For example, although the GOV has offered free education for young children from grades one to nine, attending school remains new to most local people (Peter, development agency). Local parents keep their children working in rice fields or selling handicrafts instead of sending them to school. This presents a great challenge for a local teacher like My, who often visits local families and then encourages parents to send children to school. However, My has had little success because local children often run away when they see her coming.

Several interviewees also ascribed poverty to poor people's laziness or lack of business knowledge. As Hang, a member of the local Women's Union, commented:

H'Mong people's living conditions have improved due to the government's support. The main point is they are very lazy. If they have some money, they will spend until their pockets are empty.

Meanwhile, a H'Mong woman stated, "some people are poor because they do not know how to do business. If they know how to do business, they will not be poor. They prefer playing around and following tourists to sell handicrafts" (Shan, Lao Chai). To some respondents, local people are poor because they are not smart, are uneducated (Lam, San Xa Ho), do not save money (Chien, Sapa town), or lack information (Peter, development agency). The next section examines local people's perception of the main beneficiaries of tourism.

Main beneficiaries of tourism

As noted, tourism is primarily an industry that is driven by commercial interests. The main beneficiaries of tourism thus tend to be members of the private sector that includes hotels and tour operators (Stronza & Gordillo, 2008; Truong, 2013a). This is also true in Sapa. Of the 20 people asked, 19 indicated that tourism has mostly benefited private businesses run by Kinh people. Only one respondent was “unsure” about this. Kinh people are commonly perceived as business owners and hence economically richer than ethnic minorities:

Business owners are only concerned about their own interests. Most of them are Kinh people. Ethnic minorities can only sell handicrafts. (Do, Sapa town)

Eight out of ten tourism businesses in town are run by people who come from other areas. The other two are locals. However, they are all Kinh people. Private businesses are just private businesses, that is, they only care about their own interests. If they already have one hotel, then they wish to have more hotels. If they have enough money to buy a house in Sapa, then they want more money to buy a house in Hanoi. (Tam, hotel staff, Sapa town)

The above quotes indicate that tourism in Sapa is often perceived to be of little benefit to poor people. For example, Sinh, a H'Mong woman in Cat Cat village, is paid VND1 million a month (about \$47.6) to weave crafts in front of her house for tourists to see. She works from 8 am to 4 pm six days a week, but the pay is far too little to feed herself.

Besides the private sector, local ticket counters established at village entrances are the main beneficiaries of tourism. The current price per ticket is VND40,000 (about \$1.9) for Cat Cat and VND20,000 (about \$0.9) for Ta Phin. This fee system is a result of the *Support to Sustainable Tourism Project* collaboration between SNV, the International Union for Conservation of Nature, and Sapa's authority (SNV, n.d.). Theoretically, the fees are used to develop the villages but there is a widespread perception that they have not benefited local villagers impacted by tourism:

I think the tourist ticket counters earn most money. Each tourist has to pay VND40,000/ticket to visit a village. There are thousands of tourists each day. They keep saying that the ticket fees belong to the villagers but I have seen nothing. Meanwhile, everything in Sapa is now very expensive due to tourism development. For example, three years ago a bunch of vegetables only cost VND3,000 (about US\$0.1). However, now a similar bunch may cost VND6-7,000 (about US\$0.3). (Lien, San Xa Ho)

Local women as street vendors

As local villagers are constrained from participation in formal tourism businesses, they have no alternative livelihood outside of the main rice crop. Most local women are thus involved in tourism informally by following tourists to sell handicrafts. They primarily follow foreign tourists because they think foreign tourists are “richer” than domestic tourists (Tan & May, Thanh Kim). They wait for tourists in Sapa Square, Sapa Market, or at village entrances. Upon arrival, tourists are approached by five to seven local women who introduce themselves and then follow the tourists on their treks. Some women wait for tourists in front of hotels and sell handicrafts in the same way. At the end of the day, they often ask tourists to buy handicrafts. When asked why they follow tourists, a common response is that it is because they are poor and that they have much free time after the rice crop. They need to earn money to buy food for their families and fertiliser for the next crop:

I have to take my son with me to sell handicrafts as I have nothing to eat. During the rice crop, I worked in the field. Now the crop is over, I go to sell handicrafts to earn some money. (Thanh, Lao Chai)

If they are lucky, they can earn some money. However, there are days they sell nothing. Some even cannot sell anything in a whole week. Selling handicrafts in the streets, therefore, does not generate a stable income. It is also extremely exhausting since the women often follow tourists from Sapa town to local villages and back, a total travel distance of up to 20–24 km. This consumes much of their energy and some women are even “too tired to have dinner at the end of the day” (Menh, Ta Phin). Some local women know tourists are not happy with being followed (Tan & May, Thanh Kim; Van, Si Pan). Others think some tourists may feel curious at first, but they are not comfortable once they realise local women are following them the whole way (Lam, San Xa Ho). They may feel forced to buy handicrafts:

When going on a trek four days ago, we were followed by people who expected once we arrived in their village, we would buy things. Although I did not need anything, I felt guilty. My purpose was to go on a trek, then I did not like to be hassled and the other people I was trekking with felt all the same. There were five of us and everyone said they felt unhappy for being approached. (Eleanor, Australian tourist)

Other tourists may be more critical and hence they are extremely unhappy when they are followed by local women. Chrissie, a Canadian tourist, stated that she would not have visited Sapa had she known she would be followed:

The other day I planned to go into a very beautiful store, but I could not because I was so scared if they say, “you buy for me, you buy for me”. Some of the other tourists said, “We want to go in but we are afraid of them saying ‘you buy for me, you buy for me’”. I hate it when I am followed. I hate it. I cannot stand it. Nobody can stand it. . . It is bizarre.

Measures have been taken by Sapa’s authority to stop local women from following tourists. Some spaces are allocated in Sapa market. Sapa Square is also reserved for handicraft sellers. To get a place in the market, interested people need to register at a local office. Meanwhile, all sellers can stay in the Square to sell their products. A token fee applies on weekends only. A Code of Conduct team was formed to oversee handicraft sellers. However, the number of street vendors has not decreased. If today a group of women coming from a commune is fined, the next day other groups from other communes will still travel into town to sell handicrafts. Meanwhile, the fined group may travel to other communes which the team does not oversee.

When asked why they do not want to stay in the market and the Square, some women said that they could not get a space to sell their products (Tan & May, Thanh Kim). This is true because only some spaces on the second floor of the market are allocated to ethnic minorities. Most spaces are occupied by Kinh people. Meanwhile, the Square is an unroofed outdoor space, where handicraft sellers cannot stay on either sunny or rainy days. This suggests that the options given by Sapa’s authority are much less beneficial than following tourists. However, the overall financial benefits to sellers are also doubtful:

In fact, H’Mong people do not want to sit in the market and wait for tourists. They instead prefer following tourists because they can sell more. (Do, Sapa town)

Realising that tourists are often hassled by local sellers, SNV collaborated with Sapa's authority in the *Support to Sustainable Tourism Project*, where a fee collection system was established as noted above. In addition, a community market was built in Ta Phin (SNV, 2010), where local women could sell handicrafts. However, local women did not want to stay in that market because they could sell nothing, with the market built at the edge of the commune where very few tourists came. It was also small and did not have enough spaces for all sellers. Those who did not get a space kept following tourists and could sell more handicrafts. As a result, those staying in the market were jealous and decided to leave. Furthermore, although the market was roofed, most of the spaces were exposed to moisture that could damage handicrafts. Other markets built in Lao Chai and Ta Van were also abandoned, the main reason being that they were not situated in the best location. The other reason, which is no less important, is that local sellers are used to following tourists. Some women already have about 15–17 years of experience as handicraft sellers. The evidence suggests that this is a long-standing practice and thus difficult to change.

Not only poor, but also better-off women are involved in selling handicrafts. Even those who get a space in Sapa market have their spouses work as street vendors. For example, Sung (Hau Thao) has enough rice for the whole year and her husband sells handicrafts in Sapa market. However, she still follows tourists to sell handicrafts. Tiep (Ta Phin) is another example. Her family is not poor and two of her daughters are tourist guides. However, she still follows tourists to earn more money. This indicates that the local authority's and development agencies' failure to stop local women from following tourists can be attributed both to the economically less attractive options offered and the long-standing practices of local women.

Often a tourist is followed by five to seven local women. This is common in Sapa town and other communes. Of these, Ta Phin is notorious for aggressive sellers who even verbally abuse tourists who refuse to purchase their handicrafts (Hai, driver, Ta Phin). Some local women may wait at the entrance of their village. Once tourists arrive, they invite them to visit their families. At the end of the visit, they often ask tourists to purchase handicrafts. As a result, tour operators and hotels in Sapa have not recommended their guests to visit Ta Phin (Thuyen, tour operator; Tam, hotel staff, Sapa town). Fewer tourists now stay overnight in Ta Phin (Hai, driver, Ta Phin). Some local families have decided not to build homestays because they are afraid they cannot earn money. The current situation in Ta Phin is problematic:

I think if this kind of behaviour [following tourists] is not changed, it will possibly result in a crisis. I mean the commune will be boycotted by tourism businesses. (Thang, tourism consultant, Hanoi)

Menh, a homestay owner in Ta Phin who is receiving far fewer overnight stays, still thinks tourism can help alleviate poverty, although she relies on rice and medicinal fruit as her main income.

Conflicts and tensions

Some conflicts exist between various participants in tourism in Sapa. As noted, the Code of Conduct team was formed to oversee handicraft sellers. If a seller is caught following tourists and trying to sell them handicrafts, she has to pay a fine of VND100–200,000 (about \$4.7–9.5) and/or her products will be confiscated. This fine may be equivalent to

or even greater than the income she can earn in a whole day or even week. Arguments are thus relatively common:

The security team prohibits us from following tourists. Some sellers may talk bad words to tourists who refuse to buy their handicrafts. . . They also argue with or even hit the security staff. (Sung, Hau Thao)

Although most interviewees are “scared” of the team, they keep following tourists, particularly when the team is out of sight. In addition, the team is managing Sapa town only, while other tourist communes are left unattended. Therefore, the number of handicraft sellers has not reduced, and if anything it has increased.

Tensions are also seen among handicraft sellers of different ethnic groups. H’Mong people are the dominant handicraft sellers. In addition, more H’Mong people work as tourist guides than other ethnic groups. If the tourist guide who leads a group of tourists is H’Mong, then the handicraft sellers who follow are also H’Mong. Sellers of other ethnic groups cannot follow. Otherwise, arguments occur:

H’Mong people often earn more money than Red Dzao people because more H’Mong people are tourist guides. They often support H’Mong people. Red Dzao people are not allowed to follow their tourists. Thus, H’Mong people sometimes argue with Red Dzao people. (Hoa, Ta Van)

Some H’Mong guides allow their sisters and/or mothers to follow tourists led by them. They even invite tourists to visit their families so that their mothers can sell handicrafts. In addition, given that most local families have at least one member selling handicrafts, there are too many sellers in Sapa. In many cases, there are not enough tourists for all sellers, especially during the low season. Thus, competition tends to become fiercer and many sellers keep lowering prices so that they can sell more handicrafts (Peter, development agency).

In addition, conflicts of interest exist between local people and the development agencies. In 2010, the Canadian Capilano University and the Hanoi Open University implemented the *Community-Based Tourism Project* in Ta Phin. The project focused on supporting local families in setting up homestays with sanitation, such as hot water showers and septic tanks. However, only a few local families were chosen. Menh (Ta Phin) built up her own homestay without financial assistance from the project. This was possibly because her family was not recognised as being poor by the local authority. Instead, she was only trained in the English language and guest hosting skills.

The *Handicrafts for Women Project* was also launched in Ta Phin by these universities. Most women in Ta Phin indicated that they had participated in community meetings and had been trained in handicraft weaving. However, those in Lao Chai and Ta Van neither heard about the project nor participated in any other projects and community meetings. A small handicraft store was set up in Sapa Museum, where a group of five to six women sell their handicrafts. These women are happy with this store because they do not have to follow tourists. They can also weave handicrafts even on rainy or sunny days because the store is well-roofed. The store is a result of the *Sapa Fair Trade Network* collaboration between Oxfam Italy, CTM Altromercato, Craft Link, and the local Women’s Union. However, these women revealed that they were not allowed to sell there until the project had already been completed (Thao & Huan, Ta Phin), which meant that they did not participate in any part of that project. This is consistent with Peter’s (development

agency) comment on the exclusion of some local people from development projects and plans.

Even those who participated in the *Handicrafts for Women Project* were not happy because they were underpaid. For example, if they weaved a piece of handicraft and sold it directly to tourists, they could earn at least VND50,000 (about \$2.3). However, the project just paid them VND10–12,000 (about \$0.5) (Hoai, Ta Phin). Therefore, most women in Ta Phin left this project. Chung (Lao Chai) revealed that his daughter was a group leader of that project. However, most members in her group left as they realised that their handicrafts were underpriced and that they could not earn enough money to feed their families. The project perhaps aimed to provide local women with a common space where they could gather and weave handicrafts instead of following tourists. However, this was poorly achieved due to the distribution of benefits. Consequently, local women abandoned the project to follow tourists again. Instead of selling authentic “handicrafts”, some local women prefer purchasing Chinese imports (Shu, development agency), meaning that they do not have to spend long hours weaving crafts by hand and thus they can earn money more quickly.

Perception of tourism as a tool of poverty alleviation

Of the 36 people asked, 23 considered tourism as a potential means of poverty alleviation, while the remaining 13 did not think tourism could alleviate poverty. Among those who regarded tourism as a tool of poverty alleviation, over half (13) are currently involved in tourism. These include six homestay owners, one tourist shop and homestay owner, one tourist shop owner, two handicraft weavers, two having spouses as tourist guides, and one having a son as a tourist guide. The other 10 people who regarded tourism as a poverty alleviation tool either benefitted from tourism in some way, with this mainly through earning money by following tourists, or were aware of the economic potential of tourism:

My husband is learning to be a tourist guide while I sell handicrafts. Generally, our living conditions are better. Selling handicrafts gives me enough money to buy food. (Lien, San Xa Ho)

Tourism has helped alleviate poverty. Previously, there were some very poor families. However, thanks to tourism, some families are not poor anymore because they can earn money from tourists visiting the villages. (Thao & Huan, Ta Phin)

However, although these people considered tourism as a potential contributor to poverty alleviation, they still regarded growing rice and/or medicinal fruit as the main income source. No interviewee relied on tourism as a sole contributor to his/her family's income. This indicates that tourism should be viewed as only one of the contributors to poverty alleviation.

Of the 13 people who did not regard tourism as a contributor to poverty alleviation, seven could not participate formally in tourism (e.g. by providing homestays, finding tourism jobs) due to their remote location or lack of land, education, or knowledge:

If I can participate in tourism, I want to provide a homestay. However, I live in Giang Ta Chai village, and that is very far and thus tourists do not come. (Hoa, Ta Van)

We want to work in tourism. Yet, we have too little land, so we cannot build homestays. We have already sold our land and spent all the money. (Tan & May, Thanh Kim)

Even some of those who have worked in tourism suggested that it could not alleviate poverty. Tam, a staff member of a hotel in Sapa, is an example. Every day she works long hours, from early morning to late afternoon, including sometimes working until most of the hotel's guests have gone to bed in order to make sure that nothing is wrong. However, her salary remains low, and the evening hours are not paid. To her, the private sector primarily cares about its own interests. Tam also commented that generally the living conditions of most ethnic minorities are not improved no matter how much tourism is developed. Handicraft sellers can only earn meagre incomes because too many of them sell similar products. The evidence suggests that for a number of local people, tourism has provided a small income but it has not lifted them out of poverty. This also reinforces the view that tourism cannot necessarily benefit all residents of a tourist destination and that local people's perceptions of tourism largely depend on their tourism-related incomes. In other words, the higher the incomes people earn from tourism, the more positive their perceptions of tourism tend to be (see also Akyeampong, 2011; Vargas-Sanchez, Porras-Bueno, & Plaza-Mejia, 2009).

Main barriers to participation in tourism

Of the 40 local people asked, all indicated that they would like to participate in tourism, including those who did not think tourism could help alleviate poverty. Nobody suggested that s/he did not wish to get involved in tourism. This has two important implications. First, most local people consider tourism as the only alternative income generator outside of the main rice crop. Second, given the lack of other options, at least in the short term, tourism can still potentially assist the living conditions of local people, even if it is perceived as being unable to alleviate poverty.

The two positions that are most desired by local people are those of homestay owners and tourist guides. The former was chosen by 31 respondents, most of whom are married. The latter was indicated by seven respondents who are 15–22 years old. One respondent is working for a hotel, while the other respondent is unsure about what she wants to do.

Of those wishing to provide homestay services, only six people currently run their own homestays and one person owns both a tourist shop and a homestay. The other people are unable to build their own homestays, the most important barrier being the lack of capital:

I wish to open a homestay but I am too scared to borrow bank loans. The interest rates are so high. I am afraid I will be in debt if I cannot pay back to the bank. (Pham, Ta Van)

Many people here want to do it [homestays], but they do not know how to do it. They do not have money either. Building a homestay requires a lot of money. (Chung, Lao Chai)

The GOV does provide preferential bank loans with low rates or no rate of interest (Do, Sapa town; Hang, Sapa town; My, Ta Van). However, most local people do not want to borrow because they are afraid they will not be able to repay a loan. Although the monthly interest rates are low or very low (Do, Sapa town), they are still regarded by most local women as being high. The locals continue to grow rice and sell handicrafts, although the money earned is only just enough for them to live from hand to mouth. However, even if local villagers borrow bank loans to build homestays, they may not be able to repay the banks given that not all local communes are visited by tourists. While Sapa town, Lao Chai, Ta Van, and Ta Phin are known by tourists, the other communes are unheard of:

My family does not have a homestay service. Other families lack money to build homestays. In addition, there would not be enough tourists if all families have their own homestays, because tourists do not come every day and not all of them stay overnight here. (Nu, Ta Phin)

That Ta Phin is less attractive is partly due to the number of handicraft sellers who follow tourists on their treks. Existing homestay owners there indicated that they could only earn a modest amount of income. Menh, a homestay owner in Ta Phin, revealed that at first she could host tourists every night. However, fewer tourists now visit Ta Phin and hence she only hosts tourists very occasionally.

However, the number of overnight tourists is not necessarily associated with substantial incomes. Chin, a homestay owner in Ta Van, has cooperated with a hotel in Sapa town. This hotel requires him not to receive guests from other hotels or tour operators in order to guarantee that there are always rooms available for their own guests. The hotel is responsible for purchasing food in town. Chin can only receive the accommodation fee, which is VND70,000/person/night (about \$3.3), accounting for about one-third of the total fees (VND200,000/person/night; about \$9.5). Chin indicated that tourism has brought about some additional income, but that he still considers growing rice and medicinal fruit as his main occupation. Chin also revealed that there are several other homestays run by Kinh people who come from Sapa town and elsewhere. As they have business ties with hotels and tour operators in Sapa and Hanoi, they often have more overnight guests.

Local people also indicated that insufficient business knowledge is another factor that prevents them from getting involved in tourism. Only one respondent mentioned a lack of experience. This is perhaps because most local people, particularly those of the old generation, do not receive formal education and can only speak their own ethnic language and basic Vietnamese. In contrast, most local women and children can speak basic English, although they cannot write in English.

Of the seven respondents who wish to become tourist guides, the most important hindrance is their lack of foreign language proficiency. "Foreign language" means the English language and "proficiency" is synonymous with "speaking fluently". In addition, the local testing and certification procedures were also considered a barrier:

I want to become a tourist guide but I find it too difficult because I have to learn English, learn the professional skills of tour guiding and pass some tests in order to get a tour-guiding certificate. I think I may stay at home, get married and sell handicrafts. (Ly, San Xa Ho)

As discussed, many local young children do not get formal education. Paradoxically, the only and best way they can learn English is to sell handicrafts, where they both earn money and practise their spoken English.

Discussion and conclusion

This article has shown that tourism in the study location has some pro-poor potential, which, however, is reduced by barriers to business development, employment, and benefit sharing within the sector. It is worsened by the exclusion of poor people from decision-making processes, development plans, and project implementation. Although tourism has actually generated some additional income for local people, there are limits to its potential. First, there is the seasonal nature of tourism. Second, the domestic tourism market is not necessarily large enough. Third, aggressive handicraft sellers have driven tourists away from some destinations (e.g. Ta Phin). Fourth, tourism cannot benefit all people and

not everyone is experienced or qualified enough to participate. Although this research is different from some previous PPT studies in that it has examined the perceptions and experiences of poor people, it also supports earlier arguments that people who have more knowledge, skills, capital, and connections tend to benefit more from tourism (Mitchell & Ashley, 2010; Pleumarom, 2012). The research findings also reinforce the view that the distribution of tourism benefits should be paid adequate attention (Deller, 2010). Otherwise, feelings of scepticism, jealousy, and distrust may arise, negatively affecting community solidarity and cohesion (Simpson, 2008).

Some previous research has suggested that poor people often lack access to credit and education (e.g. Holden et al., 2011). In contrast, this research has indicated that local children can get free education while their parents can borrow bank loans with low or no interest. However, many local people neither send their children to school nor apply for loans. The evidence suggests that some poor households in Sapa focus on immediate income benefits because of concerns over risk and/or because they are simply unable to see other alternatives.

In discourses of sustainable tourism, community-based tourism, and PPT, the empowerment of women is much debated (e.g. Ferguson, 2011; Scheyvens, 2000). The interviews revealed that local women are the principal income earners in their families, who sell handicrafts out of the main rice crop. Local men often stay at home, looking after their houses. Some local men extract resources from the Hoang Lien Son mountain range as a means to earn some income and/or food for their families, e.g. through chopping trees and hunting animals (Lam, San Xa Ho). This indicates that a number of local people continue to depend on readily available natural resources and informal businesses.

This research suggests that for tourism to make a greater contribution to poverty alleviation, local poor people need to be included in decision-making processes, development planning, and project design and implementation. To this end, some behaviour change among poor people needs to be promoted, notably stopping local women from following tourists. Furthermore, alternative livelihoods other than tourism are required as many people neither can nor want to participate. As one of the interviewees commented:

It is necessary to develop from agriculture. If some climatically appropriate varieties of plants, such as orchids and peaches, can be grown here, local people may earn more income. I mean that some alternative livelihoods are needed. Otherwise, it would be very difficult to alleviate poverty through tourism alone. (Do, Sapa town)

The above comment supports the argument that while tourism may hold potential for poverty alleviation, alternative livelihoods are still needed in Sapa, particularly for people associated with agriculture. Although tourism is regarded as labour-intensive and therefore a good means of employment generation, in some developing countries agriculture may be between two and five times more labour-intensive than tourism, and hence agriculture may be a more appropriate sector for poverty reduction (Mitchell & Ashley, 2010).

Finally, this research has shown that most local poor people perceive poverty as a lack of rice and/or income. This understanding is similar to that of poor people in Laos (Harrison & Schipani, 2007), but different from that of poor people in Ghana who perceive poverty as a lack of income and/or opportunities (Holden et al., 2011). Johnston (2007) argues that some indigenous peoples think of themselves as being poor only when they lose their land, are displaced and relocated, such as due to tourism development. Even in such cases, they are not necessarily poor in spiritual terms. The evidence suggests that poor people's interpretation of poverty may be substantially different from that of academics and policy-makers. While poverty is attributed to external factors (e.g. limited

land), it may also be ascribed to internal factors (e.g. having many children). Therefore, there should be an on-the-ground approach to poverty, as Max-Neef states, “economists study and analyze poverty in their nice offices, have all the statistics, make all the models, and are convinced that they know everything that you can know about poverty. And that’s the big problem. And that’s why poverty is still there”. Max-Neef thus advocates a new type of economics, “barefoot economics”, which is defined as “economics that an economist who dares to step into the mud must practice” (Democracy Now!, 2010; see also Max-Neef, 1992; Truong, 2013b). The same can be said of the tourism sector (Holden et al., 2011; Pleumarom, 2012; Truong, 2013b) as a contributor to poverty alleviation: it is only by valuing the perspectives of those who are experiencing poverty that meaningful approaches to alleviating poverty through tourism become clearer and more likely to succeed.

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank the three anonymous reviewers and the journal editors for valuable comments and suggestions on earlier drafts of this article.

Notes on contributors

V. Dao Truong is a lecturer in the Department of Tourism and Hospitality, National Economics University, Hanoi, Vietnam, and he is a PhD candidate in the Department of Management, Marketing and Entrepreneurship, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand.

C. Michael Hall is a professor of Marketing in the Department of Management, Marketing and Entrepreneurship, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand.

Tony Garry is a senior lecturer in Marketing in the Department of Marketing, University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand.

References

- Akyeampong, O.A. (2011). Pro-poor tourism: Residents’ expectations, experiences and perceptions in the Kakum National Park area of Ghana. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 19(2), 197–213.
- Ashley, C., & Haysorn, G. (2006). From philanthropy to a different way of doing business: Strategies and challenges in integrating pro-poor approaches into tourism businesses. *Development Southern Africa*, 23(2), 265–280.
- Ashley, C., Roe, D., & Goodwin, H. (2001). *Pro-poor tourism strategies: Making tourism work for the poor*. London: Pro-poor Tourism Partnership.
- Blake, A. (2008). Tourism and income distribution in East Africa. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 10, 511–524.
- Coles, S., & Morgan, N. (Eds.). (2010). *Tourism and inequality: Problems and prospects*. Wallingford: CABI.
- Deller, S. (2010). Rural poverty, tourism and spatial heterogeneity. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 6 (1), 36–48.
- Democracy Now! (2010). *Chilean economist Manfred Max-Neef on barefoot economics, poverty and why the US is becoming an “underdeveloping nation”*. Transcript of an interview with Manfred Max-Neef on 26 November. Retrieved from <http://www.democracynow.org>
- Ferguson, L. (2011). Promoting gender equality and empowering women? Tourism and the third Millennium Development Goal. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 14(3), 235–249.
- General Statistics Office of Vietnam (GSOV). (2010). *Statistical yearbook of Vietnam 2010*. Hanoi: Statistical.
- Government of Vietnam (GOV). (2005). *Law on tourism*. Hanoi: National Political.
- Gössling, S., Scott, D., & Hall, C.M. (2013). Challenges of tourism in a low-carbon economy. *WIREs Climate Change*, 4(6), 525–538.

- Hall, C.M. (2007). Pro-poor tourism: Do 'tourism exchanges benefit primarily the countries of the South'? *Current Issues in Tourism*, 10(2–3), 111–118.
- Hall, C.M. (Ed.). (2011). *Fieldwork in tourism: Methods, issues and reflections*. London: Routledge.
- Hall, C.M., & Lew, A. (2009). *Understanding and managing tourism impacts: An integrated approach*. London: Routledge.
- Harrison, D., & Schipani, S. (2007). Lao tourism and poverty alleviation: Community-based tourism and the private sector. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 10(2–3), 194–230.
- Hitchcock, M., Nguyen, T.T.H., & Wesner, S. (2010). Handicraft heritage and development in Hai Duong, Vietnam. In M. Hitchcock, V.T. King, & M. Parnwell (Eds.), *Heritage tourism in Southeast Asia* (pp. 221–235). Copenhagen: NIAS Press.
- Holden, A., Sonne, J., & Novelli, M. (2011). Tourism and poverty reduction: An interpretation by the poor of Elmina, Ghana. *Tourism Planning & Development*, 8(3), 317–334.
- Hummel, J., & van der Dium, R. (2012). Tourism and development at work: 15 years of tourism and poverty reduction within the SNV Netherlands Development Organisation. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 20(3), 319–338.
- Huxford, K.M.L. (2010). *Tracing tourism translation: Opening the black box of development assistance in community-based tourism in Vietnam* (master's thesis). University of Canterbury, New Zealand.
- Huynh, B.T. (2011). *The Cai Rang floating market, Vietnam: Towards PPT?* (master's thesis). Auckland University of Technology, New Zealand.
- Johnston, A.M. (2007). *Is the sacred for sale? Tourism and indigenous peoples* (2nd ed.). London: Earthscan.
- Max-Neef, M.A. (1992). *From the outside looking in: Experiences in "barefoot economics"*. London: Zed Books.
- Mensah, E.A., & Amuquandoh, F.E. (2010). Poverty reduction through tourism: Residents' perspectives. *Journal of Travel and Tourism Research*, Spring/Fall, 77–96.
- Michaud, J., & Turner, S. (2006). Contending visions of a hill-station in Vietnam. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 33(3), 785–808.
- Misturelli, F., & Heffernan, C. (2010). The concept of poverty: A synchronic perspective. *Progress in Development Studies*, 10(1), 35–58.
- Mitchell, J. (2012). Value chain approaches to assessing the impact of tourism on low-income households in developing countries. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 20(3), 457–475.
- Mitchell, J., & Ashley, C. (2010). *Tourism and poverty reduction: Pathways to prosperity*. London: ODI & Earthscan.
- Muganda, M., Sahli, M., & Smith, K.A. (2010). Tourism's contribution to poverty alleviation: A community perspective from Tanzania. *Development Southern Africa*, 27(5), 629–646.
- Nelson, F. (2012). Blessing or curse? The political economy of tourism development in Tanzania. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 20(3), 359–375.
- Netherlands Development Organisation (SNV). (n.d.). *Bringing balance to the tourism boom: Equitable tourism development in Sapa, Vietnam*. Retrieved from <http://www.snvworld.org>
- Netherlands Development Organisation (SNV). (2010). *Case studies Asia*. Retrieved from <http://www.snvworld.org>
- Pearce, D. (2012). *Frameworks for tourism research*. Wallingford: CABI.
- Pleumarom, A. (2012). *The politics of tourism, poverty alleviation and sustainable development*. Penang: Third World Network.
- Sapa District People's Committee (SPC). (2009). *Socio-economic development report*. Retrieved from <http://www.laocai.gov.vn>
- Sapa District People's Committee (SPC). (2011). *Socio-economic development plan up to 2020*. Retrieved from <http://www.laocai.gov.vn>
- Scheyvens, R. (2000). Promoting women's empowerment through involvement in ecotourism: Experiences from the third world. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 8(3), 232–249.
- Schilcher, D. (2007). Growth versus equity: The continuum of pro-poor tourism and neoliberal governance. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 10(2–3), 166–193.
- Simpson, M.C. (2008). Community benefit tourism initiatives – a conceptual oxymoron? *Tourism Management*, 29(1), 1–18.
- Spenceley, A., & Goodwin, H. (2007). Nature-based tourism and poverty alleviation: Impacts of private sector and parastatal enterprises in and around Kruger National Park, South Africa. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 10(2–3), 255–277.

- Stronza, A., & Gordillo, J. (2008). Community views of tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 35(2), 448–468.
- Szarycz, G.S. (2009). Some issues in tourism research phenomenology: A commentary. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 12(1), 47–58.
- Thomas, F. (2013). Addressing the measurement of tourism in terms of poverty reduction: Tourism value chain analysis in Lao PDR and Mali. *International Journal of Tourism Research*. doi:10.1002/jtr.1930
- Trau, A. (2012). Beyond pro-poor tourism: (Re)Interpreting tourism-based approaches to poverty alleviation in Vanuatu. *Tourism Planning & Development*, 9(2), 149–164.
- Truong, V.D. (2013a). Tourism policy development in Vietnam: A pro-poor perspective. *Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events*, 5(1), 28–45.
- Truong, V.D. (2013b). Pro-poor tourism: Looking backward as we move forward. *Tourism Planning & Development*. doi:10.1080/21568316.2013.864996
- Truong, V.D., & Hall, C.M. (2013). Social marketing and tourism: What is the evidence? *Social Marketing Quarterly*, 19(2), 110–135.
- United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO). (2011). *Policy and practice for global tourism*. Madrid: Author.
- Vargas-Sanchez, A., Porras-Bueno, N., & Plaza-Mejia, M.A. (2009). Residents' attitudes towards tourism development in the Spanish province of Huelva. *Narodnostopanski Arhiv (International Edition)*, 5, 31–62.
- Vu, N., & Sato, M. (2010). Tourism and amenity migration in hill stations: The case study of Sapa in Vietnam. *Advanced Tourism Studies*, 7, 1–16.
- Winters, P., Corral, L., & Mora, A.M. (2013). Assessing the role of tourism in poverty alleviation: A research agenda. *Development Policy Review*, 31(2), 177–202.
- Zapata, M.J., Hall, C.M., Lindo, P., & Vanderschaeghen, M. (2011). Can community-based tourism contribute to development and poverty alleviation? *Current Issues in Tourism*, 14, 725–749.

This article was downloaded by: [University of Canterbury]

On: 15 January 2014, At: 13:09

Publisher: Routledge

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: Mortimer House, 37-41 Mortimer Street, London W1T 3JH, UK



Tourism Planning & Development

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rthp21>

Pro-Poor Tourism: Looking Backward as We Move Forward

V. Dao Truong^{ab}

^a Department of Tourism and Hospitality, National Economics University, Hanoi, Vietnam and

^b Department of Management, Marketing and Entrepreneurship, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand

Published online: 15 Jan 2014.

To cite this article: V. Dao Truong , Tourism Planning & Development (2014): Pro-Poor Tourism: Looking Backward as We Move Forward, Tourism Planning & Development, DOI: [10.1080/21568316.2013.864996](https://doi.org/10.1080/21568316.2013.864996)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/21568316.2013.864996>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Taylor & Francis makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of all the information (the "Content") contained in the publications on our platform. However, Taylor & Francis, our agents, and our licensors make no representations or warranties whatsoever as to the accuracy, completeness, or suitability for any purpose of the Content. Any opinions and views expressed in this publication are the opinions and views of the authors, and are not the views of or endorsed by Taylor & Francis. The accuracy of the Content should not be relied upon and should be independently verified with primary sources of information. Taylor and Francis shall not be liable for any losses, actions, claims, proceedings, demands, costs, expenses, damages, and other liabilities whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with, in relation to or arising out of the use of the Content.

This article may be used for research, teaching, and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, redistribution, reselling, loan, sub-licensing, systematic supply, or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden. Terms & Conditions of access and use can be found at <http://www.tandfonline.com/page/terms-and-conditions>

Pro-Poor Tourism: Looking Backward as We Move Forward

V. DAO TRUONG****

*Department of Tourism and Hospitality, National Economics University, Hanoi, Vietnam and

**Department of Management, Marketing and Entrepreneurship, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand

ABSTRACT *This paper examines the evolution of pro-poor tourism (PPT) research from 1999 to 2013. Using journal and database searches, 122 academic articles on PPT were retrieved and then analysed in the light of the content analysis method. The paper indicates that a majority of PPT research has focused on African countries. Other less-developed countries, including those in Southeast Asia, have captured relatively limited attention. Much less research has been conducted in developed countries where a large number of PPT scholars are based. Theories and models underpinning PPT studies are not only diverse in origin but also in usage, resulting in difficulties in identifying common theories and models. PPT research has been dominated by qualitative methods, although both quantitative and mixed methods approaches are gaining prominence. Measures that quantify tourism's impacts on poor people are missing. There is also a lack of a thorough understanding of poverty and its differing causes. Limitations to the paper are discussed and thus implications for further research indicated.*

Introduction

Poverty alleviation has been a focus of the sustainable development agenda since the 1990s. At the 2000 Millennium Summit, the United Nations (UN) adopted the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) where the first goal was to halve the number of people living on less than US\$1.25 a day by 2015 (this is the adjusted poverty line; see Ravallion, Chen, & Sangraula, 2008; United Nations [UN], 2012). A UN report indicates that in developing countries, the proportions of people living on below US\$1.25 a day fell from 47% in 1990 to 24% in 2008 (UN, 2012). The World Bank (WB) estimates that the global poverty rate at US\$1.25 a day fell in 2010 to less than half its 1990 value, meaning that the first target of the MDGs will have been achieved before 2015 (UN, 2012). Indeed, a newly released *Human Development Report* has confirmed the achievement of that target (UN Development Programme [UNDP], 2013). However, it is estimated that about one billion people worldwide will still be living on less than US\$1.25 a day by 2015 (UN, 2012).

Correspondence Address: V. Dao Truong, Department of Management, Marketing and Entrepreneurship, University of Canterbury, Christchurch 8140, New Zealand. Emails: van.truong@pg.canterbury.ac.nz, vandao83@yahoo.co.uk

The sustainable development agenda's focus on the poverty issue can be ascribed to the increased recognition by international institutions, national governments, and local organisations of the multi-dimensional impacts of poverty. Indeed, it is acknowledged that a majority of the populations in developing countries depend on readily available natural resources for food and income, resulting in rapid environmental degradation (Emalung, Nicholls, & Viner, 2007; UN Environmental Programme [UNEP], 2011). Poor people's subsistence lifestyle contributes to widening income gaps in society and hence cultivating social inequity as well as threatening economic viability (Kirchgeorg & Winn, 2006; Snyman & Spenceley, 2012). Furthermore, the poor tend to keep a high birth rate, leading to increased demands for social services. This suggests that there are linkages between population growth, poverty, and sustainable development. As the 1992 *Rio Declaration on Environment and Development* stated, "To achieve sustainable development and a higher quality of life for all people, states should reduce and eliminate unsustainable patterns of production and consumption and promote appropriate demographics policies" (UN, 1992, Principle 8, p. 3). However, criticising poor people's lifestyle is neither to deny the hardships they have to suffer nor to provide a sole explanation for the poverty situation in any country or region. Rather, it is to emphasise that poverty has detrimental implications for economic, social, and environmental sustainability, and that the call to alleviate poverty seems to serve the goals of sustainable development overall (Kirchgeorg & Winn, 2006).

Tourism has been considered one of the world's largest and fastest growing sectors and hence an important contributor to economic development (UN World Tourism Organization [UNWTO], 2011a). From 1950 to 2010, international arrivals increased by an average of over 6% per year, from an estimated 25 million to 940 million (UNWTO, 2011a, 2011b). Between 2000 and 2010, the tourism sector in developing countries almost doubled its total tourist arrivals from 257 million to 442 million (UNWTO, 2011b). Developing countries are even forecast to surpass one billion tourist arrivals by 2030 with those in Asia and the Pacific attracting most of the new arrivals (UNWTO, 2011b). Some developing countries (e.g. Vietnam, Tanzania) have thus embraced tourism as a tool of poverty alleviation (Muganda, Sahli, & Smith, 2010; Truong, 2013), leading to the emergence of the pro-poor tourism (PPT) concept in the late 1990s (Department for International Development [DFID], 1999). By definition, PPT "generates net benefits for the poor (i.e. benefits are greater than the costs). Economic benefits are only one (very important) component – social, environmental and cultural costs and benefits also need to be taken into account" (DFID, 1999, p. 1). The UNWTO adopted the PPT concept, endorsing the Sustainable Tourism—Eliminating Poverty (ST-EP) Initiative in 2003 and establishing the ST-EP Foundation in 2004 (UNWTO, 2011a). The UNWTO also considered 2007 a critical year where tourism was consolidated as a key agent in the fight against poverty and a primary tool for sustainable development (UNWTO, 2007).

Although PPT is a relatively new concept (UNWTO, 2011a), the potential of tourism as a contributor to poverty alleviation was discussed in academic papers published before 1985 (e.g. de Kadt, 1979; Peters, 1969). For example, de Kadt (1979) indicated that tourism creates jobs, backward linkages with agriculture and other sectors and provides opportunities, particularly for young people and women. It also improves the quality of life for poor people through funding basic facilities, education, and training. Proponents of PPT have argued that tourism has more potential for poverty alleviation than other sectors for its particular characteristics (Rogerson, 2006, 2012). First, tourism expands opportunities for poor people. Second, it increases demands for products and services that are supplied by the poor. Third, it supports diversified livelihoods, particularly in remote areas. Fourth, it contributes to pro-poor policy and process changes. Finally, it contributes to

harnessing sustainable tourism to aid poverty alleviation (Ashley, Roe, & Goodwin, 2001). Mitchell and Ashley (2010) suggest three main pathways through which tourism can contribute to poverty alleviation. The first involves direct effects of tourism that include labour income and other forms of earnings (e.g. craft selling). The second pathway concerns secondary effects that cover indirect earnings from tourism activities and induced effects from tourism workers re-spending their earnings in the local economy. The third pathway involves long-term changes in the macro-economy due to tourism growth. However, such pathways are essentially no different from any other kind of tourism-related economic impact (Hall & Lew, 2009), and reflect criticisms that a focus on international tourism development as a means of creating jobs for poorer people and issues of mobility disguise broader issues of wealth distribution (Coles & Morgan, 2010). Although the use of new approaches, such as a value chain analysis (Mitchell, 2012), does highlight ways in which the benefits of tourism can be maximised and better targeted as tourism spend flows through the economy. In addition, although PPT is, in principle, not confined to promoting international tourism, the involvement of international non-governmental organisations and aid agencies has generally meant a PPT focus on international tourism projects rather than domestically focussed tourism development (Scheyvens, 2007; Schlicher, 2007; Zapata, Hall, Lindo, & Vanderschaeghe, 2011).

Academic interest in PPT has also resulted in several reviews. Harrison (2008) traced the history of the PPT concept and critiqued its theoretical and practical foundations. Goodwin (2009) reviewed the first 10 years of PPT and provided important gaps for further studies, such as the need to quantify the impact of tourism on poor people. Although these are useful critiques and reviews, none of them has assessed the theoretical and methodological bases of previous PPT research. Meanwhile, Zeng and Ryan (2012) limited their review to PPT research in China only. This raises the need for a systematic assessment of the theoretical and methodological development of PPT research. Indeed, reviewing past research not only provides an overview of the progress achieved in a particular field of study but also identifies gaps and extends prior studies (Creswell, 2009). Furthermore, evaluating previous research efforts reveals the theoretical awareness, methodological sophistication as well as the direction of research in a field of study (Hesse-Biber, 2010; Krippendorff, 2004).

Therefore, this paper aims to systematically review PPT research from 1999 to 2013. Drawing upon a content analysis (CA) of published journal articles, the paper seeks to answer the following questions: How many journal articles on PPT have been published in the noted period? Which country or region has attracted most attention? What is the authorship of PPT research? What are the theoretical frameworks and research methods used by tourism scholars? What is the potential for future development of PPT research?

Methodology

Refereed journal articles were chosen for analysis given that they are considered essential communication channels for researchers (Creswell, 2009; Xiao & Smith, 2006a). The author browsed each issue of English-language tourism journals which were chosen on the basis of McKercher, Law, and Lam's (2006) global study of tourism and hospitality journal quality. Google Search, Google Scholar, and Scopus databases were also used. A number of keywords were combined to identify relevant articles (e.g. pro-poor tourism, tourism and poverty alleviation). Article titles were first investigated. In many cases, these titles were very suggestive that they dealt specifically with PPT. In other cases, the authors examined their abstracts, keywords, and full length to ensure that relevant articles were retrieved. The searches continued up to the end of April 2013.

The selected articles were then investigated using the CA method, which is among the most important research techniques in the social sciences (Krippendorff, 2004; Neuendorf, 2002). CA was defined as “a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matters) to the contexts of their use” (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 18). In the tourism field, CA has been used by a number of tourism scholars. For example, Xiao and Smith (2006a) analysed the content of the 30-year comprehensive subject index of *Annals of Tourism Research* (ATR) to examine the making and changing of the tourism field. CA was also utilised by Nunkoo, Smith, and Ramkissoon (2013) to analyse 140 articles on residents’ attitudes towards tourism published in *ATR*, *Tourism Management* (TM), and *Journal of Travel Research* from 1984 to 2010.

Each article was read through, with particular attention being given to its theoretical underpinnings, data gathering and processing methods, and discussions of research findings. Author contributions were measured by the number of instances, that is, the number of times an author from a given region or country contributed to an article as either a single author or a co-author. An article was considered “atheoretical” if it was not framed around a specific theoretical framework. It was regarded as “theoretical” if it explicitly utilised at least a theory. Theory is a “body of logistically interconnected propositions which provides an interpretative basis for understanding phenomena” (Dann, Nash, & Pearce, 1988, p. 4). The theoretical awareness of a study can be assessed in terms of the criteria of understanding, prediction, and falsifiability. While the criteria of prediction and falsifiability are subject to debate, they may be considered important to the evaluation of progress in the realm of theory (Dann et al., 1998). An article was deemed “qualitative” if it used qualitative methods to collect, analyse, and present data (e.g. observation, interview, NVivo). In contrast, it was considered “quantitative” if it used quantitative methods (e.g. survey, experiment, Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS)). A “mixed method” label was attached if both qualitative and quantitative methods were combined. In addition, an article was considered a review if it dealt with untested hypotheses and/or propositions and reviewed the PPT literature (Nunkoo et al., 2013).

Findings and Discussion

Number of Articles Published

Up to the end of April 2013, 142 academic articles were retrieved. A further examination resulted in the exclusion of 20 articles. Therefore, 122 articles were analysed in this paper. Although a Google Scholar search that used “tourism and poverty alleviation” as a keyword might produce thousands of publications within seconds, a number of these publications did not significantly focus on the tourism–poverty nexus. In addition, these publications also covered books, working reports, conference papers, and other types of publications that were not considered in this study as noted earlier. Furthermore, some papers were published in other languages (e.g. Chinese) than English and hence were not considered either.

The analysed articles are divided into three main periods, each of which is five years long (Figure 1). The last period only covers up to the end of April 2013 as indicated above.

In the first period, only six articles were published with a poverty focus given that PPT was then very new to tourism researchers. Most early PPT papers were released by the PPT Partnership in the form of working papers. The number of PPT articles increased by seven times between 2004 and 2008 (42 articles). From 2009 to 2013, 74 articles were published with a PPT focus, where 2012 accounted for 32.4% (24 articles), followed by 2011 with 23 articles (31%). This confirms that more tourism scholars are interested in PPT research. It also suggests that PPT research has not reached a point of academic saturation. Twenty

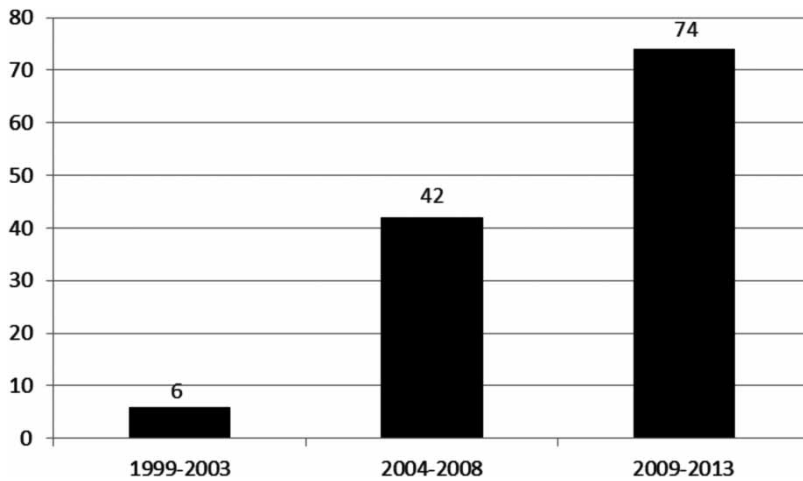


Figure 1. Growth of PPT articles.

articles were published in *Current Issues in Tourism*, followed by *Development Southern Africa* (13), *Tourism Planning & Development* (11), *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* (11), and *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research* (8). Both *ATR* and *TM* published only eight articles (four each) with an explicit focus on PPT over the examined period. Although they are among the oldest and the highest ranked in the tourism field (McKercher et al., 2006), they are not specifically dedicated to PPT. *ATR* is driven by theoretical constructs, while *TM* is concerned with planning and management issues. Although other journals (e.g. *Current Issues in Tourism*, *Tourism Planning & Development*) emerged much later, they have embraced various aspects of tourism, including poverty alleviation. Indeed, these journals have featured PPT in their special issues, which are not found in both *ATR* and *TM*.

Geographic Distribution of PPT Research

Of the 122 articles examined, 101 articles were case studies of tourist destinations (86 single case studies and 15 multiple case studies). Two articles discussed the WB's role in promoting PPT (Ferguson, 2011; Hawkins & Mann, 2007). The remaining 19 articles were general discussions of PPT and, as noted, reviewed previous PPT research. The number of case studies increased across regions over time. This is perhaps because tourism is a place-specific activity and hence a destination-focused industry. Case study is thus among the predominant approaches to tourism research (Beeton, 2005; Xiao & Smith, 2006b), including

Table 1. Geographic distribution of PPT research

Period	1999–2003	2004–08	2009–13	No. of articles ^a	%
Africa	4	14	41.5	59.5	58.9
Asia-Pacific	0	9	15.5	24.5	24.2
Americas	0	6	7	13	12.9
Europe	1	1	2	4	4.0
Total	5	30	66	101	100

^aOne article (Thomas, 2013) covered both Asia (Laos) and Africa (Mali).

research on tourism policy (Scott, 2011) and residents' attitudes towards tourism (Nunkoo et al., 2013). Africa was the case study site for over half of the total articles considered, followed by Asia and the Pacific as shown in Table 1 where the classification of the main regions was based on the UN (2012). Of the 15 multiple case studies, only one (Thomas, 2013) covered two countries (Laos and Mali) in two different regions (Asia and Africa). Therefore, each country was considered to constitute half of the article (Table 1).

That Africa attracted a substantial amount of PPT research can be ascribed to several reasons. First, the region is home to the largest number of poor people worldwide, where 47% of the total population lives on less than US\$1.25 a day (UN, 2012). Second, it was a focus of projects undertaken by the PPT Partnership until this organisation was closed. Third, Africa was the WB's second highest fund beneficiary, both in terms of project numbers and total values (Hawkins & Mann, 2007). As the WB has recently resumed its tourism focus, Africa is still the top prioritised beneficiary as evidenced by the number of on-going tourism projects (Messerli, 2011). Fourth, a significant shift has been seen among African governments, where poverty reduction policies have attached importance to the tourism sector and new tourism strategies have placed a greater focus on poverty alleviation (Ashley & Goodwin, 2007). Among African countries considered, South Africa was much researched with nearly 40% (23) of the total articles published on the region.

The amount of PPT research on the Asia-Pacific region is less than half of that on the African region, although it is much larger than that on American and European regions. China comes first with six articles, followed by Laos (4), Vietnam (2), Thailand (2), Fiji (2), and Vanuatu (2). This finding is consistent with that of other scholars (Scott, 2011; Truong, 2013), who claimed that little research attention has been given to Southeast Asian countries, where 17% of the total population lives in poverty (UN, 2012). In addition, surprisingly far fewer studies (4.3%) have examined PPT in Europe and Americas. While absolute poverty, i.e. lack of food, often occurs in less-developed countries, relative poverty is found in developed societies, which is sometimes termed urban poverty (Sachs, 2005). Although tourism has been perceived as a tool of poverty alleviation in developing countries as previously noted, it is unclear if the same can be said in the context of developed nations.

Authorship of PPT Research

Of the 122 articles examined, 51 (41.8%) were published by single authors. The remaining 71 (58.2%) articles were co-authored. Overall, academics represented 85.5% (188 instances) and non-academics accounted for 14.5% (32 instances) of authors. A researcher was deemed academic if s/he was affiliated with a higher education institution (e.g. university, college) or a research centre as published in her/his articles. S/he was considered non-academic if s/he was affiliated with a consulting company or a development agency, etc. That academics far outweighed non-academics can be explained in several ways. First, research is fundamental to the career development of academics. Second, a strong linkage between (pro-poor) tourism researchers and practitioners has not been established yet. As Harrison (2008, pp. 859–860) stated, “(PPT practitioners) rarely submit their work to academic peer review and recognised academic journals”. In such an applied field as PPT, as well as tourism and hospitality overall, the connection between academic knowledge and on-the-ground practice is of paramount importance (Goodwin, 2009; Law & Chon, 2007). It is thus necessary that (pro-poor) tourism academics demonstrate that their research findings help practitioners solve poverty issues. In turn, (pro-poor) tourism practitioners, especially those working for PPT projects, may need to participate in research

debate, for instance, by sharing their experiences in academic outlets. Indeed, the period 2009–13 has seen an increased number of journal articles that were co-authored by tourism researchers and practitioners (Hummel & van der Dium, 2012; Snyman & Spenceley, 2012; Winters, Corral, & Mora, 2013).

With respect to the geographic location of PPT researchers, the location of the authors' institutions was used as it was impossible to trace their nationality. In the case of multiple affiliations, the main affiliation, i.e. the first named affiliation on a list of affiliations, was considered and hence secondary affiliations (e.g. visiting professor) were excluded. The use of the main affiliations was only for the convenience of this paper, not a denial of the importance of secondary affiliations. UK-based researchers appear to be the most prolific (41 instances), followed by those in South Africa (40 instances). Authors from the USA come third on the list with 26 instances, followed by Australia (20 instances) and New Zealand (15 instances). This can be attributed to several main reasons. First, the PPT concept emerged as a result of a research project commissioned by the UK DFID to DeLoitte and Touch, along with the International Institute for Environment and Development and the Overseas Development Institute. Second, the PPT Partnership, the first organisation established to explicitly focus on PPT promotion, was based in the UK. Third, a majority of early PPT initiatives and projects were undertaken by the PPT Partnership and other institutions (e.g. the WB as noted above) in African countries. Finally, English is the main medium of communication in these countries, which is also the language of the journals considered in this paper. Overall, the finding given in this section does not indicate the (pro-poor) tourism research productivity of a particular country. Rather, it primarily reflects the attention paid by tourism scholars in that country to PPT research.

Theories and Models Underpinning PPT Studies

Of the 122 articles considered, 44 articles clearly referred to theory and model use, while the remaining 78 articles did not explicitly report using a specific theoretical framework or model (Table 2). This suggests that PPT research is lacking rigorous theoretical foundations.

Of the 44 articles that clearly stated theory and model use, only one article (2.3%) was published between 1999 and 2003. This number increased to 13 articles (29.5%) from 2004 to 2008 and 30 articles (68.2%) between 2009 and 2013. This finding suggests that researchers increasingly use theories and frameworks in their PPT studies. Theoretical triangulation was only found in Zapata et al.'s (2011) study where the lifecycle and actor-network theories were combined. The value chain and sustainable livelihood approach are being used more frequently in recent PPT research (Lapeyre, 2011; Mitchell, 2012; Thomas, 2013). This was considered a partial convergence of the (neo)liberal, critical, and alternative approaches to tourism development that were perceived to place a strong focus on privatisation and market development (Hummel & van der Dium, 2012) and hence were critiqued by a number of tourism scholars (Hall, 2007; Pleumarom, 2012; Scheyvens, 2007; Schilcher, 2007). The adoption of this approach may also be construed as a response to the increased demand for more holistic measures that are capable of embracing various pro-poor effects of tourism on host communities.

Table 2 suggests that theories and frameworks used in PPT research are characterised by low frequencies but are diverse in origin. Some theories originated from economics (e.g. supply curve theory), psychology (e.g. positive psychology), while others emerged from political sciences (e.g. socio-political theory) or sociology (e.g. globalisation theory). Although some are widely recognised theories, particularly those that originate from psychology and sociology, others appear to represent an approach, a model, or a framework

Table 2. Theories, models, and frameworks underpinning PPT research

	Freq.	%
Atheoretical	78	63.9
Theoretical ^{a,b}	44	36.1
Value chain analysis framework	8	17.8
General equilibrium model	4	8.9
(Neo)Liberalism	4	8.9
Corporate social responsibility	3	6.7
Social accounting matrix	3	6.7
(Socio)Political theory	3	6.7
Actor-network theory	2	4.4
Participatory development approach	2	4.4
Social capital theory	2	4.4
Feminist theory	2	4.4
Community corporate joint-venture model	1	2.2
Mobilisation developmentalism	1	2.2
Anti-poverty model	1	2.2
Globalisation theory	1	2.2
Structuration and institutional theory	1	2.2
Emotional intelligence theory	1	2.2
Supply curve theory	1	2.2
Rapid rural appraisal model	1	2.2
Positive psychology theory	1	2.2
Tourism policy-making model	1	2.2
Tourist area lifecycle model	1	2.2
Social exchange theory	1	2.2

^aOnly explicitly reported theories, models, and frameworks were counted.

^bZapata et al. (2011) combined the lifecycle model and actor-network theory.

rather than a theory as defined earlier in this paper (e.g. value chain analysis). Corporate social responsibility, for instance, is not a theory in itself. Rather, it is considered an approach or orientation. However, its theoretical underpinnings are rooted in marketing theory. It was originally referred to in Kotler's (1967) *Marketing Management* book as societal marketing, by which Kotler meant socially responsible marketing, and has now been known as corporate social responsibility (see also Dibb & Carrigan, 2013). Similarly, while coined a *theory*, actor-network theory is perhaps more an approach or orientation than a theory (Law, 2009). In addition, some scholars may even argue that feminist theory is not a theory. Yet, this theory actually emerged in the 1970s and has become one of the most influential contemporary theories in sociology (Ritzer & Goodman, 2004). Synthesising or criticising theories, frameworks, and models used in (pro-poor) tourism research is thus a challenge. This indicates both the multidisciplinary (D. Pearce, 2012) and interdisciplinary (Tribe, 1997) nature of (pro-poor) tourism as a field of study.

Theories and models underpinning PPT studies are not only diverse in origin but also in usage. This is largely due to the diversity of the disciplines from which these theories and models emerged and their relevance to the objective of specific PPT studies. For instance, the actor-network theory was used to trace the ordering of and relationships between people, organisations, and things in tourism development (van der Dium & Caalders, 2008). Meanwhile, P. Pearce (2012) drew on the positive psychology theory to examine tourists' written reactions to the poverty situation in tourist destinations. Erskine and Meyer (2012) emphasised the importance of the structuration theory in discussing the roles of tourism as a means of poverty alleviation. Blake, Arbache, Sinclair, and Teles (2008) used the general equilibrium model to examine the economic impact

and distributional impacts of tourism in the Brazilian economy. While it is recognised that theories and models provide a useful framework for research studies, particularly for data collection and analysis (D. Pearce, 2012), in the context of PPT research questions may be raised as to why studies that did not explicitly report theory and model use outweighed those that were theoretically informed as indicated above. Further questions may also be posed as to if the use of theories and models necessarily results in effective discussions of tourism as a tool of poverty alleviation or clear indication of the pro-poor impact of tourism; if effective discussions or indication of tourism as a contributor to poverty alleviation necessarily constitute proof of a theory or model's value; and if the effectiveness of theories and models underpinning PPT studies can be tested easily. Therefore, PPT researchers may be encouraged to clearly report theory and model use in their studies, which may then help to identify common theories or models that effectively guide PPT research. These questions may provide important implications for further research.

Research Methods used in PPT Studies

The selected PPT articles were also examined concerning their use of research methods, data gathering, and analytical techniques. Of the 122 articles considered, three articles were reviews, 86 articles were qualitative in nature, 15 articles used quantitative methods to collect and analyse data, and the remaining 18 articles applied a mixed methods approach. Although quantitative methods were used in 33 articles (15 + 18), only 21 instances of quantitative statistical techniques were recorded (Table 3). This is because a number of quantitative articles did not explicitly state the use of quantitative statistical techniques while multiple quantitative statistical techniques were reported in others. SPSS and social accounting matrices were used more frequently than others. Desk review, focus groups, interviews, and observations were extensively used in qualitative articles. Collected data were often coded by themes determined by the researchers. The popularity of these qualitative methods confirms that the interpretive paradigm has dominated research on PPT. This characteristic is similar to that of studies on tourism policy (Scott, 2011), but is in contrast to that of research on residents' attitudes towards tourism where quantitative methods have prevailed (Nunkoo et al., 2013).

Table 3. Types of research and analytical techniques used in PPT studies

	No. of articles (<i>N</i> = 122)	%
Reviews	3	2.5
Qualitative	86	70.5
Quantitative	15	12.3
Mixed methods	18	14.7
<i>Quantitative data analysis techniques (N = 21)</i>		
Applied general equilibrium and social marketing matrix	5	23.8
SPSS	5	23.8
Descriptive statistics	2	9.5
<i>t</i> -Test	2	9.5
χ^2	2	9.5
Factor analysis	1	4.8
Satellite accounting	1	4.8
Geographically weighted regression	1	4.8
Co-integration	1	4.8
Analytical hierarchy process modelling	1	4.8

Table 4. Use of research methods over time

	Qualitative (N = 86)		Quantitative (N = 15)		Mixed (N = 18)	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
1999–2003	6	100	0	0	0	0
2004–08	32	76.2	7	16.7	3	7.1
2009–13	48	67.6	8	11.3	15	21.1

Table 4 indicates that all articles published between 1999 and 2003 were qualitative in nature. This is understandable given that the PPT concept was new at the time and hence PPT articles primarily discussed its conceptual and definitional issues. In the five years that followed, quantitative methods were used in 16.7% of all PPT articles published, although qualitative methods were still dominant. The mixed methods approach was adopted by 7.1% of all PPT articles published in this period. The use of the mixed methods approach witnessed a three-fold increase in the period 2009–13 as compared to the preceding period, while a slight decline was found in both qualitative and quantitative methods.

Overall, Table 4 indicates that qualitative articles dominated across all the periods examined. It also suggests that researchers attach increased importance to both quantitative and mixed methods approaches. The evidence demonstrates the methodological evolution of PPT research from purely descriptive and conceptual discourse towards a greater focus on data quantification. It also proves that the challenge of providing quantifiable pro-poor impacts of tourism has been increasingly perceived by tourism scholars.

Future Research

Several areas have emerged from this paper that may hold important potential for future research. As indicated above, a majority of PPT research was qualitative. The PPT literature is lacking measures that quantify tourism’s pro-poor impacts. This is a challenge for two main reasons. First, tourism is a destination-based activity and hence its impacts vary by destination. As a result, there is possibly no “one-size-fits-all” measure that can be applied to all host communities. Second, tourism is a complex industry that involves many other industries. It is difficult to separate the actual contributions of tourism from those of other industries. Therefore, without appropriate quantitative measures, even after the first target of the MDGs has been achieved as mentioned in the first section of this paper, little is known of the contribution made by the tourism sector to attaining that target as well as to sustainable development overall. This suggests that Goodwin’s (2009) call for quantifiable evidence of tourism’s pro-poor impact, as noted earlier, remains valid for further PPT studies. In addition, further research is also possible to examine how theories and models are used to guide PPT studies. It may then be possible to identify common theories or models that are effective in informing the design, implementation, and evaluation of PPT studies and therefore potentially contributing to informing future PPT projects/programmes. To this end, PPT scholars may be encouraged to explicitly state theory and model use in their research.

Of the 101 articles dealing with case studies, 86 were single case studies. Only 15 articles were multiple case studies. PPT research has proliferated in the African context, while little attention has been given to less-developed countries in Asia as well as First World countries. It is thus difficult to make cross comparisons of the pro-poor effects of

tourism, given that each case study differs in terms of aims and objectives as well as methods used. Even when comparisons were made, they tended to focus on the impacts of PPT on the same community before and after interventions. Comparisons of the pro-poor impacts of tourism between a target community and a (untargeted) community are lacking. Therefore, questions may be raised as to the difference(s) in income, employment, and/or living standards between the community that receives PPT interventions and the community that is not the target beneficiary of such interventions. For this reason, research into the pro-poor effects of tourism between a target community and a (untargeted) community may help to provide clearer evidence of the roles of tourism as a means of poverty alleviation. It may also contribute to building a solid foundation for further advancement in PPT research.

The chosen 122 articles analysed PPT at various scales. Twenty-four articles examined PPT from a macro-perspective, where policy implications were indicated (Bowden, 2005; Schilcher, 2007). Sixty-four articles considered PPT from a micro-perspective with references to income distribution, employment, capacity building, or discrimination (Akyeampong, 2011; Koutra & Edwards, 2012; Trau, 2012). PPT was also studied at a corporate level (Lapeyre, 2011; Spenceley & Goodwin, 2007). However, few PPT studies considered the voice of poor people impacted by tourism (Holden, Sonne, & Novelli, 2011). Indeed, Pleumarom (2012) argues that PPT discourses and initiatives are of very little value if the perceptions and opinions of poor people are not duly considered. Research indicates that poor people often perceive poverty differently from academics and policy-makers. For example, poor people in Laos and Vietnam define poverty as a lack of rice (Harrison & Schipani, 2007; Truong, Hall, & Garry, 2014), while the poor in Ghana perceive poverty as a lack of incomes and/or opportunities (Holden et al., 2011). Johnston (2007) suggests that some indigenous peoples think of themselves as being poor only when they lose their land, are displaced and relocated due to tourism development. Even in such cases, they are not necessarily poor in spiritual terms. The evidence suggests that poverty is multi-dimensional, complex, and different by context. The difficulty in addressing the poverty issues within the tourism context is compounded by the destination nature of tourism itself. It is for this reason that Max-Neef, a Chilean economist, called for a “bare-foot” approach to poverty alleviation, that is, only through the experiences of poor people that poverty measures can be identified effectively (Democracy Now! 2010; see also Max-Neef, 1992). The same may be said of PPT research: it is only by giving voice to poor people that meaningful approaches to alleviating poverty through tourism become clearer and more likely to succeed.

Allowing poor people to raise their voice may also help to gain insights into the root causes of poverty. Research indicates that poverty can be ascribed to external (e.g. structural barriers, market constraints) (Ajakaiye & Adeyeye, 2001; Begovic, Matkovic, Mijatovic, & Popovic, 2007) and/or internal (e.g. poor people's behaviours) factors (Amsden, 2012; Moore, 2012; Niemela, 2008; Sawhill, 2003). Yet the causes of poverty have been generally neglected in the PPT literature (Pleumarom, 2012). Instead of questioning whether tourism can be an appropriate measure for poverty alleviation, a majority of tourism scholars tend to focus on how tourism can alleviate poverty. This is perilous given that instead of understanding poverty and benefiting poor people, some organisations may adopt PPT to promote market growth and private sector development (Scheyvens, 2007; Schilcher, 2007). Powerful stakeholders may take advantage of PPT to serve their own interests (Chok, Macbeth, & Warren, 2007). For example, in the southern Indian state of Kerala, a Responsible Tourism Initiative was launched by the local authority in partnership with the Indian section of the International Centre for Responsible Tourism. In 2006, the World Tourism and Travel Council chose the Initiative as one of the nominees for the

Tourism for Tomorrow Awards. This led to a street demonstration organised by local poor people and civil society organisations, who claimed that Kerala was not a model of sustainable, responsible or PPT of any international standard, but instead served the interests of the local authority and the private sector (Pleumarom, 2012). In the small Amazonian town of Nazareth that joins Colombia, Brazil, and Peru, local guards armed with traditional sticks stand at the town entrance to prohibit tourists from entering the town. The argument is that despite the growth of tourism, only meagre benefits have trickled down to poor indigenous people. Most tourism profits have instead accrued to private travel agencies (Muse, 2011).

Although the tourism–poverty nexus has been examined from differing perspectives as discussed above, a dearth of research has explored how tourists would react towards the poverty situation in host destinations and thus what they would do to contribute to lifting poor people out of poverty (P. Pearce, 2012). P. Pearce (2012) suggests that tourists' emotional reactions may generate meaningful behaviours including willingness to spend time on directly assisting poor people and pro-poor projects, purchasing and promoting of products, and services produced by poor communities. Further research into tourists' perceptions of poverty and actions towards poverty alleviation may, therefore, be an interesting theme in the tourism literature that may contribute to building a larger and more holistic body of knowledge with respect to tourism and poverty alleviation. It may also be connected with studies on volunteer tourism as volunteer tourists are sometimes depicted as making certain contributions to alleviate poverty and mitigating social and environmental impacts in host destinations (Lyon & Wearing, 2008; McGehee & Santos, 2005). All the noted areas provide meaningful themes for future research.

Conclusion

This paper does not aim to provide a critique of PPT. Instead, it has attempted to evaluate the development of PPT research from 1999 to 2013 and indicate gaps for future studies. Through journal and database searches, 122 academic articles on PPT were retrieved, which were then examined in the light of the CA method. The paper has indicated that PPT has attracted increased attention of tourism researchers as evidenced by the growing number of academic articles published on the topic. A considerable number of PPT studies have focused on African countries, while less research attention has been paid to those in Asia and, more specifically, Southeast Asia. Much less research has been carried out in developed nations, where a large number of PPT researchers are based. PPT research has evolved from conceptual discourse towards a greater emphasis on theoretical and methodological bases. Although qualitative methods have prevailed in PPT research, both quantitative and mixed methods approaches are gaining prominence. It is predicted that more PPT research based on quantitative and mixed methods will be published in the years to come. Therefore, tourism's pro-poor impacts may be demonstrated by quantifiable data, which may then help to indicate more clearly the contributions of tourism to sustainable development overall.

In spite of the potential contributions this paper may make to the PPT literature as well as to sustainable tourism research overall, its limitations should be acknowledged and readers are advised to take these limitations into consideration while evaluating the research design and findings. The paper was only limited to refereed journal articles published in the English language. Books, project reports, and working papers were not examined. Therefore, similar reviews may be conducted on these documents as well as on the PPT literature published in other languages. It is also possible that this paper omitted several valuable articles due to restricted subscriptions. In addition, the identification of theories, frameworks, and/or models underpinning a journal article (Table 2) may be subject to debate

given the blurred boundary between these concepts in tourism research (D. Pearce, 2012). The determination of what is a framework and/or a model is thus a challenge. This challenge is even compounded by the nature of tourism research itself that attracts scholars from a wide range of majors and disciplines. Furthermore, the inclusion or exclusion of articles that may have pro-poor implications in a discussion that is otherwise primarily focused on ecotourism or community-based tourism may explain the (conceptual) ambiguity of as well as the interrelationships between various forms of tourism in the extant literature. It may also explain why reviewing the PPT literature may become a daunting task and thus a debate over its actual size. Therefore, further research is warranted.

References

- Ajakaiye, D. O. & Adeyeye, V. A. (2001). Concepts, measurement and causes of poverty. *CBN Economic and Financial Review*, 39(4), 5–36.
- Akyeampong, O. A. (2011). Pro-poor tourism: Residents' expectations, experiences and perceptions in the Kakum National Park area of Ghana. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 19(2), 197–213.
- Amsden, A. H. (2012). Grass roots war on poverty. *World Economic Review*, 1(1), 114–131.
- Ashley, C., & Goodwin, H. (2007). *"Pro-poor tourism": What's gone right and what's gone wrong?* London: Overseas Development Institute.
- Ashley, C., Roe, D., & Goodwin, H. (2001). *Pro-poor tourism strategies: Making tourism work for the poor*. London: Pro-poor Tourism Partnership.
- Beeton, S. (2005). The case study in tourism research method: A multi-method case study approach. In B. W. Ritchie, P. Burns, & C. Palmer (Eds.), *Tourism research methods: Integrating theory with practice* (pp. 37–48). Oxford: CABI.
- Begovic, B., Matkovic, G., Mijatovic, B., & Popovic, B. (2007). *From poverty to prosperity: Free market based solution*. Belgrade: Centre for Liberal-Democratic Studies.
- Blake, A., Arbache, J. S., Sinclair, M. T., & Teles, V. (2008). Tourism and poverty relief. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 35(1), 107–126.
- Bowden, J. (2005). Pro-poor tourism and the Chinese experience. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research*, 10(4), 379–398.
- Chok, S., Macbeth, J., & Warren, C. (2007). Tourism as a tool for poverty alleviation: A critical analysis of PPT and implications for sustainability. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 10(2–3), 144–165.
- Coles, S., & Morgan, N. (Eds.). (2010). *Tourism and inequality: Problems and prospects*. Wallingford: CABI.
- Creswell, J. W. (2009). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Dann, G., Nash, D., & Pearce, P. (1988). Methodology in tourism research. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 15, 1–28.
- Democracy Now! (2010). *Chilean economist Manfred Max-Neef on barefoot economics, poverty and why the US is becoming an "Underdeveloping Nation"*. Transcript of an interview with Manfred Max-Neef on 26 Nov. Retrieved from www.democracynow.org
- Department for International Development (DFID). (1999). *Tourism and poverty alleviation: Untapped potential*. London: DFID.
- Dibb, S. & Carrigan, M. (2013). Social marketing transformed. *European Journal of Marketing*, 47(9), 1376–1398.
- Emalung, B., Nicholls, S., & Viner, D. (2007). Implications of global climate change for tourism flows and seasonality. *Journal of Travel Research*, 45(3), 285–296.
- Erskine, L. M. & Meyer, D. (2012). Influenced and influential: The role of tour operators and development organisations in tourism and poverty reduction in Ecuador. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 20(3), 339–357.
- Ferguson, L. (2011). Promoting gender equality and empowering women? Tourism and the third Millennium Development Goal. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 14(3), 235–249.
- Goodwin, H. (2009). Reflections on 10 years of pro-poor tourism. *Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events*, 1(1), 90–94.
- Hall, C. M. (2007). Pro-poor tourism: Do tourism exchanges benefit primarily the countries of the South? *Current Issues in Tourism*, 10(2–3), 111–118.
- Hall, C. M., & Lew, A. (2009). *Understanding and managing tourism impacts: An integrated approach*. London: Routledge.
- Harrison, D. (2008). Pro-poor tourism: A critique. *Third World Quarterly*, 29(5), 851–868.

- Harrison, D. & Schipani, S. (2007). Lao tourism and poverty alleviation: Community-based tourism and the private sector. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 10(2–3), 194–230.
- Hawkins, D. E. & Mann, S. (2007). The World Bank's role in tourism development. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 34(2), 348–363.
- Hesse-Biber, S. N. (2010). *Mixed methods research: Merging theory with practice*. London: The Guilford Press.
- Holden, A., Sonne, J., & Novelli, M. (2011). Tourism and poverty reduction: An interpretation by the poor of Elmina, Ghana. *Tourism Planning & Development*, 8(3), 317–334.
- Hummel, J. & van der Dium, R. (2012). Tourism and development at work: 15 years of tourism and poverty alleviation within the SNV Netherlands Development Organisation. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 20(3), 319–338.
- Johnston, A. M. (2007). *Is the sacred for sale? Tourism and indigenous peoples* (2nd ed.). London: Earthscan.
- de Kadt, E. (1979). Social planning for tourism in the developing countries. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 6(1), 36–48.
- Kirchgeorg, M. & Winn, M. I. (2006). Sustainability marketing for the poorest of the poor. *Business Strategy and the Environment*, 15, 171–184.
- Kotler, P. (1967). *Marketing management: Analysis, planning, and control*. London: Prentice Hall.
- Koutra, C. & Edwards, J. (2012). Capacity building through socially responsible tourism development: A Ghanaian case study. *Journal of Travel Research*, 51(6), 779–792.
- Krippendorff, K. (2004). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Lapeyre, R. (2011). The Grootberg lodge partners in Namibia: Towards poverty alleviation and empowerment for long-term sustainability? *Current Issues in Tourism*, 14(3), 221–234.
- Law, J. (2009). Actor network theory and material semiotics. In B. Turner (Ed.), *The new blackwell companion to social theory* (pp. 141–158). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Law, R. & Chon, K. (2007). Evaluating research performance productivity in tourism and hospitality: The perspective of university program heads. *Tourism Management*, 28, 1203–1211.
- Lyon, K. D., & Wearing, S. (2008). Volunteer tourism as alternative tourism. In K. D. Lyons, & S. Wearing (Eds.), *Journeys of discovery in volunteer tourism* (pp. 3–11). Oxford: CABI.
- Max-Neef, M. A. (1992). *From the outside looking in: Experiences in "Barefoot Economics"*. London: Zed Books.
- McGehee, N. G., & Santos, C. A. (2005). Social change, discourse and volunteer tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 32(3), 760–779.
- McKercher, B., Law, R., & Lam, T. (2006). Rating tourism and hospitality journals. *Tourism Management*, 27, 1235–1252.
- Messerli, H. R. (2011). Transformation through tourism: Harnessing tourism as a development tool for improved livelihoods. *Tourism Planning & Development*, 8(3), 335–337.
- Mitchell, J. (2012). Value chain approaches to assessing the impact of tourism on low-income households in developing countries. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 20(3), 457–475.
- Mitchell, J., & Ashley, C. (2010). *Tourism and poverty reduction: Pathways to prosperity*. London: ODI & Earthscan.
- Moore, S. (2012). *Instead of being disgusted by poverty, we are disgusted by poor people themselves*. Retrieved February 20, 2012, from www.guardian.co.uk
- Muganda, M., Sahli, M., & Smith, K. (2010). Tourism's contribution to poverty alleviation: A community perspective from Tanzania. *Development Southern Africa*, 27(5), 629–646.
- Muse, T. (2011). *Amazon town bans tourists*. Retrieved December 20, 2012, from www.guardian.co.uk
- Neuendorf, K. A. (2002). *The content analysis guidebook*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Niemela, M. (2008). Perceptions of the causes of poverty in Finland. *Acta Sociologica*, 51(1), 23–40.
- Nunkoo, R., Smith, S. L. J., & Ramkissoon, H. (2013). Residents' attitudes to tourism: A longitudinal study of 140 articles from 1984 to 2010. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 21(1), 5–25.
- Pearce, D. (2012). *Frameworks for tourism research*. Oxford: CABI.
- Pearce, P. (2012). Tourists' written reactions to poverty in Southern Africa. *Journal of Travel Research*, 51(2), 154–165.
- Peters, M. (1969). *International tourism: The economics and development of the international tourism trade*. London: Hutchinson.
- Plummarom, A. (2012). *The politics of tourism, poverty alleviation and sustainable development*. Penang: Third World Network.
- Ravallion, M., Chen, S., & Sangraula, P. (2008). *Dollar a day revisited*. Washington, DC: WB.
- Ritzer, G., & Goodman, D. J. (2004). *Sociological theory* (6th ed.). Columbus, OH: McGraw Hill.

- Rogerson, C. M. (2006). Pro-poor local economic development in South Africa: The role of pro-poor tourism. *Local Environment*, 11(1), 37–60.
- Rogerson, C. M. (2012). The tourism-development nexus in sub-Saharan Africa: Progress and prospects. *Africa Insight*, 42(2), 28–45.
- Sachs, J. D. (2005). *The end of poverty: Economic possibilities for our time*. New York, NY: The Penguin Press.
- Sawhill, I. V. (2003). The behavioural aspects of poverty. *The Public Interest*, 153, 79–93.
- Scheyvens, R. (2007). Exploring the tourism-poverty nexus. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 10(2–3), 231–254.
- Schilcher, D. (2007). Growth versus equity: The continuum of pro-poor tourism and neoliberal governance. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 10(2–3), 166–193.
- Scott, N. (2011). *Tourism policy: A strategic review*. Contemporary Tourism Reviews. Oxford: Goodfellow.
- Snyman, S. & Spenceley, A. (2012). Key sustainable tourism mechanisms for poverty reduction and local socio-economic development in Africa. *African Insight*, 42(2), 76–93.
- Spenceley, A. & Goodwin, H. (2007). Nature-based tourism and poverty alleviation: Impacts of private sector and parastatal enterprises in and around Kruger National Park, South Africa. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 10(2–3), 255–277.
- Thomas, F. (2013). Addressing the measurement of tourism in terms of poverty reduction: Tourism value chain analysis in Lao PDR and Mali. *International Journal of Tourism Research*. doi:10.1002/jtr.1930
- Trau, A. (2012). Beyond pro-poor tourism: (Re)Interpreting tourism-based approaches to poverty alleviation in Vanuatu. *Tourism Planning & Development*, 9(2), 149–164.
- Tribe, J. (1997). The indiscipline of tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 24(3), 638–657.
- Truong, V. D. (2013). Tourism policy development in Vietnam: A pro-poor perspective. *Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events*, 5(1), 28–45.
- Truong, V. D., Hall, C. M., & Garry, T. (2014). Tourism and poverty alleviation: Perceptions and experiences of poor people in Sapa, Vietnam. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* doi: 10.1080/09669582.2013.871019.
- United Nations. (1992). *Report of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development*. Retrieved February 2013, from www.un.org
- United Nations. (2012). *The millennium development goals report 2012*. New York, NY: UN.
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). (2013). *Human development report 2013 – the rise of the South: Human progress in a diverse world*. New York, NY: UNDP.
- United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP). (2011). *Towards a green economy: Pathways to sustainable development and poverty eradication*. Nairobi, Kenya: UNEP.
- United Nations World Tourism Organization. (2007). *Increase tourism to fight poverty – new year message from UNWTO*. Madrid: UNWTO.
- United Nations World Tourism Organization. (2011a). *Policy and practice for global tourism*. Madrid: UNWTO.
- United Nations World Tourism Organization. (2011b). *Tourism towards 2030 – global overview*. Madrid: UNWTO.
- Van der Dium, V. R. & Caalders, J. (2008). Tourism chains and pro-poor tourism development: An actor-network analysis of a pilot project in Costa Rica. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 11(2), 109–125.
- Winters, P., Corral, L., & Mora, A. M. (2013). Assessing the role of tourism in poverty alleviation: A research agenda. *Development Policy Review*, 31(2), 177–202.
- Xiao, H. & Smith, S. (2006a). The making of tourism research: Insights from a social sciences journal. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 3(2), 490–507.
- Xiao, H. & Smith, S. (2006b). Case studies in tourism research: A state-of-the-art analysis. *Tourism Management*, 27, 738–749.
- Zapata, M. J., Hall, C. M., Lindo, P., & Vanderschaeghe, M. (2011). Can community-based tourism contribute to development and poverty alleviation? Lessons from Nicaragua. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 14(8), 725–749.
- Zeng, B. & Ryan, C. (2012). Assisting the poor in China through tourism development: A review of research. *Tourism Management*, 33, 239–248.

PROMOTING VOLUNTARY BEHAVIOUR CHANGE FOR SUSTAINABLE TOURISM: IN SOCIAL MARKETING WE TRUST?

(A draft of a chapter that will be published in S. Gössling, D. Scott, & C.M. Hall (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Tourism and Sustainability*. London: Routledge (**In press**).

V. Dao Truong and C. Michael Hall

Key Terms

Social marketing: the utilisation of marketing principles and methods to encourage individual and organisational behaviour change for the public good.

Demarketing: discouraging customers in general or a certain customer segment on either a temporary or permanent basis

Introduction

There is increasingly widespread recognition that most environmental problems are caused by human behaviours and thus can be mitigated by changing such behaviours (Oskamp 2000; Takahashi 2009). Major changes in individual and public behaviours and values are therefore regarded as integral to the long-term sustainable tourism (Hall 2013; Higham, Cohen, Peeters & Gössling 2013; Oskamp 2000; Peeters 2013; Takahashi 2009). For example, with respect to tourism and climate change, tourists are the part of the tourism system that by their capacity to change their behaviours rapidly are the most easily adaptable to impacts of climate change (Gössling et al. 2012; Scott et al. 2012). Therefore, there is increasing research into how to best achieve behaviour change and what variables (e.g., attitudes, beliefs, social contexts) are the most important determinants of such change (McKenzie-Mohr 2000; Oskamp 2000).

However, although attitudes and beliefs can be changed through information, educational, or economic measures, they do not necessarily lead to desirable behaviour change (Hall 2014). This is because individual behaviour choices are not only determined by personal preferences but also by the social-technical contexts, institutions and environments in which individuals are embedded (Gössling et al. 2009; Hall 2013; Kotler & Lee 2008,

2009). Education does not necessarily provide meaningful incentives in exchange for behaviour change (Kaczynski 2008). As a result increased attention has thus been given to the marketing field and to social marketing in particular, which is rooted in and utilises the tools of generic marketing to promote voluntary behaviour change, and may have an important role to play in the behavioural change process with respect to tourism and sustainability (Andreasen 2002; Hall 2014; Kotler & Lee 2008; Truong & Hall 2013). Although social marketing has demonstrated its effectiveness in various fields, it has captured surprisingly limited attention of the tourism industry and researchers (Bright 2000; Dinan & Sargeant 2000; Lane 2009; Truong & Hall 2013). Therefore, it is the purpose of this chapter to examine how and to what extent social marketing has been studied in the tourism field. It first briefly chronicles the development of social marketing and discusses its conceptual underpinnings. Then it reviews social marketing research in the tourism literature with respect to topics, perspectives, and methods. Finally, limitations to the paper are discussed and implications for further research indicated.

Social marketing: A brief history

The origin of social marketing is usually traced back to Wiebe (1951) who posed the question *Can brotherhood be sold like soap?* Wiebe (1951) suggested that a social change programme would be more likely to succeed if it were more similar to that of commercial marketing. Social marketing was then not recognised as a formal concept. However, marketing was adopted by international development agencies in efforts to distribute contraceptives (Andreasen 2006) and provide health education in developing countries (MacFadyen et al. 1999). The success of these efforts helped broaden the marketing concept to its application to social and environmental concerns (Andreasen 2006).

The 1970s was marked by the formalisation of the term *social marketing* and its early development. Kotler and Zaltman (1971: 5) defined social marketing as “the design, implementation and control of programmes calculated to influence the acceptability of social ideas and involving considerations of product planning, pricing, communication, distribution and marketing research”. However, the idea of using marketing to solve social issues was opposed by some scholars. Luck (1974) was concerned that the economic exchange concept would be threatened by an intangible product or value. A person, he argued, receiving a free service was not a customer because s/he exchanged nothing with the service provider. Some feared the power of marketing in disseminating social ideas could have substantial ethical ramifications (MacFadyen et al. 1999). Others were even afraid the social marketing concept

would threaten the reputation of marketing as it might be used to promote non-mainstream causes, or that the proposed behaviour change might not be in society's interest (Fox & Kotler 1980). Although opposition to social marketing was expressed, its popularity grew nevertheless. The result was that the social marketing concept continued to be applied in developing countries in particular. It was also redefined to embrace the marketing of ideas (Kotler & Roberto 1989) and greater consideration of ethical issues (Laczniack, Lusch & Murphy 1979).

By the 1980s, scholars were no longer concerned about the possibility of applying marketing to social issues. Instead, they paid more attention to how it should be applied (MacFadyen et al. 1999). Fox and Kotler (1980) depicted the move of social marketing from a social advertising approach to social communications and promotion. While social advertising mainly articulates information to influence attitudes and behaviours, social communications and promotion utilise personal selling and editorial support. Social marketing replaces these approaches by adding at least four elements: marketing research, product development, incentives, and facilitation. Bloom (1980) examined the ways social marketing programmes were evaluated, indicating that poor design and implementation affected many studies, leading to calls for more studies to lay a more rigorous theoretical foundation for the field (Bloom & Novelli 1981).

Research in the 1990s (e.g., Hastings & Haywood 1991) contributed to social marketing's increasing popularity in the field of public health in particular (Ling et al. 1992). Andreasen (1994: 110) provided an influential definition of social marketing as "the application of commercial marketing technologies to the analysis, planning, execution and evaluation of programmes designed to influence the voluntary behaviour of target audiences in order to improve their personal welfare and that of society of which they are a part". Although this, in turn, has led to substantial discussion as to the extent to which social marketing should be understood as a field in its own right which also influences commercial marketing theory and practice (Lefebvre 1996; MacFadyen et al. 1999).

Since 2000, social marketing has continued to be applied in various sectors. It is not only seen as an effective way of improving public health, but is also perceived to hold important potential for fostering public safety, family planning, human rights, environmental protection, and community development (Foxall et al. 2006; Truong & Hall 2013). The approach has also become extremely significant within neoliberal policy orientations in which individual freedom of choice is given priority over regulatory approaches via the creation of new social norms over time – what is sometimes referred to as nudging (Dolan et al. 2010; Thaler & Sunstein 2008).

Nevertheless, it would certainly be wrong to characterise all social marketing as operating within a neoliberal governance regime (Hall 2014). As discussed below there is a strong tradition of critical social marketing which recognises the importance of institutional regime change in seeking to encourage more sustainable forms of consumption and production (Farrell & Gordon 2012). The theoretical underpinnings of social marketing are discussed next.

Social marketing: Conceptual underpinnings

The conceptual foundations of social marketing have been a topic of debate since the term was first coined (Dann 2010; Hall 2014). MacFadyen et al. (1999) suggested that the social marketing concept consisted of four elements: audience orientation, exchanges, a long-term planning process, and the general public as the target audience. Andreasen (2002) added two more elements, namely voluntary behaviour change and competition, to constitute a set of six elements. These elements are presented below.

Voluntary behaviour change

Social marketing utilises the tools of generic marketing to solve social problems where the final goal is behaviour change (Andreasen 1994; Donovan 2011; Kotler & Lee 2008). It is unique in that it expands from the mainstream marketing domain to solve social causes (Andreasen 2002; Stead, Gordon, Angus & McDermott 2007). However, the behaviour change must be voluntary, rather than compulsory or coercionary (Donovan 2011; Stead et al. 2007). Social marketing influences people to accept a target behaviour or stop a harmful behaviour for individual and collective benefits of their own volition. Hence, without the objective or outcome of behaviour change in the target audience, programmes are not considered social marketing (Tabanico & Schultz 2007). The outcome of behaviour change is also used to evaluate the success of social marketing programmes (Andreasen 1994; Tabanico & Schultz 2007). If only a more positive attitude is seen in the target audience after intervention, a social marketing programme is not successful (Redmond & Griffith 2006). That said, voluntary behaviour change is regarded as a “bottom line” of social marketing programmes.

An exchange

Promoting behaviour change requires an exchange between social marketers and the target audience. Exchange is thus the second basic element of social marketing (Peattie & Peattie 2003; Smith 2000). It is defined as the situations where two or more parties interact with one another to gain benefits from something of value (Kotler & Zaltman 1971). Bagozzi (1975) classified exchange into restricted exchange, generalised exchange, and complex exchange.

Restricted exchange refers to the relationships between two parties. Generalised exchange involves reciprocal relationships between at least three parties where each party gives to another but receives from someone other than to whom s/he gives. Complex exchange consists of the mutual relationships between three or more parties where each party is directly engaged in at least one relationship. Skidmore (1975) indicated that individuals will engage in an exchange if the resulting awards are valued, if the exchange is likely to produce valued rewards, and if the perceived benefits outweigh the perceived costs. Thus, to encourage voluntary behaviour change, social marketers need to exchange something the target audience are interested in or want (Hastings & Saren 2003). They may even need to attach more value to the proposed behaviour so that it can be maintained by the target audience (Andreasen 2006). To this end, social marketers need to identify both internal and external barriers to the sustainable maintenance of the proposed behaviour (Tabanico & Schultz 2007).

The notion of exchange in social marketing is, however, not without problems. Since the benefits promoted by social marketers are often intangible, unforeseeable, and long-term, it is difficult to convince the target audience (Kotler & Lee 2008, 2009). It may also be difficult for social marketers to communicate the benefits of the proposed behaviour in case the target audience do not have adequate knowledge and skills to provide constructive responses. Thus, in order to promote voluntary exchange, a long-term planning process is required.

Long-term planning process

The development of a social marketing programme is long-term, continual, and consists of a number of steps (Kotler & Lee 2008). The social marketing planning process is carried out in a similar fashion to that of commercial marketing. Although there are slightly different versions of the process (see Hall 2014: 78) it is generally recognised that it starts with the description of the programme background, purpose, and focus. The internal and external environment is then analysed. This results in the segmentation of the target audience, determination of objectives and goals, and identification of competition and barriers. Next, a strategic marketing mix is developed (Table 1) and a monitoring and evaluation plan is outlined. Finally, budgets and funding sources are sought and an implementation plan completed (Kotler & Lee 2008).

Table 1. The social marketing mix

P elements	Description
Product	This element refers to the idea, behaviour, or service to be promoted to the target audience (Smith 2000). The social product consists of the core or actual product that is the benefits of behaviour change, and the supplementary product comprising of tangible objects and services to facilitate behaviour change (Kotler & Zaltman 1971; Wood 2008).
Price	The price element represents the barriers that the target audience must overcome to accept and maintain the proposed social product (Kotler & Zaltman 1971; Smith & Strand 2008). It may include the actual time they spend, the effort they make, the physical discomfort they experience, the opportunity cost they incur, and/or the status loss they may suffer.
Place	Refers to where the target audience perform the proposed behaviour (Bloom & Novelli 1981; Kotler & Lee 2008). To encourage this performance, social marketers may make the places closer, more accessible, and more appealing to the target audience (Kotler & Lee 2008).
Promotion	This element refers to the ways the social product is communicated to the target audience. It includes advertising, public relations, audience orientation, education, counselling, community organisation, and interpersonal support (Kotler & Zaltman 1971; Smith 2000). It also includes interactive media and electronic channels (Wood 2008).
Politics/Policy	Apart from the above four main Ps, a social marketing mix may include politics and/or policy, especially when the support of policy-makers, political parties, interest groups and/or community activists is required to ensure successful behaviour change (Andreasen 2002; Smith 2000).

However, it is more difficult to conduct social marketing as opposed to commercial marketing because it involves encouraging long-term behavioural change as opposed to product purchase within a more complex and, sometimes, contested environment (Kotler & Zaltman 1971). First, it is more difficult to define behaviour and its benefits. Second, it is harder to generate demands for that behaviour. Third, it is harder to reach the target audience (MacFadyen et al. 1999). Whilst commercial marketing seeks to meet shareholders' objectives, social marketing aims to bring about collective welfare for society overall. This long-term vision is an important advantage of social marketing (Andreasen 1994). Yet, it makes social marketing more challenging because the benefits of the proposed behaviour are

not direct and foreseeable in the short-term. One way to overcome this difficulty is to conduct effective audience research and segmentation.

Audience research and segmentation

The fourth element of social marketing is audience research and segmentation. This is because social marketing is audience-focused where the target audience are the active participants of the change process (Gordon 2011; Smith 2000). For social marketers, audience research provides insights into the audience's needs, wants, attitudes, perceptions, and behaviours (Donovan & Henley 2010) as well as factors influencing their choices. For marketing organisations, it allows them to optimise the resources of their own and their partners (Maibach 2003). Generally, audience research in social marketing requires more in-depth analyses and approaches than in commercial marketing because of the complex environments within which it is situated (Donovan & Henley 2010).

After audience research, a process of segmentation is undertaken (Smith & Strand 2008). It is defined as the division of audience into homogenous segments within which similar strategies are adopted (Kotler & Lee 2009). The number of segments does vary. A social marketing programme may consist of only one or several segments. These segments are common in terms of age, income, geographic locations, needs, wants, motivations, values, or behaviours (Kotler & Lee 2008, 2009). One or more of these variables may be chosen or combined to ensure that people of the same segments have similar behaviours and those of different segments demonstrate different behaviours. The segmentation should also ensure segment sizes are reasonably large so that a marketing mix can be developed effectively.

Not only individuals, but also wider publics

As well as individuals as the target audience (downstream level), social marketing can be adopted to change the behaviour of a wider range of publics. This means to ensure the success of any social marketing programme, the behaviour of other people relevant to the target audience also needs to change (Andreasen 1994; Gordon 2011; Kotler & Lee 2009). These people may include interest groups, the media, stakeholders, organisations, and policy-makers (Donovan & Henley 2010; Gordon 2011). Referred to as the “upstream” level, these people and organisations to some extent control the social and institutional context in which individual behaviour choices are made (Gordon 2011; Kotler & Lee 2008). Targeting the upstream level also helps social marketers avoid being criticised for blaming their own target audience, whose behaviours are not always under their control. It potentially makes

downstream efforts less manipulative and overcome structural barriers to change. That said, social marketing could be more comprehensive by targeting both downstream and upstream levels, a factor that may be especially important in responding to climate change or waste management for example (Hall 2014).

Maibach (2003), in contrast, argues that social marketing is not about influencing law and policy makers who enforce regulations to achieve behaviour change. Andreasen (1994), while acknowledging the efficacy of coercion, claims that it is not part of social marketing. However, Donovan (2011: 11) contends that social marketing should include legal, and policy strategies because it exists in “a sea of regulations”. Laws and policies are part of the working environment for social marketers and are part of the context in which target behaviours are motivated (Donovan 2011). Smith and Strand (2008) even ascribe the failure of social marketing programmes to the exclusion of regulatory measures, implying that policies and regulations should be a component of social marketing. Yet, targeting the “upstream” level often requires in-depth research to inform policies and regulations, where lobbying and media advocacy plays an important role (Gordon 2011), as well as becoming more sensitive to the political implications of social marketing strategies (Hall 2014).

Competition

The sixth element fundamental to social marketing is competition (Smith 2000). Competition always exists because the ultimate goal of social marketing is voluntary behaviour change. It may be an undesirable/less-desirable behaviour that the target audience tend to continue or an alternative to the proposed behaviour. At the upstream level, competition may occur between policies proposed by social marketers and other policies with their advocates (Maibach 2003). Andreasen (1994) classified social competition into four levels: desire competition, generic competition, service form competition, and enterprise competition. Despite acknowledging this useful approach, Peattie and Peattie (2003) argued that competition was still examined from a commercial perspective. Expanding on the idea of desire competition, they considered social marketing “a battle of ideas”. In this “battle”, competitive ideas emerge in four ways: counter-marketing (because social marketers advocate behaviour opposite to commercial marketers), social discouragement (this may consist of social values and peer pressure), apathy (which prevents change or behaviour adoption), and individuals’ involuntary disinclination to change their behaviour (Peattie & Peattie 2003). Hence, social marketers need to understand not only the perceived benefits and costs related to the proposed behaviour, but also the perceived benefits and costs related to the competing

behaviour (Maibach 2003; Smith & Strand 2008). They also need to move beyond individual audience to influence other relevant stakeholders because competition occurs at both downstream and upstream levels as noted. The next section will proceed to review social marketing research in the tourism literature.

Social marketing research in tourism

Although social marketing has been applied in a number of different areas where behavioural modification and change has been sought, it has received relatively scant research attention in tourism and related literature. However, since 2000 a small but growing number of scholars have sought to explore the potential of social marketing for enhancing societal welfare, including with respect to sustainable tourism development (George & Frey 2010; Shang et al. 2010; Truong & Hall 2013). These studies have targeted both individual (e.g., tourists) and organisational change (e.g., tourism businesses). A summary of tourism research on social marketing by topics, perspectives, and methods is given in Table 2.

Table 2. Tourism studies on social marketing by topics, perspectives, and methods

	Description	Examples
Topics^a	General social marketing discourse	Bright (2000); Kaczynski (2008); Spigner & Havitz (1993)
	Attract and manage (potential) pro-environmental tourists	Beeton (2001); Beeton & Benfield (2002); Beeton & Pinge (2003); Dinan & Sargeant (2000); Kim et al. (2006); Mair & Laing (2013)
	Gender equity (in tourism advertising)	Chhabra et al. (2011); Sirakaya & Sonmez (2000)
	Sustainable/responsible tourism operation and management	George & Frey (2010); McKenzie-Mohr et al. (2012); Shang et al. (2010)
Perspectives^b	Downstream (e.g., tourists)	Beeton (2001); Beeton & Benfield (2002); Beeton & Pinge (2003); Dinan & Sargeant (2010); Peeters et al. (2009)
	Upstream (e.g., destination marketing organisations)	Chhabra et al. (2011); George & Frey (2010); Shang et al. (2010); Sirakaya & Sonmez (2000)
Methods	Qualitative	Beeton (2001); Beeton & Benfield (2002); Beeton & Pinge (2003); Bright (2000); Kaczynski (2008); Truong & Hall (2013)
	Quantitative	Chhabra et al. (2011); George & Frey (2010); Kim et al. (2006); Shang et al. (2010)

^a Research topics refer to what was studied

^b Research perspectives indicate who was studied (e.g., individuals or organisations)

The term *social marketing* was first mentioned in a tourism context by Cowell (1979) although the first substantive examination of the concept was Bright (2000) who argued that the potential to improve the well-being of individuals and society has not been fully embraced by traditional profit-driven marketing. Marketing techniques, which can be used by governmental and non-governmental organisations, may have some potential to enhance social benefits, leading to increased attention to social marketing. Given the multi-faceted benefits of recreation and tourism activities, Bright (2000) argued that the use of social marketing to communicate these to the wider public would help to improve the quality of life for individuals and society. Bright (2000) also stated that social marketing is consistent with the social or public welfare philosophy that drives the work of public recreation professionals, implying that tourism naturally fits in well with the social marketing concept given that it is considered one form of recreation.

Social marketing may focus on the identification and attraction of markets that best match the characteristics of a tourism product. Dinan and Sargeant (2000) argued that tourism development might produce severe economic and environmental impacts on local communities if it attracted the “wrong” type of tourist whose demonstrated behaviours were incongruent with local contexts. It was thus crucial that sustainable practices be adopted and the nature of the destination respected. Dinan and Sargeant (2000) proposed two strategies. The first concentrated on the segment of sustainable tourists who were attracted primarily by the natural beauty and historical values of the destinations, while the second focused on the least sustainable tourists where a social marketing mix was used to encourage them to adopt a visitors’ code of conduct. Likewise, Peeters et al. (2009) suggest the use of social marketing to influence tourists’ behaviour in choosing destinations, travel modes, and consumption patterns, where research and segmentation is conducted to understand tourists’ needs, wants, and motivations.

Kotler and Levy (1971: 76) defined demarketing as ‘that aspect of marketing that deals with discouraging customers in general or a certain class of customers in particular on either a temporary or permanent basis’. In tourism Beeton (2001) introduced the concept of demarketing to move Australians away from involvement in gambling and towards spending money on domestic holidays. This process consists of two steps: first, demarketing is adopted to discourage gambling behaviour; second, remarketing is utilised to encourage holiday taking behaviour. This shift may benefit local communities since the gambling expenditure will accrue to local tourism organisations through domestic holidays (Beeton & Pinge 2003). More significantly with respect to environmental dimensions of sustainability Benfield (2001)

and Beeton and Benfield (2002) argued that demarketing could also be used as a form of demand control for environmentally sensitive areas. Such an approach was also suggested by Wearing et al. (2007) for developing a greater focus on more targeted audience and ecological messages in national park marketing, which reflected earlier work by Hall and McArthur with respect to natural and cultural heritage management.

The potential contribution of social marketing to the development of environmentally friendly consumption behaviours is an increasingly significant theme in the tourism literature (Gössling, Hultman et al. 2009; Peeters et al. 2009). Kim et al. (2006) examined the psychological constructs of visitors attending the International Festival of Environmental Film and Video held in Brazil and proposed social marketing as means of improving participants' environmental awareness. They indicated that the highly pro-environmental group of visitors was more likely to attend the festival given its thematic relevance to their existing psychological constructs. Kim et al. (2006) suggested that by adopting social marketing approaches, the balance between the host community's long-term environmental interests, sociocultural constructs, and customers' expectations could be maintained. However, the behavioural impacts of the psychological constructs were not examined. In addition, other factors influencing the target visitors' choice of behaviour (e.g., peer influence) were ignored. Similarly, drawing on the Transtheoretical Model and social marketing to examine the pro-environmental intentions and behaviours of attendees at an Australian event, Mair and Laing (2013) find that the event attracted individuals who were already committed to sustainable behaviour. However, they suggest that events can be an important context for promoting pro-environmental behaviour change. Although such elements of social marketing as behaviour change, exchanges, and upstream targeting were utilised, the competition element was missed (Mair & Laing 2013).

Tourism research on social marketing also targets behaviour change in tourism operators. Shang et al. (2010) note that a number of hotels have adopted social marketing to encourage customers to reuse towels and linen while also reducing operating costs and improving their image (see also McKenzie-Mohr et al. 2012). Shang et al. (2010) reveal that customers' reuse intentions are much influenced by the presence of a reuse request card printed with hotel logos. They also indicate that benefits to towel and linen reuse programmes could be maximised if the savings are donated to charity, meaning that hotel guests' behavioural change could be enhanced if the hotels were more conscious of social concerns, rather than their own interest. George and Frey (2010) examine social marketing to encourage tour

business owners in Cape Town to adopt positive attitudes and behaviours towards responsible tourism practices. They indicate that although local tourism firms do not hold negative attitudes towards responsible tourism practices, their performance is not satisfactory. Barriers facing these firms in implementing change are also identified. Social marketing strategies are thus needed to enable change in order to support the future sustainable development of tourism (George & Frey 2010).

Social marketing has also been applied to tourism advertising. Sirakaya and Sonmez (2000) revealed that women are often depicted in a traditional way as submissive, subordinate, and dependent on men, and noted the potential implications of social marketing to change the behaviour of tourism marketing organisations towards promoting gender equity. Similarly, Chhabra et al. (2011) indicated that tourism advertising organisations could adopt social marketing to dispel gendered images in their advertising with the generation of two main benefits. First, tourism organisations can better attract women as a lucrative target segment. Second, they can improve their members and customers' awareness about the ethics of marketing (Chhabra et al. 2011).

In exploring the idea of adopting social marketing in the domain of public leisure services by distinguishing it from cognate concepts (e.g., societal marketing – a concern with the social effects of commercial marketing), Kaczynski (2008) argued that social marketing is a more superior and credible mechanism for leisure services delivery. While differences between societal and social marketing are well noted in the marketing literature (Andreasen 1994; MacFadyen et al. 1999), they may still need to be considered by tourism scholars.

Truong and Hall (2013) examined the social marketing characteristics of tourism projects in Vietnam using Andreasen's (2002) six benchmark criteria (as discussed above). The authors found 21 projects that matched all the criteria, suggesting that some tourism projects might have already been developed using the social marketing concept, although they did not label themselves in social marketing terms. Truong and Hall (2013) suggested that social marketing might be a contributing approach to natural resource conservation and poverty alleviation in tourist destinations. It could be applied to encourage behaviour change in both destination residents and authorities. Truong and Hall (2013) also noted that more empirical studies are needed to demonstrate the effectiveness of social marketing in tourism.

In 2013, the Journal of Sustainable Tourism (JOST) devoted a special issue to behaviour change mechanisms and sustainable tourism (Volume 21, Issue 7). This was the result of the 2012 *Psychological and Behavioural Approaches to Understanding and Governing Sustainable Tourism Mobility* workshop held in Freiburg (Germany), where some attention was drawn to social marketing (Hall 2013; Higham et al. 2013; Peeters 2013). Yet, none of the papers in JOST provided any empirical findings that proved the effectiveness of social marketing in tourism (although see Eijgelaar and de Kinderen (2014) and Le-Klähn et al. (2014) in a volume from the workshop). There may be several major reasons for this. First, social marketing is still a new topic in tourism studies. Second, actual evidence of tourism projects that were implemented using the social marketing concept is lacking. Most previous research was conceptual in nature, which sought to explore the theoretical aspects of social marketing. Although some studies were methodologically informed, they were not actual applications of social marketing in tourism. Instead, they aimed to develop and test variables/hypotheses in the context of social marketing applications (e.g., George & Frey 2010; Shang et al. 2010). Third, there is a possible lack of understanding of social marketing as well as generic marketing and business overall (Lane 2009).

The absence of many empirical tourism studies on social marketing should not be cause to underestimate the utility of social marketing or to claim the irrelevance between the two fields. Rather, it demonstrates that tourism researchers and practitioners have thus far paid comparatively limited attention to social marketing although they may be aware of the concept. Indeed, the lack of interplay between the fields is evidenced in Truong and Hall's (2013) arguably being the first empirical tourism paper in the social marketing literature. This situation, therefore, offers important opportunities for further research.

Further research

As discussed above, social marketing remains a new area for tourism researchers. A majority of tourism studies on social marketing are conceptual or otherwise tested variables/hypotheses and provided implications for social marketing. Evidence demonstrating the relationship between social marketing and tourism is sparse and tends to be attraction based (Hall 2014). Therefore, empirical studies are needed to examine the effectiveness and relative value of social marketing and add to the evidence base of social marketing itself. This is particularly significant in two ways. First, it will draw greater attention of tourism researchers and practitioners to social marketing as a potential means of promoting

sustainable tourism. Second, it will generate greater awareness of social marketing scholars and practitioners to the field of tourism.

Yet, the lack of empirical studies that demonstrate the effectiveness of social marketing in tourism does raise the question as to some tourism projects using social marketing principles but not labelling themselves as such. As indicated earlier, Truong and Hall (2013) found 21 tourism projects implemented in Vietnam that matched the six benchmark criteria proposed by Andreasen (2002), although they did not consider themselves social marketing interventions. This finding has two important implications. First, it suggests that tourism practitioners (e.g., project consultants/managers) might have used several or all elements of the social marketing concept to guide project design, implementation, and evaluation but did not refer it to the field. Second, it helps to reinforce the earlier argument that social marketing remains under-researched in tourism studies. Nevertheless, as Truong and Hall (2013) noted, the labelling and evaluation of social marketing interventions largely depends on the applicable criteria. Therefore, tourism researchers may also contribute to devising appropriate sets of key criteria for labelling and evaluating social marketing interventions within a tourism-specific context. That said, both theoretical and practical contributions to the social marketing debate on the part of tourism researchers are needed and should be encouraged.

Previous research suggests that effective social marketing campaigns tend to use theories and models to guide their interventions (Thackeray & Neiger 2000). These theories and models are rooted in different disciplines such as social psychology (e.g., Transtheoretical Model), sociology (e.g., Social Learning Theory), and economics (e.g., Supply Chain Theory) (Luca & Suggs 2013; Hall 2014), but their application in social marketing interventions is often uneven and poor (Luca & Suggs 2013; Hall 2014). Similarly, while some tourism studies on social marketing (e.g., Mair & Laing 2013) reported using theory, most others were not theoretically informed. Therefore, future research must examine the utility of theories and models in developing behavioural interventions with respect to sustainability. Answers may be sought to the questions as to if the presence of an underlying theory or model necessarily results in effective interventions, if effective interventions necessarily constitute proof of a theory's value, and if the effectiveness of a theory or model can be easily tested. It may then be possible to add theory and model use as a criterion to Andreasen's (2002) six social marketing benchmarks.

Social marketing research in the tourism field has focused on motivating behaviour change at both the downstream (e.g., tourists) and upstream (e.g., corporate) levels. Yet, the critical dimension of social marketing has rarely been examined. Critical social marketing “is concerned with the application of marketing knowledge, concepts, and techniques to enhance social as well as economic ends. It is also concerned with analysis of the social consequence of marketing policies, decisions and activities (Lazer & Kelly 1973: ix; see also Gordon 2011). A critical approach to social marketing may hold substantial potential for improving marketing theory and practice, informing downstream and upstream social marketing, and adding to the evidence base of social marketing itself (Gordon 2011). Within the tourism context, a critical social marketing approach may be useful given that the business and policy strategies of most tourism organisations primarily focus on increased tourist numbers and industry growth that may further increase the environmental impacts of tourism. Critical social marketing may also help contribute to improving gender equity in tourism development (Chhabra et al. 2011). Critical social marketing may also be combined with upstream social marketing, for instance, to raise public awareness about the effects of airlines’ marketing policies (e.g., frequent flyer programmes) on tourists’ increasing mobility and consumption (Hibbert et al. 2013). Appropriate policy changes may thus be advocated.

Further research is also possible to investigate social marketing as a contributor to poverty alleviation via tourism given its recognised role in sustainable tourism development (Zapata et al. 2011). If poverty is ascribed to ineffective policies and structural arrangements, then upstream social marketing may be important. In case poverty is due to the attitudes and behaviours of poor people (Amsden 2012), downstream social marketing may be significant in promoting positive behaviour change in these people (Kotler & Lee 2009). This is particularly important in the tourism context given that some tourist destinations are home to poor ethnic minorities who depend on natural resources for subsistence, resulting in rapid environmental degradation (UNEP 2011). Poor people’s subsistence lifestyles also contribute to widening incomes gaps in society, cultivating social inequality, and threatening economic viability (Kirchgeorg & Winn 2006). Criticising poor people’s lifestyles is neither to deny the hardships that they suffer nor to provide a sole explanation for the poverty situation in any destination. Rather, it emphasises that poverty has detrimental effects on economic, social, and environmental sustainability and affects resilience. To this end, alternative livelihoods are needed and tourism businesses can help to improve poor people’s living conditions, thereby contributing to sustainable tourism overall (UNEP 2011). Upstream social marketing

may therefore help to change the self-interested practices of tourism businesses towards socially responsible business practices.

Conclusion

Sustainability is one of the most important issues facing the world today and will remain so in the future. Environmental sustainability is arguably the focal point of sustainable development, although equal importance is also attached to economic and social sustainability. Changes in individual and public behaviours are essential for sustainability. These behaviour changes are even more significant when it is recognised that most environmental problems facing the world today are primarily the consequences of human behaviours (McKenzie-Mohr 2000; Oskamp 2000; Takahashi 2009).

Tourism is central to the debate over global sustainability due to both the contributions it can make to sustainable development and the challenges it may present. First, this is due to the dynamics and growth of the sector and its economic importance to national economies and local destinations. Second, tourism often involves the participation and interactions between tourists, the industry, the environment, and local communities. To achieve a sustainable tourism future, behaviour changes in all stakeholders are required, and social marketing may hold important potential given its demonstrated effectiveness in differing sectors. However, there is a lack of studies exploring the potential contribution of social marketing to sustainable tourism with a large majority of research being conceptual in nature. This paper supports Lane's (2009: 26) observation that social marketing remains a relative "blank" for sustainable tourism researchers. It emphasises that this "blank" has since not been substantially "filled" by tourism researchers. Therefore, the question posed in the title of this chapter appears to be unanswered, the main barrier, which is also the most important limitation, being the absence of empirical findings needed to demonstrate the efficacy of social marketing in tourism. Nevertheless, this chapter contributes to shaping debate about future research on social marketing and potentially engaging tourism scholars in broadening the research agenda, particularly beyond educational, economic, technological (and other) approaches and into social marketing as a promising contributor to sustainable tourism.

Core Works

Andreasen, A.R. (2006) *Social Marketing in the 21st Century*, Thousand Oaks: Sage. Beeton, S. and Benfield, R. (2002) 'Demand control: The case for demarketing as a visitor and environmental management tool', *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 10: 497-513.

Hall, C.M. (2013) 'Framing behavioural approaches to understanding and governing sustainable tourism consumption: Beyond neoliberalism, "nudging" and "green growth"?', *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 21: 1091-1109.

Hall, C.M. (2014) *Tourism and Social Marketing*, Abingdon: Routledge.

Truong, V.D. and Hall, C.M. (2013) 'Social marketing and tourism: What's the evidence?', *Social Marketing Quarterly*, 19: 110-135.

References

Amsden, A.H. (2012) 'Grass roots war on poverty', *World Economic Review*, 1: 114-131.

Andreasen, A.R. (1994) 'Social marketing: Its definition and domain', *Journal of Public Policy and Marketing*, 3: 108-114.

Andreasen, A.R. (2002) 'Marketing social marketing in the social change marketplace', *Journal of Public Policy and Marketing*, 21: 3-13.

Andreasen, A.R. (2006) *Social Marketing in the 21st Century*, Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Bagozzi, R.P. (1975) 'Marketing as exchange', *Journal of Marketing*, 39: 32-39.

Beeton, S. (2001) 'Cyclops and Sirens – Demarketing as a proactive response to negative consequences of one-eyed competitive marketing', in *Travel and Tourism Research Association 32nd Annual Conference Proceedings*, Idaho: Travel and Tourism Research Association.

Beeton, S. and Benfield, R. (2002) 'Demand control: The case for demarketing as a visitor and environmental management tool', *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 10: 497-513.

Beeton, S. and Pinge, I. (2003) 'Casting the holiday dice: Demarketing gambling to encourage local tourism', *Current Issues in Tourism*, 6: 309-322.

Benfield, R. (2001) "'Good things come to those who wait": sustainable tourism and timed entry at Sissinghurst Castle Garden, Kent', *Tourism Geographies*, 3: 207-217.

Bloom, P.N. (1980) 'Evaluating social marketing programs: Problems and prospects', in R.P. Bagozzi, K.L. Bernhardt, P.S. Busch, D.W. Cravens, J.F. Hair, and C.A. Scott (eds) *Marketing in the 80's*, Chicago, IL: American Marketing Association.

Bloom, P.N. and Novelli, W.D. (1981) 'Problems and challenges in social marketing', *Journal of Marketing*, 45: 79-88.

Bright, A.D. (2000) 'The role of social marketing in leisure and recreation management', *Journal of Leisure Research*, 32: 12-17.

- Chhabra, D., Andereck, K., Yamanoi, K. and Plunkett, D. (2011) 'Gender equity and social marketing: An analysis of tourism advertisements', *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing*, 28: 111-128.
- Cowell, D. (1979) 'Marketing in local authority sport, leisure and recreation centres', *Local Government Studies*, 5(4): 31-43.
- Dann, S. (2010) 'Redefining social marketing with contemporary commercial marketing definitions', *Journal of Business Research*, 63: 147-153.
- Dinan, C. and Sargeant, A. (2000) 'Social marketing and sustainable tourism: Is there a match?', *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 2: 2-14.
- Dolan, P., Hallsworth, M., Halpern, D., King, D. and Vlaev, I. (2010) *MINDSPACE: Influencing behaviour through public policy*. London: Cabinet Office and Institute for Government.
- Donovan, R. (2011) 'Social marketing's mythunderstandings', *Journal of Social Marketing*, 1: 8-16.
- Donovan, R. and Henley, N. (2010) *Principles and Practice of Social Marketing: An International Perspective*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Eijgelaar, E. and de Kinderen, D. (2014) 'Carbon offsetting: Motives for participation and impacts on travel behaviour', in S.A. Cohen, J.E.S. Higham, S. Gossling, P. Peeters (eds) *Understanding and Governing Sustainable Tourism Mobility: Psychological and behavioural approaches*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Farrell, T. and Gordon, R. (2012) 'Critical social marketing: Investigating alcohol marketing in the developing world', *Journal of Social Marketing*, 2: 138-156.
- Fox, K.F.A. and Kotler, P. (1980) 'The marketing of social causes: The first ten years', *Journal of Marketing*, 44: 24-33.
- Foxall, G.R., Castro, J., James, V., Yani-de-Soriano, M. and Sigurdsson, V. (2006) 'Consumer behavior analysis and social marketing: The case of environmental conservation', *Behavior and Social Issues*, 15: 101-124.
- George, R. and Frey, N. (2010) 'Creating change in responsible tourism management through social marketing', *South African Journal of Business Management*, 41: 11-23.
- Gordon, R. (2011) 'Critical social marketing: Definition, application and domain', *Journal of Social Marketing*, 1: 82-99.

- Gössling, S. (2002) 'Global environmental consequences of tourism', *Global Environmental Change*, 12, 283-302.
- Gössling, S., Hall, C.M. and Weaver, D. (eds) (2009) *Sustainable Tourism Futures: Perspectives on Systems, Restructuring and Innovation*, London: Routledge.
- Gössling, S., Hultman, J., Haglund, L., Källgren, H. and Revahl, M. (2009) 'Voluntary carbon offsetting by Swedish air travellers: towards the co-creation of environmental value?', *Current Issues in Tourism*, 12: 1-19.
- Gössling, S., Scott, D., Hall, C.M., Ceron, J-P. and Dubois, G. (2012) 'Consumer behaviour and demand response of tourists to climate change', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 39: 36-58.
- Hall, C.M. (2013) 'Framing behavioural approaches to understanding and governing sustainable tourism consumption: Beyond neoliberalism, "nudging" and "green growth"?'', *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 21: 1091-1109.
- Hall, C.M. (2014) *Tourism and Social Marketing*, Abingdon: Routledge.
- Hall, C.M. and McArthur, S. (1998) *Integrated Heritage Management*. Norwich: The Stationery Office.
- Hastings, G. and Haywood, A.J. (1991) 'Social marketing and communication in health promotion', *Health Promotion International*, 6: 135-145.
- Hastings, G. and Saren, M. (2003) 'The critical contribution of social marketing: Theory and practice', *Marketing Theory*, 3: 305-322.
- Hibbert, J., Dickinson, J.E., Gössling, S. and Curtin, S. (2013) 'Identity and tourism mobility: An exploration of the attitude-behaviour gap', *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 21: 999-1016.
- Higham, J., Cohen, S.A., Peeters, P. and Gössling, S. (2013) 'Psychological and behavioural approaches to understanding and governing sustainable mobility', *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 21: 949-967.
- Kaczynski, A.T. (2008) 'A more tenable marketing for leisure services and studies', *Leisure Sciences*, 30: 253-272.
- Kim, H., Borges, M.C. and Chon, J. (2006) 'Impacts of environmental values on tourism motivation: The case of FICA, Brazil', *Tourism Management*, 27: 957-967.
- Kirchgeorg, M. and Winn, M.I. (2006) 'Sustainability marketing for the poorest of the poor', *Business Strategy and the Environment*, 15: 171-184.

- Kotler, P. and Lee, N.R. (2008) *Social Marketing: Influencing Behaviors for Good*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Kotler, P. and Lee, N.R. (2009) *Up and Out of Poverty: The Social Marketing Solutions*, Upper Saddle, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Kotler, P. and Roberto, E.L. (1989) *Social Marketing – Strategies for Changing Public Behavior*, New York, NY: The Free Press.
- Kotler, P. and Zaltman, G. (1971) 'Social marketing: An approach to planned social change', *Journal of Marketing*, 35: 3-12.
- Laczniak, G.R., Lusch, R.F. and Murphy, P.E. (1979) 'Social marketing: Its ethical dimensions', *Journal of Marketing*, 43: 29-36.
- Lane, B. (2009) 'Thirty years if sustainable tourism: Drivers, progress, problems – and the future', in G. Gössling, C.M. Hall and D. Weaver (eds) *Sustainable Tourism Futures: Perspectives on Systems, Restructuring and Innovation*, London: Routledge.
- Lazer, W. and Kelley, E.J. (1973) *Social Marketing: Perspectives and Viewpoints*, Homewood, IL: Richard D. Irwin.
- Le-Klähn, D., Michael Hall, C.M. and Gerike, R. (2014) 'Promoting public transport in tourism', in S.A. Cohen, J.E.S. Higham, S. Gössling, P. Peeters (eds) *Understanding and Governing Sustainable Tourism Mobility: Psychological and behavioural approaches*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Lefebvre, R.C. (1996) '25 years of social marketing: Looking back to the future', *Social Marketing Quarterly*, 3: 51-58.
- Ling, J.C., Franklin, B.A.K., Lindsteadt, J.F. and Gearon, S.A.N. (1992) 'Social marketing: Its place in public health', *Annual Review of Public Health*, 13: 341-362.
- Luca, N.R. and Suggs, L.S. (2013) 'Theory and model use in social marketing health interventions', *Journal of Health Communication*, 18: 20-40.
- Luck, D.J. (1974) 'Social marketing: Confusion compounded', *Journal of Marketing*, 38: 70-72.
- MacFadyen, L., Stead, M. and Hastings, G. (1999) 'A synopsis of social marketing', *Health Promotion International*, 9: 59-63.
- Maibach, E.W. (2003) 'Explicating social marketing: What is it, and what is not it?', *Social Marketing Quarterly*, 8: 7-13.

- Mair, J. and Laing, J.H. (2013) 'Encouraging pro-environmental behaviour: The role of sustainability-focused events', *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, DOI: 10.1080/09669582.2012.756494.
- McKenzie-Mohr, D. (2000) 'Promoting sustainable behaviour: An introduction to community-based social marketing', *Journal of Social Issues*, 56: 543-554.
- McKenzie-Mohr, D., Schultz, P.W., Lee, N.R. and Kotler, P. (2012) *Social Marketing to Protect the Environment: What Works*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage
- Oskamp, S. (2000) 'Psychological contributions to achieving an ecologically sustainable future for humanity', *Journal of Social Issues*, 56: 373-390.
- Peattie, S. and Peattie, K. (2003) 'Ready to fly solo? Reducing social marketing's dependence on commercial marketing theory', *Marketing Theory*, 3: 365-385.
- Peeters, P.M. (2013) 'Developing a long-term global tourism transport model using a behavioural approach: Implications for sustainable tourism policy making', *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 21: 1049-1069.
- Peeters, P., Gössling, S. and Lane, B. (2009) 'Moving towards low-carbon tourism: New opportunities for destinations and tour operators', in S. Gössling, C.M. Hall and D.B. Weaver (eds) *Sustainable Tourism Futures: Perspectives on Systems, Restructuring and Innovations*, London: Routledge.
- Redmond, E.C. and Griffith, C.J. (2006) 'A pilot study to evaluate the effectiveness of a social marketing-based consumer food safety initiatives using observation', *British Food Journal*, 108: 753-770.
- Scott, D., Gössling, S. and Hall, C.M. (2012) *Tourism and Climate Change*, Abingdon: Routledge.
- Shang, J., Basil, D.Z. and Wymer, W. (2010) 'Using social marketing to enhance hotel reuse programs', *Journal of Business Research*, 63: 166-172.
- Sirakaya, E. and Sonmez, S. (2000) 'Gender images in state tourism brochures: An overlooked area in socially responsible tourism marketing', *Journal of Travel Research*, 38: 353-362.
- Skidmore, W. (1975) *Theoretical Thinking in Sociology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Smith, W.A. (2000) 'Social marketing: An evolving definition', *American Journal of Health Behaviour*, 24: 11-17.
- Smith, W.A. and Strand, J. (2008) *Social marketing: A resource guide for social change professionals*, Washington, DC: Academy for Educational Development.

- Stead, M., Gordon, R., Angus, K. and McDermott, L. (2007) 'A systematic review of social marketing effectiveness', *Health Education*, 107: 126-191.
- Tabanico, J.J. and Schultz, P.W. (2007) 'Community-based social marketing', *BioCycle*, August: 41-47.
- Takahashi, B. (2009) 'Social marketing for the environment: An assessment of theory and practice', *Applied Environment Education & Communication*, 8: 135-145.
- Thackeray, R. and Neiger, B.L. (2000) 'Establishing a relationship between behavior change theory and social marketing: Implications for health education', *Journal of Health Education*, 31: 331-335.
- Thaler, R. H. and Sunstein, C. R. (2008) *Nudge: Improving decisions about health, wealth and happiness*. London: Yale University Press.
- Truong, V.D. and Hall, C.M. (2013) 'Social marketing and tourism: What's the evidence?', *Social Marketing Quarterly*, 19: 110-135.
- United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) (2011) *Towards a Green Economy: Pathways to Sustainable Development and Poverty Eradication*. Geneva: UNEP.
- Wearing, S., Archer, D. and Beeton, S. (2007) *The sustainable marketing of tourism in protected areas*, Gold Coast, Australia: Sustainable Tourism Cooperative Research Centre.
- Wiebe, G.D. (1951) 'Merchandising commodities and citizenship on television', *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 15: 679-691.
- Wood, M. (2008) 'Applying commercial marketing theory to social marketing: A tale of 4Ps (and a B)', *Social Marketing Quarterly*, 14: 76-85.
- Zapata, M. J., Hall, C. M., Lindo, P. and Vanderschaeghen, M. (2011) 'Can community-based tourism contribute to development and poverty alleviation?' *Current Issues in Tourism*, 14: 725-749.

PRO-POOR TOURISM: REFLECTIONS ON PAST RESEARCH AND DIRECTIONS FOR THE FUTURE

(A draft of a chapter that will be published in S. Gössling, D. Scott, & C.M. Hall (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Tourism and Sustainability*. London: Routledge (**In press**).

V. Dao Truong

Suggested key words	Explanation
Pro-poor tourism	This is the main focus of the chapter
Poverty alleviation	This chapter reviews research connecting tourism with poverty alleviation
Sustainable development	Alleviating poverty serves the various goals of sustainable development
Content analysis	This is the main method used in this chapter

Introduction

Poverty alleviation is an important task in many countries. At the 2000 Millennium Summit, the United Nations (UN) adopted the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), where the first goal is to halve the number of poor people by 2015. According to a UN report, in developing countries the proportions of people living on less than US\$1.25/day fell from 47% in 1990 to 24% in 2008. The World Bank (WB) estimates that the global poverty rate at US\$1.25/day fell in 2010 to less than half its 1990 value, meaning that the first target of the MDGs will have been achieved before 2015. However, it also suggests that about one billion people worldwide will still be living on less than US\$1.25/day in 2015 (UN, 2012).

As one of the fastest growing industries, tourism has been perceived as an important contributor to economic growth and poverty alleviation (UN World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO), 2011). The policy debate over the tourism-poverty nexus led to the emergence of the PPT concept in 1999 which aims to “increase the net benefits for the poor from tourism” and ensures that “tourism growth contributes to poverty reduction” (Ashley, Roe, & Goodwin, 2001, p. viii). The UNWTO adopted the PPT concept, endorsing the Sustainable Tourism-Eliminating Poverty Initiative in 2003, and regarded poverty alleviation as a “natural extension” of its concern for harnessing tourism’s pivotal role in sustainable development (UNWTO, 2011). The UNWTO also considered 2007 a critical year where tourism was consolidated as a key agent in the anti-poverty front and a primary tool for sustainable development (UNWTO, 2007).

That poverty alleviation is placed at the centre of the tourism agenda not only reflects significant changes in the UNWTO’s stance as a UN specialised agency but also indicates its

increased perception of the importance of poverty alleviation to sustainable tourism and sustainable development overall. Although the notion of sustainable tourism and its parental concept of sustainable development may be interpreted differently (Butler, 1999), it is acknowledged that sustainability can only be achieved when each component or dimension embraced is attained individually and jointly (Kirchgeorg & Winn, 2006). Meanwhile, poverty is detrimental to economic viability, social equity, and environmental integrity as it contributes to widening income gaps and increasing social unrest. Poor people's daily struggle for survival also tends to result in environmental degradation, particularly within the tourism context where many important resources are associated with sites of conservation significance such as national parks and nature reserves. That said, poverty is a barrier to sustainable tourism and the call to improve tourism's contributions to poverty alleviation serves the goal of sustainable development at large.

Although the PPT concept was not coined until 1999, the pro-poor potential of tourism had been discussed in academic articles published before 1985. De Kadt (1979) indicated that tourism brings about jobs, backward linkages with agriculture and other sectors and provides opportunities, particularly for young people and women. It also improves the quality of life for poor people through funding basic facilities, education and training. However, the contribution of tourism to poverty alleviation remains debatable (Pleumarom, 2012) although quantifiable evidence has been documented (Mitchell, 2012) and pathways highlighted through which the benefits of tourism can be maximised for poor people (Mitchell & Ashley, 2010). Several reviews have also indicated important gaps (Goodwin, 2009; Zeng & Ryan, 2012) and critiques directed at the theoretical foundations of PPT (Harrison, 2008). Although these are useful reviews and critiques, none of them has assessed the theoretical and methodological bases of PPT research. This raises the need for a systematic evaluation of the extant PPT literature if guidance is to be sought for future research. Indeed, reviewing past research not only provides an overview of the progress achieved in a particular field but also identifies gaps and extends prior studies (Creswell, 2009). In addition, evaluating previous research efforts reveals the theoretical awareness, methodological sophistication, and the direction of research in a field of study (Hesse-Biber, 2010; Krippendorff, 2004).

Therefore, this chapter examines the development of PPT research over a 15-year period, from 1999 to 2013. Drawing upon a content analysis (CA) of published journal articles, it seeks to answer the following questions: How many journal articles on PPT have been published? Which country or region has attracted most attention? What are the theoretical

frameworks and research methods used by tourism scholars? What is the potential for the future development of PPT research?

Methodology

Refereed journal articles were analysed since they are considered essential communication channels for researchers (Creswell, 2009; Xiao & Smith, 2006). The author browsed each issue of tourism journals chosen on basis of McKercher, Law, and Lam's (2006) study. Google Scholar and Scopus databases were also used. Article titles were first investigated. In many cases, these titles were very suggestive that they dealt specifically with PPT. In other cases, the author examined their abstracts, key words, and full length to ensure that relevant articles were retrieved. The searches continued up to the end of April 2013.

The chosen articles were then investigated using the CA method that is among the most important research techniques in the social sciences (Krippendorff, 2004) and in tourism studies in particular (Nunkoo, Smith, & Ramkissoon, 2013; Xiao & Smith, 2006). Each article was read through, with particular attention being given to its theoretical underpinnings, data gathering and processing methods, and discussions of research findings. An article was considered "atheoretical" if it was not framed around a specific theoretical framework. It was regarded as "theoretical" if it explicitly utilised at least a theory. Theory is a "body of logically interconnected propositions which provides an interpretative basis for understanding phenomena" (Dann, Nash, & Pearce, 1988, p. 4). The theoretical awareness of a study can be assessed in terms of the criteria of understanding, prediction and falsifiability. While the criteria of prediction and falsifiability are subject to debate, they may be considered important to the evaluation of progress in the realm of theory (Dann et al., 1998). An article was deemed "qualitative" if it used qualitative methods to collect, analyse and present data (e.g. observation, interview, NVivo). In contrast, it was considered "quantitative" if it utilised quantitative methods (e.g. survey, experiment, SPSS). A "mixed method" label was attached if both qualitative and quantitative methods were combined. In addition, an article was considered a review if it dealt with untested hypotheses and/or propositions and reviewed the PPT literature (Nunkoo et al., 2013).

Findings

Number of articles published

Up to the end of April 2013, 142 academic articles were retrieved. A further examination resulted in the exclusion of 20 articles. Therefore, 122 articles were analysed in this chapter.

These articles are divided into three main periods, each of which is five years long (Figure 1). The last period only covers up to the end of April 2013 as noted.

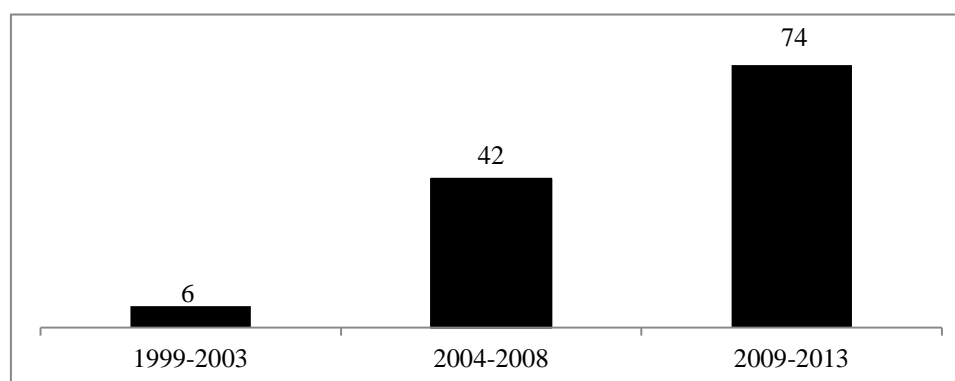


Figure 1. Growth of PPT articles

In the first period, only six articles were published with a poverty focus since PPT was then very new to tourism researchers. Most early PPT papers were released by the PPT Partnership in the form of working papers. The number of PPT articles increased by seven times between 2004 and 2008 (42 articles). From 2009 to 2013, 74 articles were published with a PPT focus, where 2012 accounted for 32.4% (24 articles), followed by 2011 with 23 articles (31%). This confirms that more tourism scholars are interested in PPT research. It also suggests that PPT research has not reached a point of academic saturation. Twenty articles were published in *Current Issues in Tourism*, followed by *Development South Africa* (13), *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* (11), *Tourism Planning & Development* (11), and *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research* (8). Both *Annals of Tourism Research* (ATR) and *Tourism Management* (TM) published only eight articles (four each) with an explicit focus on PPT over the examined period. Although they are among the oldest and the highest ranked in the tourism field (McKercher et al., 2006), they are not specifically dedicated to PPT. ATR is driven by theoretical constructs, while TM is concerned with planning and management issues. Other journals (e.g. *Current Issues in Tourism*), although emerged much later, embrace various aspects of tourism, including poverty alleviation. Indeed, these journals have featured PPT in their special issues, which are not found in both ATR and TM.

PPT research by region

Of the 122 articles examined, 101 articles were case studies of tourist destinations (86 single case studies and 15 multiple case studies). Two articles discussed the WB's role in promoting PPT (Ferguson, 2011; Hawkins & Mann, 2007). The remaining 19 articles were general discussions of PPT and, as noted, reviewed previous PPT research. The number of

case studies increased across regions over time. This is perhaps because tourism is a place-specific activity and hence a destination-focused industry. Case study is thus among the predominant approaches to tourism research, including research on tourism policy (Scott, 2011) and residents' attitudes towards tourism (Nunkoo et al., 2013). Africa was the case study site for over half of the total articles considered, followed by Asia and the Pacific (Table 1). Of the 15 multiple case studies, only one (Thomas, 2013) covered two countries (Laos and Mali) in two different regions (Asia and Africa). Therefore, each country was considered to constitute half of the article.

Table 1. Geographic distribution of PPT research

Period	1999-2003	2004-2008	2009-2013	No. of articles	%
Africa	4	14	41.5	59.5	58.9
Asia-Pacific	0	9	15.5	24.5	24.2
Americas	0	6	7	13	12.9
Europe	1	1	2	4	4.0
Total	5	30	66	101	100

That Africa attracted a substantial amount of PPT research can be ascribed to several reasons. First, Africa is home to the largest number of poor people worldwide, where 47% of the total population lives on less than US\$1.25 a day (UN, 2012). Second, it was a focus of projects undertaken by the PPT Partnership until this organisation was closed. Third, Africa was the WB's second highest fund beneficiary, both in terms of project numbers and total values (Hawkins & Mann, 2007). As the WB has recently resumed its tourism focus, Africa is still the top prioritised beneficiary as indicated by the number of on-going tourism projects (Messerli, 2011). Fourth, a significant shift has been seen among African governments where poverty reduction policies have attached importance to the tourism sector and new tourism strategies have placed a greater focus on poverty alleviation (Ashley & Goodwin, 2007). Among African countries considered, South Africa was much researched with nearly 40% (23) of the total articles published on the region.

The amount of PPT research on the Asia-Pacific region is less than half of that on the African region, although it is much larger than that on American and European regions. China comes first with six articles, followed by Laos (4), Vietnam (2), Thailand (2), Fiji (2) and Vanuatu (2). This finding reinforces the observation of other scholars (Scott, 2011; Truong, 2013) that little research attention has been given to Southeast Asian countries,

where 17% of the total population lives in poverty (UN, 2012). In addition, surprisingly far fewer studies (4.3%) have examined PPT in Europe and Americas. While absolute poverty, i.e. lack of food, often occurs in less developed countries, relative poverty is found in developed societies which is sometimes termed urban poverty (Sachs, 2005). Although tourism has been perceived as a tool of poverty alleviation in developing countries, it is unclear if the same can be said in the context of developed nations.

Use of theories and models

Of the 122 articles considered, 44 articles clearly referred to theory and model use, while the remaining 78 articles did not explicitly report using a specific theoretical framework or model (Table 2). This suggests that PPT research is lacking rigorous theoretical foundations.

Table 2. Theories, models, and frameworks underpinning PPT research

	Freq.	%
Atheoretical	78	63.9
Theoretical^{ab}	44	36.1
Value chain analysis framework	8	17.8
General equilibrium model	4	8.9
(Neo)Liberalism	4	8.9
Corporate social responsibility	3	6.7
Social accounting matrix	3	6.7
(Socio)Political theory	3	6.7
Actor-network theory	2	4.4
Participatory development approach	2	4.4
Social capital theory	2	4.4
Feminist theory	2	4.4
Community corporate joint-venture model	1	2.2
Mobilisation developmentalism	1	2.2
Anti-poverty model	1	2.2
Globalisation theory	1	2.2
Structuration and institutional theory	1	2.2
Emotional intelligence theory	1	2.2
Supply curve theory	1	2.2
Rapid rural appraisal model	1	2.2
Positive psychology theory	1	2.2
Tourism policy-making model	1	2.2
Tourist area lifecycle model	1	2.2
Social exchange theory	1	2.2

^a Only explicitly reported theories, models, and frameworks were counted

^b Zapata et al. (2011) combined the lifecycle model and actor-network theory

Of the 44 articles that clearly stated theory and model use, only one article (2.3%) was published between 1999 and 2003. This number increased to 13 articles (29.5%) from 2004 to 2008 and 30 articles (68.2%) between 2009 and 2013. This finding suggests that researchers increasingly use theories and frameworks in their PPT studies. Theoretical triangulation was only found in Zapata et al.'s (2011) study where the lifecycle and actor-network theories were combined. The value chain and sustainable livelihood approach is being used more frequently in recent PPT research (Lapeyre, 2011; Mitchell, 2012). This was considered a partial convergence of the (neo)liberal, critical and alternative approaches to tourism development that were perceived to place a strong focus on privatisation and market development (Hummel & van der Dium, 2012) and hence were critiqued by some scholars (Hall, 2007; Pleumarom, 2012; Scheyvens, 2007; Schilcher, 2007). The adoption of this approach may also be construed as a response to the demand for more holistic measures that are capable of embracing various pro-poor effects of tourism on host communities.

Table 2 suggests that theories and frameworks used in PPT research are characterised by low frequencies but are diverse in origin. Some theories originated from economics (e.g. supply curve theory), psychology (e.g. positive psychology), while others emerged from political sciences (e.g. socio-political theory), or sociology (e.g. globalisation theory). Although some are widely recognised theories, others appear to represent an approach, a model, or a framework rather than a theory as defined earlier in this chapter (e.g. value chain analysis). Corporate social responsibility, for instance, is not a theory in itself. Rather, it is considered an approach or orientation. However, its theoretical underpinnings are rooted in marketing theory. It was originally referred to in Kotler's 1967 *Marketing Management* book as societal marketing, by which Kotler meant socially responsible marketing, and has now been known as corporate social responsibility. Similarly, while coined a *theory*, actor-network theory is perhaps more an approach or orientation than a theory (Law, 2009). Synthesising or criticising theories, frameworks, and models used in (pro-poor) tourism research is thus a challenge. This indicates both the multidisciplinary (Pearce D., 2012) and interdisciplinary (Tribe, 1997) nature of (pro-poor) tourism as a field of study.

Theories and models underpinning PPT studies are not only diverse in origin but also in usage. This is largely due to the diversity of the disciplines from which these theories and models emerged and their relevance to the objective of specific PPT studies. For instance, the actor-network theory was used to trace the ordering of and relationships between people and organisations in tourism development (van der Dium & Caalders, 2008). Meanwhile, Pearce

P. (2012) drew on the positive psychology theory to examine tourists' written reactions to the poverty situation in tourist destinations. Erskine and Meyer (2012) emphasised the importance of the structuration theory in discussing the roles of tourism as a means of poverty alleviation. While it is recognised that theories and models provide a useful framework for research studies (Pearce, D. 2012), in the context of PPT research questions may be raised as to why studies that did not explicitly report theory and model use outweighed those that were theoretically informed. This leads to difficulties in identifying common theories or models that effectively guide PPT research.

Research methods used in PPT studies

The selected PPT articles were also examined concerning their use of research methods, data gathering and analytical techniques. Of the 122 articles considered, three articles were reviews, 86 articles were qualitative in nature, 15 articles used quantitative methods to collect and analyse data, and the remaining 18 articles applied a mixed methods approach. Although quantitative methods were used in 33 articles (15 + 18), only 21 instances of quantitative statistical techniques were recorded (Table 3). This is because a number of quantitative articles did not explicitly state the use of quantitative statistical techniques while multiple quantitative statistical techniques were reported in others. SPSS and social accounting matrices were used more frequently than others. Desk review, focus groups, interviews, and observations were extensively used in qualitative articles where data was often coded by themes determined by the researchers. The popularity of these qualitative methods confirms that the interpretive paradigm has dominated research on PPT. This is similar to studies on tourism policy (Scott, 2011) but is in contrast to research on residents' attitudes towards tourism where quantitative methods have prevailed (Nunkoo et al., 2013).

Table 3. Types of research and analytical techniques used in PPT studies

	No. of articles (N = 122)	%
Reviews	3	2.5
Qualitative	86	70.5
Quantitative	15	12.3
Mixed methods	18	14.7
<i>Quantitative data analysis techniques (N = 21)</i>		
Applied general equilibrium and social marketing matrix	5	23.8
SPSS	5	23.8
Descriptive statistics	2	9.5
t-test	2	9.5
chi-square	2	9.5
Factor analysis	1	4.8
Satellite accounting	1	4.8
Geographically weighted regression	1	4.8
Co-integration	1	4.8
Analytical hierarchy process modelling	1	4.8

Table 4 indicates that all articles published between 1999 and 2003 were qualitative in nature. This is understandable as the PPT concept was new at the time and hence PPT articles primarily discussed its conceptual and definitional issues. In the five years that followed, quantitative methods were used in 16.7% of all PPT articles published, although qualitative methods were still dominant. The mixed methods approach was adopted by 7.1% of all PPT articles published in this period. The use of the mixed methods approach witnessed a three-fold increase in the period 2009-2013 as compared to the preceding period, while a slight decline was found in both qualitative and quantitative methods.

Table 4. Use of research methods over time

	Qualitative (N = 86)		Quantitative (N = 15)		Mixed (N = 18)	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
1999-2003	6	100	0	0	0	0
2004-2008	32	76.2	7	16.7	3	7.1
2009-2013	48	67.6	8	11.3	15	21.1

Overall, Table 4 indicates that qualitative articles dominated across all the periods examined. It also suggests that researchers attach increased importance to both quantitative and mixed methods approaches. The evidence demonstrates the methodological evolution of PPT research from purely descriptive and conceptual discourse towards a greater focus on data quantification. It also proves that the challenge of providing quantifiable pro-poor impacts of tourism has been increasingly perceived by tourism scholars.

Future research

Several areas have emerged from this chapter that may hold important potential for future research. As indicated above, a majority of PPT research was qualitative. The PPT literature is lacking measures that quantify tourism's pro-poor impacts. This is a challenge for two main reasons. First, tourism is a destination-based activity and hence its impacts vary by destination. As a result, there is possibly no "one-size-fits-all" measure that can be applied in all host communities. Second, tourism is a complex industry that involves many other industries. It is difficult to separate the actual contributions of tourism from those of other industries. Therefore, without appropriate quantitative measures, even after the first target of the MDGs has been achieved as mentioned previously, little is known of the contribution made by the tourism sector to attaining that target and to sustainable development overall. This suggests that Goodwin's (2009) call for quantifiable evidence of tourism's pro-poor impact remains valid for further PPT studies. Further research is also possible to examine how theories and models are used to guide PPT studies. It may then be possible to identify common theories or models that effectively inform PPT studies.

Of the 101 articles dealing with case studies, 86 were single case studies. Only 15 articles were multiple case studies. PPT research has proliferated in the African context, while little attention has been given to less developed countries in Asia and First World countries. It is thus difficult to make cross comparisons of the pro-poor effects of tourism since each case study differs in terms of aims, objectives, and methods used. Even when comparisons were made, they tended to focus on the impacts of PPT on the same community before and after interventions. Comparisons of the pro-poor impacts of tourism between a target community and a (untargeted) community are lacking. Therefore, questions may be raised as to the difference in income, employment, and/or living standards between the community that receives PPT interventions and the community that is not the target beneficiary of such interventions. For this reason, research into the pro-poor impacts of

tourism between a target community and a (untargeted) community may help to provide clearer evidence of the roles of tourism as a means of poverty alleviation.

The chosen 122 articles analysed PPT at various scales. Twenty-four articles examined PPT from a macro perspective, where policy implications were indicated (Bowden, 2005; Schilcher, 2007). Sixty-four articles considered PPT from a micro perspective with references to income distribution, employment, capacity building, or discrimination (Akyeampong, 2011; Koutra & Edwards, 2012). PPT was also studied at a corporate level (Lapeyre, 2011; Spenceley & Goodwin, 2007). However, few PPT studies considered the voice of poor people impacted by tourism (Holden, Sonne, & Novelli, 2011). Indeed, Pleumarom (2012) argues that PPT discourses and initiatives are of very little value if the perceptions and opinions of poor people are not duly considered. Research indicates that poor people often perceive poverty differently from academics and policy-makers. For example, poor people in Laos and Vietnam tend to define poverty as a lack of rice (Harrison & Schipani, 2007; Truong, Hall, & Garry, 2014), while the poor in Ghana perceive poverty as a lack of incomes and/or opportunities (Holden et al., 2011). Johnston (2007) suggests that some indigenous peoples think of themselves as being poor only when they lose their land, are displaced and relocated due to tourism development. Even in such cases, they are not necessarily poor in spiritual terms. The evidence suggests that poverty is multidimensional, complex, and different by context. The difficulty in addressing the poverty issues within the tourism context is compounded by the destination nature of tourism itself. It is for this reason that Max-Neef, a Chilean economist, called for a “barefoot” approach to poverty alleviation, that is, only through the experiences of poor people that poverty measures can be identified effectively (Democracy Now! 2010). The same can be said of PPT research: it is only by giving voice to poor people that meaningful approaches to alleviating poverty through tourism become clearer and more likely to succeed.

Allowing poor people to raise their voice may also help to gain insights into the root causes of poverty. Research indicates that poverty can be ascribed to external (e.g. structural barriers, market constraints) (Begovic, Matkovic, Mijatovic, & Popovic, 2007) and/or internal (e.g. poor people’s behaviours) factors (Amsden, 2012; Moore, 2012). Yet the causes of poverty have been generally neglected in the PPT literature (Pleumarom, 2012). Instead of questioning whether tourism can be an appropriate measure for poverty alleviation, a majority of tourism scholars tend to focus on how tourism can alleviate poverty. This is perilous because, instead of understanding poverty and benefiting poor people, some

organisations may adopt PPT to promote market growth and privatisation (Scheyvens, 2007; Schilcher, 2007). Powerful stakeholders may take advantage of PPT to serve their own interests (Chok, Macbeth, & Warren, 2007). For example, in the southern Indian state of Kerala, a Responsible Tourism Initiative was launched by the local authority and the Indian section of the International Centre for Responsible Tourism. In 2006, the World Tourism and Travel Council chose the Initiative as one of the nominees for the Tourism for Tomorrow Awards. This led to a street demonstration organised by local poor people and civil society organisations, who claimed that Kerala was not a model of sustainable, responsible or pro-poor tourism of any international standard, but instead served the interests of the local authority and the private sector (Pleumarom, 2012). In the small Amazonian town of Nazareth that joins Colombia, Brazil, and Peru, local guards armed with traditional sticks stand at the town entrance to prohibit tourists from entering the town. The argument is that despite the growth of tourism, only meagre benefits have trickled down to poor indigenous people. Most tourism profits have instead accrued to private travel agencies (Muse, 2011).

Although the tourism-poverty nexus has been examined from differing perspectives as discussed above, a dearth of research has explored how tourists would react towards the poverty situation in host destinations and thus what they would do to contribute to lifting poor people out of poverty (Pearce P., 2012). Pearce P. (2012) suggests that tourists' emotional reactions may generate meaningful behaviours including willingness to spend time on directly assisting poor people and pro-poor projects, purchasing and promoting of products and services produced by poor communities. Further research into tourists' perceptions of poverty and actions towards poverty alleviation may, therefore, be an interesting theme and may contribute to building a larger and more holistic body of knowledge with respect to tourism and poverty alleviation. In short, all the noted areas provide meaningful themes for future research.

Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to analyse the content of 122 refereed journal articles on PPT published from 1999 to 2013. It indicates that PPT has attracted increased attention of tourism researchers as evidenced by the growing number of academic articles published on the topic. A considerable number of PPT studies have focused on African countries, while less research attention has been paid to those in Asia and, more specifically, Southeast Asia. Much less research has been carried out in developed nations. PPT research has evolved from conceptual discourse towards a greater emphasis on theoretical and methodological bases.

Although qualitative methods have prevailed in PPT research, both quantitative and mixed methods approaches are gaining prominence. It is predicted that more PPT research based on quantitative and mixed methods will be published in the future. Therefore, tourism's pro-poor impacts may be demonstrated by quantifiable data, which may then help to indicate more clearly the contributions of tourism to sustainable development overall.

Despite the potential contributions this chapter may make to the PPT literature and to sustainable tourism research, its limitations should be acknowledged. This chapter was only limited to refereed journal articles published in the English language. Books, project reports, and working papers were not examined. Therefore, other reviews may be conducted on these documents and on the PPT literature published in other languages. It is also possible that this paper omitted several valuable articles due to restricted subscriptions. In addition, the identification of theories, frameworks, and/or models underpinning a journal article (Table 2) may be subject to debate given the blurred boundary between these concepts in tourism research (Pearce D., 2012). The determination of what is a framework and/or a model is thus a challenge. This challenge is even compounded by the nature of tourism research itself that attracts scholars from a wide range of majors and disciplines. Furthermore, the inclusion or exclusion of articles that may have pro-poor implications in a discussion that is otherwise primarily focused on ecotourism or community-based tourism may explain the (conceptual) ambiguity of and the interrelationships between various forms of tourism. It may also explain why reviewing the PPT literature may become a daunting task and thus a debate over its actual size. Therefore, further research is warranted.

References

- Akyeampong, O.A. (2011). Pro-poor tourism: Residents' expectations, experiences and perceptions in the Kakum National Park area of Ghana. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 19(2), 197-213.
- Amsden, A. H. (2012). Grass roots war on poverty. *World Economic Review*, 1(1), 114-131.
- Ashley, C. & Goodwin, H. (2007). *'Pro-poor Tourism': What's Gone Right and What's Gone Wrong?* London: Overseas Development Institute.
- Ashley, C., Roe, D., & Goodwin, H. (2001). *Pro-poor tourism strategies: Making tourism work for the poor*. London: Pro-poor Tourism Partnership.
- Begovic, B., Matkovic, G., Mijatovic, B., & Popovic, B. (2007). *From Poverty to Prosperity: Free Market based Solution*. Belgrade: Centre for Liberal-Democratic Studies.

- Bowden, J. (2005). Pro-poor tourism and the Chinese experience. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research*, 10(4), 379-398.
- Butler, R. (1999). Sustainable tourism: A state-of-the-art review. *Tourism Geographies*, 1(1), 7-25.
- Chok, S., Macbeth, J., & Warren, C. (2007). Tourism as a tool for poverty alleviation: A critical analysis of PPT and implications for sustainability. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 10(2-3), 144-165.
- Creswell, J.W. (2009). *Research design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches* (3rd Ed.). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Dann, G., Nash, D., & Pearce, P. (1988). Methodology in tourism research. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 15, 1-28.
- De Kadt, E. (1979). Social planning for tourism in the developing countries. *Annals of Tourism Research*, Jan/Mar, 36-48.
- Democracy Now! (2010). *Chilean Economist Manfred Max-Neef on Barefoot Economics, Poverty and Why the US is Becoming an 'Underdeveloping Nation'*. Transcript of an interview with Manfred Max-Neef on 26 Nov. Retrieved from www.democracynow.org.
- Erskine, L.M. & Meyer, D. (2012). Influenced and influential: The role of tour operators and development organisations in tourism and poverty reduction in Ecuador. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 20(3), 339-357.
- Ferguson, L. (2011). Promoting gender equality and empowering women? Tourism and the third Millennium Development Goal. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 14(3), 235-249.
- Goodwin, H. (2009). Reflections on 10 years of pro-poor tourism. *Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events*, 1(1), 90-94.
- Hall, C.M. (2007). Pro-poor tourism: Do tourism exchanges benefit primarily the countries of the South? *Current Issues in Tourism*, 10(2-3), 111-118.
- Harrison, D. (2008). Pro-poor tourism: A critique. *Third World Quarterly*, 29(5), 851-868.
- Harrison, D. & Schipani, S. (2007). Lao tourism and poverty alleviation: Community-based tourism and the private sector. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 10(2-3), 194-230.

- Hawkins, D.E. & Mann, S. (2007). The World Bank's role in tourism development. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 34(2), 348-363.
- Hesse-Biber, S.N. (2010). *Mixed Methods Research: Merging Theory with Practice*. London: The Guilford Press.
- Holden, A., Sonne, J., & Novelli, M. (2011). Tourism and poverty reduction: An interpretation by the poor of Elmina, Ghana. *Tourism Planning & Development*, 8:3, 317-334.
- Hummel, J. & van der Dium, R. (2012). Tourism and development at work: 15 years of tourism and poverty alleviation within the SNV Netherlands Development Organisation. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 20(3), 319-338.
- Johnston, A.M. (2007). *Is the Sacred for Sale? Tourism and Indigenous Peoples* (2nd ed.). London: Earthscan.
- Kirchgeorg, M. & Winn, M.I. (2006). Sustainability marketing for the poorest of the poor. *Business Strategy and the Environment*, 15, 171-184.
- Kotler, P. (1967). *Marketing Management: Analysis, Planning, and Control*. London: Prentice Hall.
- Koutra, C. & Edwards, J. (2012). Capacity building through socially responsible tourism development: A Ghanaian case study. *Journal of Travel Research*, 51(6), 779-792.
- Krippendorff, K. (2004). *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology* (2nd Ed.). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Lapeyre, R. (2011). The Grootberg lodge partners in Namibia: Towards poverty alleviation and empowerment for long-term sustainability? *Current Issues in Tourism*, 14(3), 221-234.
- Law, J. (2009). Actor network theory and material semiotics. In B. Turner (Ed.), *The New Blackwell Companion to Social Theory* (pp. 141-158). Malden: Blackwell.
- McKercher, B., Law, R., & Lam, T. (2006). Rating tourism and hospitality journals. *Tourism Management*, 27, 1235-1252.
- Messerli, H.R. (2011). Transformation through tourism: Harnessing tourism as a development tool for improved livelihoods. *Tourism Planning & Development*, 8(3), 335-337.

- Mitchell, J. (2012). Value chain approaches to assessing the impact of tourism on low-income households in developing countries. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 20(3), 457-475.
- Mitchell, J. & Ashley, C. (2010). *Tourism and Poverty Reduction: Pathways to Prosperity*. London: ODI & Earthscan.
- Moore, S. (2012). *Instead of being disgusted by poverty, we are disgusted by poor people themselves*. Retrieved February 2012, from www.guardian.co.uk.
- Muse, T. (2011). *Amazon town bans tourists*. Retrieved December 2012, from www.guardian.co.uk.
- Nunkoo, R., Smith, S.L.J., & Ramkissoon, H. (2013). Residents' attitudes to tourism: a longitudinal study of 140 articles from 1984 to 2010. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 21(1), 5-25.
- Pearce, D. (2012). *Frameworks for Tourism Research*. Oxfordshire: CABI.
- Pearce, P. (2012). Tourists' written reactions to poverty in Southern Africa. *Journal of Travel Research*, 51(2), 154-165.
- Pleumarom, A. (2012). *The politics of tourism, poverty alleviation and sustainable development*. Penang: Third World Network.
- Sachs, J.D. (2005). *The end of poverty: Economic possibilities for our time*. New York: The Penguin Press.
- Scheyvens, R. (2007). Exploring the tourism-poverty nexus. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 10(2-3), 231-254.
- Schilcher, D. (2007). Growth versus equity: The continuum of pro-poor tourism and neoliberal governance. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 10(2-3), 166-193.
- Scott, N. (2011). *Tourism policy: A Strategic Review*. Contemporary Tourism Reviews. Oxford: Goodfellow Publishers.
- Spenceley, A. & Goodwin, H. (2007). Nature-based tourism and poverty alleviation: Impacts of private sector and parastatal enterprises in and around Kruger National Park, South Africa. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 10(2-3), 255-277.
- Thomas, F. (2013). Addressing the measurement of tourism in terms of poverty reduction: Tourism value chain analysis in Lao PDR and Mali. *International Journal of Tourism Research*. DOI: 10.1002/jtr.1930.

- Tribe, J. (1997). The indiscipline of tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 24(3), 638-657.
- Truong, V.D. (2013). Tourism policy development in Vietnam: A pro-poor perspective. *Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events*, 5(1), 28-45.
- Truong, V.D., Hall, C.M., & Garry, T. (2014). Tourism and poverty alleviation: Perceptions and experiences of poor people in Sapa, Vietnam. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, DOI: 10.1080/09669582.2013.871019.
- United Nations (UN). (2012). *The Millennium Development Goals Report 2012*. New York: UN.
- United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO). (2007). *Increase Tourism to Fight Poverty – New Year message from UNWTO*. Madrid: UNWTO.
- United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO). (2011). *Policy and Practice for Global Tourism*. Madrid: UNWTO.
- Van der Duijn, V.R. & Caalders, J. (2008). Tourism chains and pro-poor tourism development: An actor-network analysis of a pilot project in Costa Rica. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 11(2), 109-125.
- Xiao H. & Smith, S. (2006). The making of tourism research: Insights from a social sciences journal. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 3(2), 490-507.
- Zeng, B. & Ryan, C. (2012). Assisting the poor in China through tourism development: A review of research. *Tourism Management*, 33, 239-248.

Five core works relating to the chapter topic:

1. Goodwin, H. (2009). Reflections on 10 years of pro-poor tourism. *Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events*, 1(1), 90-94.
2. Harrison, D. (2008). Pro-poor tourism: A critique. *Third World Quarterly*, 29(5), 851-868.
3. Pleumarom, A. (2012). *The politics of tourism, poverty alleviation and sustainable development*. Penang: Third World Network.
4. Scheyvens, R. (2007). Exploring the tourism-poverty nexus. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 10(2-3), 231-254.
5. Schilcher, D. (2007). Growth versus equity: The continuum of pro-poor tourism and neoliberal governance. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 10(2-3), 166-193.

Pro-poor tourism: The case of Sapa, Vietnam

Sapa is located in the mountainous province of Lao Cai. It is home to the Hoang Lien Son mountain range that includes the Fansipan peak. Administratively, Sapa consists of Sapa town and 17 communes. In terms of ethnicity, apart from Kinh people (lowland Vietnamese), Sapa is home to some poor ethnic minority groups. Due to its natural beauty and traditional ethnic cultures, Sapa is among the most popular tourist attractions in Vietnam. However, it still has substantial levels of poverty.

In 2009, Sapa was chosen as a project site of the *Northern Highlands Trail* project. Specific project interventions include public-private partnership, policy support, product creation, and market demand promotion. Important outcomes include the establishment of a handicraft market in Ta Phin village and the improved capacity of the private and public sectors. About 1,153 ethnic households are providing tourism services, 71 of which are homestay owners. Sixty percent of local tour guides are ethnic minority women.

Interviews and observations conducted by the author indicated that most local people are rice farmers and handicraft sellers. Of the 20 poor people interviewed, 19 people stated that tourism has benefited the rich and the tour operators. While some respondents in Ta Phin village could participate in project meetings, those in Lao Chai and Ta Van villages could not. Local women often chase tourists to sell handicrafts, resulting in discomforts for tourists and conflicts between handicraft sellers. The handicraft market in Ta Phin was abandoned because it was located at the edge of the village where very few tourists visited. Because of aggressive sellers, tour operators and hotels now stop sending their guests to Ta Phin. Although local people do not consider tourism a means of poverty alleviation, they all wish to become homestay owners or tour guides, suggesting that they regard tourism as the only alternative livelihood outside of their main rice crop. Although they may be a potential work force for tourism, they may place considerable pressure on tourism since they lack professional skills and work experiences particularly the handicraft sellers. While an appropriate approach is needed to involve more local poor people in tourism and allow them to voice their opinions and expectations, alternative livelihoods other than tourism are required. Measures should also be taken to stop handicraft sellers from chasing tourists. These issues require an insightful understanding of local poor people and what they need, want, and prioritise in their everyday life.

This case study draws on SNV's *Case study Asia* (retrieved May 2012, from www.snvworld.org), and interviews and observations conducted by the author (see Truong et al., 2014).

Social Marketing Quarterly

<http://smq.sagepub.com/>

Social Marketing: A Systematic Review of Research 1998–2012

V. Dao Truong

Social Marketing Quarterly 2014 20: 15 originally published online 10 January 2014

DOI: 10.1177/1524500413517666

The online version of this article can be found at:

<http://smq.sagepub.com/content/20/1/15>

Published by:



<http://www.sagepublications.com>

On behalf of:

NSMC



FHI360



Additional services and information for *Social Marketing Quarterly* can be found at:

Email Alerts: <http://smq.sagepub.com/cgi/alerts>

Subscriptions: <http://smq.sagepub.com/subscriptions>

Reprints: <http://www.sagepub.com/journalsReprints.nav>

Permissions: <http://www.sagepub.com/journalsPermissions.nav>

Citations: <http://smq.sagepub.com/content/20/1/15.refs.html>

>> [Version of Record](#) - Jan 30, 2014

[OnlineFirst Version of Record](#) - Jan 10, 2014

Social Marketing: A Systematic Review of Research 1998–2012

Social Marketing Quarterly

2014, Vol. 20(1) 15–34

© The Author(s) 2014

Reprints and permission:

sagepub.com/journalsPermissions.nav

DOI: 10.1177/1524500413517666

smq.sagepub.com



V. Dao Truong^{1,2}

Abstract

This article examines the development of social marketing research from 1998 to 2012. Drawing upon journal and database searches, 867 articles were retrieved and then analyzed in the light of the content analysis method. The article indicates that social marketing has captured increasing research attention, as evidenced by the growing number of articles published. U.S.- and U.K.-based researchers and institutions have contributed significantly to shaping knowledge in the field. Public health has predominantly been the research topic and hence more articles have been published in health-related journals than in marketing-related journals. Substantial research has focused on downstream social marketing, while the upstream and critical dimension has been given limited attention. Behavior change theories underlying social marketing studies were not always reported, leading to difficulties in identifying common factors in effective interventions. Social marketing research has been dominated by qualitative methods, although both quantitative and mixed methods are gaining prominence. Limitations to the article are discussed and gaps for further research indicated.

Keywords

marketing, behavior change, health promotion, systematic review, content analysis

Introduction

Conducting systematic analyses of the state of knowledge development is fundamental to evaluating the academic growth and maturity of any given discipline (Williams & Plouffe, 2007). Reviewing past research not only provides an overview of the progress achieved in a particular field of study but also identifies gaps and extends prior studies (Creswell, 2009). Furthermore, assessing previous research efforts reveals the theoretical awareness, methodological sophistication, and the direction of research in a field of study (Hesse-Biber, 2010; Krippendorff, 2004; Williams & Plouffe, 2007). Reviewing refereed journal articles is perhaps one of the most effective ways to position the academic landscape of a field of study (Wilkie & Moore, 2003). Although this process often involves the collection and analysis of a substantial amount of data and is thus time-consuming, it is important to benchmarking

¹ Department of Management, Marketing and Entrepreneurship, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand

² Department of Tourism and Hospitality, National Economics University, Hanoi, Vietnam

Corresponding Author:

V. Dao Truong, Department of Management, Marketing and Entrepreneurship, University of Canterbury, Christchurch 8140, New Zealand.

Email: van.truong@pg.canterbury.ac.nz

the progress of a discipline while also informing direction for future research with respect to topical, theoretical, and methodological trends (Williams & Plouffe, 2007). It is for these reasons that researchers have attempted to assess the state of marketing scholarship (Alvy & Calvert, 2008; Healey & Kassarian, 1983; Nasir, 2005; Sprott & Miyazaki, 2002; Wilkie & Moore, 2003; Williams & Plouffe, 2007; Yale & Gilly, 1988).

Marketing researchers have shown an interest in investigating the evolution of the marketing thought (Bartels, 1988; Duhaime, McTavish, & Ross, 1985; Ger, 1992; Kotler & Levy, 1969; Wilkie & Moore, 1999, 2003) and marketing research traditions, patterns, and paradigms (Zinkhan, 2006). Others have analyzed marketing research authorship (Eaton, Ward, Kumar, & Reingen, 1999), citation patterns (Baumgartner & Pieters, 2003; Peterson, 2005), and marketing journal rankings (Easton & Easton, 2003; Mort, McColl-Kennedy, Kiel, & Soutar, 2004; Moussa & Touzani, 2010). Attention has also been given to specific areas of research within the marketing literature. Yale and Gilly (1988) analyzed articles published in major advertising/marketing journals between 1976 and 1985 to understand trends in advertising research. Healey and Kassarian (1983) conducted a content analysis (CA) of advertisements from selected industries to examine changes in content. Gross and Sheth (1989) explored changes in U.S. magazine advertising over the period 1890–1988. Meanwhile, other researchers have considered specific aspects within the marketing and related literature. For instance, Nasir (2005) analyzed the content of articles published in business and marketing journals to trace the development, change, and transformation of management information systems. Williams and Plouffe (2007) adopted the CA method to understand the state of knowledge development in industrial selling and sales management using over 1,000 articles published in 15 key journals from 1983 to 2002. The present study draws upon a similar line of inquiry to investigate the state of research on social marketing.

Since the term *social marketing* was formalized (Kotler & Zaltman, 1971), it has attracted increased attention of scholars and practitioners in differing disciplines as evidenced by the growing number of academic and practical articles published globally (Truong & Hall, 2013). By using the tools of generic marketing to promote voluntary behavior change in target audience for collective welfare, social marketing has demonstrated its potential in a number of sectors. These include health (Bryant, Forthofer, Brown, Landis, & McDermott, 2000; Gordon, McDermott, Stead, & Angus, 2006; MacKintosh, MacFadyen, & Hastings, 1999), communication and transportation (Cooper, 2007; Fox & Kotler, 1980), environmental protection, sustainable development (Kennedy, 2010; McKenzie-Mohr, 1994; McKenzie-Mohr, Schultz, Lee, & Kotler, 2012; Tabanico & Schultz, 2007), and tourism and leisure (McKenzie-Mohr et al., 2012; Truong & Hall, 2013). Social marketing's successes can be found in many case studies and reports (Cork, 2008; Doner, 2003; Gordon et al., 2006; McKenzie-Mohr et al., 2012; Stead, Gordon, Angus, & McDermott, 2007).

Interests in social marketing have also resulted in some academic reviews. Fox and Kotler (1980) reviewed the first 10 years of social marketing, depicting the move of social marketing from a social advertising approach to social communications and promotion. While social advertising mainly articulates information to influence attitudes and behaviors, social communications and promotion utilize personal selling and editorial support. Social marketing replaces these approaches by adding at least four elements, namely marketing research, product development, incentives, and facilitation (Fox & Kotler, 1980). Bloom (1980) examined the ways social marketing programs were evaluated, indicating that many studies lacked proper design and implementation. Bloom and Novelli (1981) reviewed the first decade of social marketing development and called for more studies to lay a more rigorous theoretical foundation for the discipline. They suggested that issues such as audience segmentation, media channels, long-term positioning strategies, organization, and management should be examined. Lefebvre (1996) reviewed the 25-year development of social marketing and pointed out some issues that needed to be addressed, namely theoretical development, strategic and creative development of social marketing programs, adoption of social marketing in the private sector, children and adolescents

as target audiences, and new research agenda and techniques. Although these reviews are important, they are dated, especially given the growing number of social marketing publications as noted earlier.

More recent reviews have emerged in the extant social marketing and related literature, which, however, actually review social marketing applications in a specific sector, such as health (Aras, 2011) and transportation (Smith, 2006), or otherwise they are limited to a specific country (French, 2009). In other reviews, social marketing is not a focus, but rather part of several approaches aimed at behavior change (Willey, Paintain, Mangham, Car, & Schellenberg, 2012). Although these reviews offer social marketing scholars and practitioners with insightful understanding, none of them has systematically evaluated the state of social marketing research on a spatially broad scale and over an extended period. These reviews have also neglected to examine the authorship characteristics and theoretical and methodological bases of social marketing research. An updated, systematic assessment of the body of social marketing knowledge is thus needed.

Therefore, the present study attempts to fill this gap in knowledge by analyzing the content of social marketing articles published in refereed journals over a 15-year period, from 1998 to 2012 inclusive. It seeks to answer the following questions: How many social marketing articles have been published in this period? What is the authorship of social marketing research? What topics and perspectives have social marketing researchers embraced? What are the theoretical and methodological foundations of social marketing research? What is the potential for further development of social marketing research?

Methodology

Peer-reviewed journal articles were analyzed, given that they are essential communication channels for researchers as noted previously (Creswell, 2009; Wilkie & Moore, 2003; Williams & Plouffe, 2007). The author browsed every issue of marketing journals chosen on the basis of Moussa and Touzani's (2010) study that provided a comprehensive citation-based ranking of marketing journals. Health-related journals were also examined, given that a considerable number of social marketing studies have been conducted in the health sector (Dahl, 2010). Furthermore, important search engines and databases were used, including Google Search, Google Scholar, Scopus, JSTOR, Medline, Embase, PubMed, PsycInfo, EconLit, Social Policy and Practice, Cochrane Database of Systematic Reviews, Health Technology Assessment Database, Database of Abstracts of Reviews of Effects, and Business Source Complete Database (Dahl, 2010; Luca & Suggs, 2013; Takahashi, 2009).

First, the author investigated article titles. Many of these titles were very suggestive that they dealt specifically with social marketing. In cases they were not indicative of a social marketing focus, the author examined their abstracts, key words, and full length to ensure that relevant articles were not omitted. The six social marketing benchmark criteria suggested by Andreasen (2002) were also consulted to identify social marketing studies and interventions. These criteria included voluntary behavior change, audience research, audience segmentation, use of social marketing mix, exchanges, and competition (Andreasen, 2002; see also Stead et al., 2007; Truong & Hall, 2013). This practice was especially important, given that some prior research had suggested that a search simplistically based on the social marketing label might not be sufficient or even flawed (McDermott, Stead, & Hastings, 2005; Stead et al., 2007; Truong & Hall, 2013). The search process continued up to the end of August 2013, covering the period 1998–2012 as mentioned. Only full-length articles were considered. Editorials, research notes, and commentaries were excluded.

To examine the selected articles, the author utilized the CA method that is among the most important techniques in the social sciences (Krippendorff, 2004). CA is defined as “a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matters) to the contexts of their use” (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 18). In the field of marketing, this method has become relatively popular as demonstrated by an increasing number of marketing researchers utilizing it (Alvy & Calvert, 2008; Nasir, 2005; Sprott & Mijazaki, 2002; Williams & Plouffe, 2007).

The author read each article, paying particular attention to its theoretical underpinnings, data gathering and processing methods, and discussions of research findings. Author contributions were measured by the number of instances, which is the number of times an author from a given region, country, or institution contributed to an article as a sole author or a coauthor. The identification of research perspectives involved the studied subjects, that is, who were studied. If an article sought to promote behavior change in individuals (e.g., community residents), then it adopted a downstream perspective. If it aimed to encourage behavior change in professional organizations, authorities, or policymakers, an upstream label was attached (Gordon, 2011; Hastings, MacFadyen, & Anderson, 2000; Kotler & Lee, 2008). Research topics concerned what was studied (e.g., smoking prevention and environmental protection). An article was considered “atheoretical” if it did not refer to an identifiable theoretical framework. It was regarded as “theoretical” if it explicitly utilized at least a theory (Williams & Plouffe, 2007). Theory is a “body of logically interconnected propositions which provides an interpretative basis for understanding phenomena” (Dann, Nash, & Pearce, 1988, p. 4). The theoretical awareness of a study can be assessed in terms of the criteria of understanding, prediction, and falsifiability. While the criteria of prediction and falsifiability may be subject to debate, they are important to the evaluation of progress in the realm of theory (Dann et al., 1988). An article was deemed “qualitative” if it used qualitative methods to collect, analyze, and present data (e.g., observation, interview, and NVivo) or it introduced new theoretical models/frameworks (Williams & Plouffe, 2007). In contrast, it was considered “quantitative” if it utilized quantitative methods (e.g., survey, experiment, and Statistical Package for the Social Sciences [SPSS]). A “mixed-method” label was attached if both qualitative and quantitative methods were combined. In addition, an article was considered a review if it dealt with untested hypotheses and/or propositions and reviewed the social marketing literature.

Results and Discussion

Results are presented in six main sections: number of social marketing articles published, authorship characteristics, research topics and perspectives, use of theories and models, research methods, and areas for further research. Although this study is limited to journal articles published over the period 1998–2012 inclusive, results are discussed, where relevant, in relation to articles that were published before 1998 and after 2012.

Number of Articles Published

Up to the end of August 2013, 1,423 articles were retrieved. After further examinations, 867 articles were chosen for analysis in this study. The remaining 556 articles were excluded because they were duplicate articles, their content did not meet Andreasen’s (2002) six social marketing criteria, or they primarily discussed other issues although they might have some implications for social marketing and included “social marketing” in their key words.

Figure 1 indicates the uneven annual growth of social marketing research. Yet, a growing trend was found when the period 1998–2012 was divided into three shorter periods, with each being 5 years long. Only 186 articles (21.5%) were published in the period 1998–2002. This increased to 247 articles (28.5%) from 2003 to 2007, and 434 articles (50%) between 2008 and 2012. In terms of content, these articles can be divided into five main categories. The first consists of application articles that describe/report a social marketing program/project or a stage of that program/project (347 articles). The second involves review articles that review social marketing research and/or practice in a field or country (37 articles). The third category concerns articles that draw on field research to test variables/hypotheses in the context of social marketing applications (161 articles). The fourth category comprises of articles that aim to advance social marketing knowledge (235 articles). The last category includes articles that

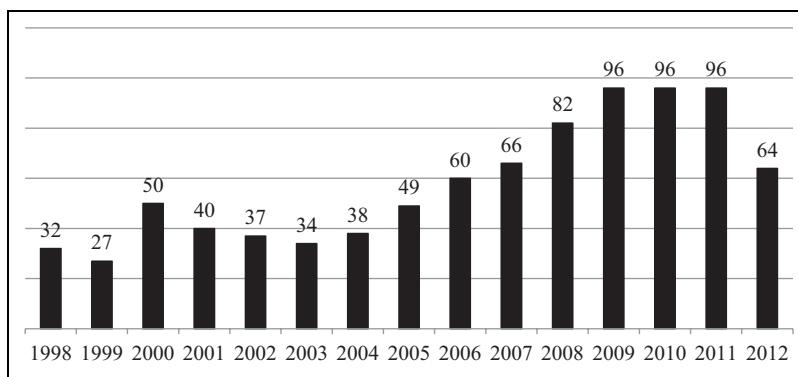


Figure 1. Growth of social marketing articles 1998–2012.

do not fall in any of the above categories (87 articles). This finding is consistent with Dahl's (2010) observation which suggests that a fair amount of social marketing research is practice oriented. Overall, the growing number of articles indicates that social marketing has captured increasing research attention and that the field has not reached a point of academic saturation yet. Therefore, it is possible that the social marketing literature will continue to expand in the years to come.

With respect to publication outlets, 308 articles (35.5%) were published in *Social Marketing Quarterly*. Other journals published much fewer social marketing articles. Of these, *Health Promotion Practice* published 42 articles (4.8%), *BMC Public Health* published 41 articles (4.7%), *Journal of Social Marketing* published 28 articles (3.2%), and *American Journal of Public Health* published 21 articles (2.4%) over the examined period. Although *Social Marketing Quarterly* was not established until 1994, it has positioned itself as one of the few journals that are explicitly devoted to social marketing research and practice. *Journal of Social Marketing* has also been dedicated to the social marketing field. However, it was not launched until 2011. Other marketing journals (e.g., *Journal of Marketing*), although emerged much earlier, have embraced various aspects of marketing, not just social marketing.

More articles were published in health-related journals (434 articles, equivalent to 50.1%) than in marketing-related journals (393 articles, equivalent to 45.3%). Journals in other fields published only 40 articles (4.6%) over the examined period. That health-related journals published more social marketing articles than other journals can be explained in several ways. First, the earliest social marketing interventions emerged in the public health field (Walsh, Rudd, Moeykens, & Moloney, 1993). Second, the first nationwide social marketing program started in India in 1967 to promote contraceptives. It was then expanded with increased funding from the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) in the 1970s to promote public health in Jamaica, Kenya, Columbia, and Sri Lanka (Fox & Kotler, 1980; MacFadyen, Stead, & Hastings, 1999; Walsh et al., 1993). Third, public health continues to be of interest to social marketing researchers and practitioners (Dahl, 2010; Helmig & Thaler, 2010). Fourth, health scholars and practitioners have paid increased attention to social marketing, the evidence being that social marketing was added in 2005 as a department in *Health Promotion Practice* (Thackeray & Brown, 2005).

Authorship Characteristics

Academic/Nonacademic authorship. Of the 867 articles examined, 161 (18.6%) were singly authored. The remaining 706 articles (81.4%) were coauthored, of which 520 articles (73.7%) were coauthored by 2 to 5 researchers and/or practitioners, 146 articles (20.7%) were coauthored by 6 to 9 researchers and/or practitioners, and 40 articles (5.6%) were coauthored by 10 to 16 researchers and/or

practitioners. These figures indicate that social marketing research has been strongly characterized by coauthorship, which can be ascribed to three main reasons. First, social marketing scholars have attached great importance to research collaboration and coauthorship. Interdisciplinary and international collaboration can improve research quality, as research knowledge and skills are shared. Second, as the social marketing field matures and the review process becomes more rigorous, cooperation and coauthorship tend to become the norm. Third, a number of articles describe/report specific social marketing projects, which often involve the participation of a certain number of (project) staff members or even a whole team (Long, Taubenheim, Wayman, Temple, & Ruoff, 2008).

Academics represented 60.4% (1,993 instances) and nonacademics accounted for 39.6% (1,307 instances) of authors. A researcher was deemed academic if he or she was affiliated with a higher education institution (e.g., university and college) and/or a research center as published in his or her articles. He or she was considered nonacademic if he or she was affiliated with a consulting company or a development agency, and so on. That academics far outweigh nonacademics is because research is fundamental to the career development of academics who are given awards and incentives to boost their research productivity while also contributing to improving their institutions' research profile. Academic authors may continue to dominate social marketing research in the future as long as publishing is vital to academic career success. However, contributions from nonacademics are also significant, suggesting that social marketing practitioners have actively participated in sharing their experiences in academic outlets. This finding is also supported by that obtained earlier, which indicates that a considerable number of articles are project descriptions or reports that involve social marketing practitioners. However, it is noted that some academics may have already participated in social marketing programs/projects and hence gained valuable experiences, but they were affiliated with academic institutions at the time of publication.

Geographic location of authors. With respect to the geographic location of social marketing researchers, the location of the authors' institutions was used, as it was extremely difficult to trace their nationality. In the case of multiple affiliations, the main affiliation, that is, the first named affiliation on a list of affiliations, was considered and hence secondary affiliations (e.g., visiting professor) were excluded. The use of the main affiliation was only for the purpose of the present study, not a denial of the importance of secondary affiliations. Table 1 shows that U.S. researchers appear to be the most prolific, accounting for over half (56.9%) of the total instances of authors, followed by those in the United Kingdom (11.5%), Australia (5.7%), and Canada (5.1%). There are some reasons for this. First, the social marketing concept was formalized by U.S. scholars (Kotler & Zaltman, 1971). Second, the first nationwide social marketing program was funded by USAID as noted previously. Third, these countries were among the earliest to establish social marketing centers (e.g., University of Strathclyde Centre for Social Marketing (United Kingdom), University of Stirling Institute for Social Marketing (United Kingdom); National Social Marketing Centre (United Kingdom). They have also acknowledged the importance of social marketing. Social marketing has been included in the United Kingdom's white paper *Choosing Health*. The Australian government has called for social marketing interventions in such areas as environmental protection and crime prevention (Dahl, 2010). Fourth, English is the main medium of communication in these countries, which is also the language of the journals considered in this study. Finally, *Social Marketing Quarterly*, which published a substantial number of social marketing articles over the examined period as discussed above, is based in the United States. Overall, the finding given in this section does not necessarily indicate the social marketing research productivity of a particular country. Rather, it primarily reflects the attention given by scholars in that country to social marketing research.

Institutional contributions to social marketing research. As educational institutions often specialize in certain disciplines and/or majors, they tend to become leaders in those fields. This section examines

Table 1. Research Contributions by Geographic Location.

Location	Instances	Percentage
North America		
United States	1,879	56.9
Canada	170	5.1
Europe		
United Kingdom	381	11.5
Switzerland	54	1.6
Germany	20	0.6
Belgium	22	0.7
France	16	0.5
Sweden	10	0.3
Other	35	1.1
Asia-Pacific		
Australia	189	5.7
India	38	1.2
China	32	1.0
New Zealand	26	0.8
Other	116	3.5
Africa		
Tanzania	79	2.4
South Africa	37	1.1
Other	128	3.9
Other	69	2.1

the contributions of authors from various educational institutions around the world to social marketing research. Table 2 shows institutions whose authors contributed more than 10 articles or parts of articles between 1998 and 2012. Institutions with multiple campuses are reported as one single institution.

Eighteen academic institutions contributed at least 10 articles or parts of articles between 1998 and 2012. Fourteen of these are U.S. institutions, three are British, and one is Canadian. This finding helps to explain as well as reinforce that obtained in the previous sections, that is, researchers in U.S. and U.K. institutions appear to have contributed significantly to shaping the body of social marketing knowledge as evidenced by a substantial number of social marketing articles published over the examined period. Some of these institutions are known to have a strong focus on marketing and are often among the academic institutions that have top marketing departments (e.g., University of California; Bak, Vitell, & Rose, 2000). Other institutions attach great importance to research in the fields of social marketing (e.g., University of Stirling and University of Strathclyde) and public health (e.g., Johns Hopkins University and University of South Florida; London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine).

Research Topics and Perspectives

The previous sections have indicated that the earliest social marketing interventions were made in the field of public health and that health-related journals published more social marketing articles than marketing-related journals. This is understandable, given that public health has been a predominant research topic in social marketing, which accounts for 71.4% of topical instances in the examined period (including *Public health* and *Global health epidemics* in Table 3). Other areas, such as environmental protection and tourism and leisure, appear to have captured limited attention of social marketing researchers and practitioners. While the effectiveness of social marketing may have been

Table 2. Research Contributions by Academic Institutions^a 1998–2012.

Institution ^b	Instances ^c	Author Instances ^d
University of California	44	105
University of South Florida	29	88
London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine	23	48
University of North Carolina	22	51
Brigham Young University	18	30
University of Stirling	16	43
University of Wisconsin	15	18
George Washington University	14	20
Johns Hopkins University	14	26
University of Toronto	14	24
University of Washington	14	34
University of South Carolina	13	39
University of Strathclyde	12	27
Tulane University	12	21
Colorado State University	12	32
University of Florida	11	20
Georgetown University	10	10
University of Pennsylvania	10	13

^aThose with at least 10 instances. ^bRanked by number of institutional instances. ^cCounts represent all campuses of an institution.

^dCounts represent number of times authors contributed to articles or parts of articles.

demonstrated in the public health field, it is not clear whether the same can be found in other fields, such as tourism and leisure, where most studies are conceptual in nature (Truong & Hall, 2013). Empirical evidence that proves the effectiveness of social marketing in these fields is lacking, raising the need for social marketing researchers and practitioners to broaden their interests to other fields than public health (Dahl, 2010; Helmig & Thaler, 2010; Takahashi, 2009).

Within the public health field, a considerable number of social marketing studies focused on behavior change in adolescents, the evidence being that they targeted at smoking, drinking, and substance prevention and cessation that often involved young adults (Diehr et al., 2011; Gordon, Moodie, Eadie, & Hastings, 2010; Hastings, Stead, & MacKintosh, 2002). Other studies that concerned reproductive health, domestic violence, sexual assault, obesity prevention, and physical activity embraced women and children as their target audience (Bate & Cannon, 2011; Bellows, Anderson, Gould, & Auld, 2008; Brionnes, Lustik, & LaLone, 2010). This suggests that Lefebvre's (1996) call for the targeting of children and adolescents, to a certain extent, has been responded to by social marketing researchers.

Research perspectives were explicitly stated in 684 of the 867 articles examined in this study. Of these, 521 articles (76.2%) dealt with the downstream level. That is, they primarily focused on the delivery of individual behavior change. Behavior change in other stakeholders relevant to individuals such as professional organizations and policymakers was the focus of 99 articles (14.5%). Both downstream and upstream social marketing were addressed in 64 articles (9.3%). These data reflect the fact that the majority of social marketing discourse has attached importance to the promotion of behavior change in individuals (Gordon, 2011). This may be attributed to Kotler and Zaltman's (1971) early definition of social marketing, which is arguably among the most cited social marketing definitions to date. Kotler and Zaltman (p. 5) defined social marketing as "the design, implementation and control of programs calculated to influence the acceptability of social ideas and involving considerations of product planning, pricing, communication, distribution and marketing research." Although this definition provided a useful framework for broadening the boundary of marketing, it did not

Table 3. Social Marketing Research by Topics.

Area	Type	Instances	Percentage
Public health	General public health	106	12.7
	Smoking prevention/cessation	55	6.6
	Alcohol prevention/cessation ^a	44	5.3
	Reproductive health ^b	36	4.3
	Chronic illness ^c	48	5.8
	Physical activity ^d	83	10.0
	Sanitation	15	1.8
	Immunization	3	0.4
	Oral rehydration	2	0.2
	Vaccination	13	1.6
	Family planning ^e	8	1.0
	Children health	20	2.4
	Men's health	4	0.5
	Nutrition	26	3.1
Global health epidemics	Use of condoms	27	3.2
	HIV/AIDS	67	8.0
	Malaria	38	4.6
Public safety	Transportation and traffic	6	0.7
	Occupational safety	9	1.1
	Other	4	0.5
Environmental protection	Waste reduction/recycling	31	3.7
	Water protection		
	Emission reduction		
	Energy use reduction		
Tourism and leisure		8	1.0
Civil Society	Gambling	4	0.5
	Domestic violence ^f	14	1.7
Organ/blood donation		4	0.5
Poverty alleviation		5	0.6
Community outreach		19	2.3
Social marketing theory ^g		86	10.3
Other		48	5.8
Total		833	100

^aInclude substance prevention/cessation/recovery. ^bInclude women's health. ^cInclude cancer, diabetes, heart diseases, tuberculosis. ^dInclude obesity prevention. ^eInclude use of contraceptives. ^fInclude sex abuse. ^gInclude, among others, discourse over elements of the social marketing mix.

explicitly indicate the potential of social marketing in motivating behavior change in the upstream level (Gordon, 2011). This perhaps helps to explain why the number of downstream social marketing articles far outweighs that of upstream social marketing articles as indicated above.

A single emphasis on individual behavior change, while necessary, may limit social marketing effectiveness given that in many cases decisions and choices are not solely determined by individual preferences, but rather by the social environments and contexts in which individuals are a part (Donovan & Henley, 2010; Kotler & Lee, 2009; Stead et al., 2007). It is, therefore, necessary that social marketing research place an equal emphasis on behavior change in organizations, decision and policymakers, as well as other stakeholders that influence individuals' choices of behavior, if social marketing is to realize its full potential (Donovan & Henley, 2010; Farrell & Gordon, 2012; Gordon, 2011; Kotler & Lee, 2008; Stead et al., 2007). In addition, only a small number of articles examined the critical dimension of social marketing, that is, the analysis of the social effects of commercial

Table 4. Theories and Models Most Widely Used in Social Marketing.

Theories/models	Instances
Social cognitive theory	23
Theory of reasoned action/planned behavior	22
Health belief model	21
Stages of change model/transtheoretical model	20
Social/behavioral—ecological model	16
Diffusion of innovation theory	14

marketing policies and practices (Farrell & Gordon, 2012; Gordon, 2011; Gordon et al., 2010). It is thus appropriate to claim that the extant social marketing literature, although expanding as analyzed previously, is limited not only in terms of topic (public health) but also perspective (downstream social marketing).

Use of Theories and Models

Social marketing is not a theory in itself. Instead, it draws upon different theories and models to identify determinants of behavior change and thereby develop appropriate intervention strategies (Donovan & Henley, 2010; Luca & Suggs, 2013). However, prior research has suggested that a large number of social marketing studies are not theoretically informed and, even if they are, they do not report theory and model use in detail (Lefebvre, 2000; Luca & Suggs, 2013; Thackeray & Neiger, 2000; Truong & Hall, 2013). This finding is confirmed by the present study. Of the 867 articles examined, only 160 articles (18.5%) explicitly stated the use of theory; 654 articles (75.4%) were not theoretically informed. The remaining 53 articles (6.1%) included review articles and those that did not provide any theory-related information. This means that some social marketing campaigns may not report theories and models that guide their design, implementation, and evaluation (Luca & Suggs, 2013). However, it is found that theories and models are increasingly used in social marketing studies over the examined period. From 1998 to 2002, only 32 articles (20%) were theoretically informed. This increases to 39 articles (24.4%) between 2003 and 2007 and 89 articles (55.6%) in the period 2008–2012. Table 4 shows theories/models that were used more than 10 times in the examined articles. The finding is consistent with Lefebvre's (2000) observation that suggests that social cognitive theory, health belief model, theory of reasoned action/planned behavior, and diffusion of innovation theory are among the most frequently used in social marketing studies (see also Thackeray & Neiger, 2000).

A number of other theories and models were also used in social marketing studies but are not included in Table 4 due to their low frequency. These theories and models include, among others, social learning theory, protection motivation model, hierarchy of effects model, and community organization/readiness model. Theories and models used in social marketing have their roots in a wide range of disciplines, such as health (e.g., health belief model; Kassegne, Kays, & Nzohabonayo, 2011), sociology (e.g., social capital theory; Glenane-Antoniadis, Whitwell, Bell, & Menguc, 2003), political science (e.g., political economic model; Frame & Newtown, 2007), psychology (e.g., attribution theory; Shang, Basil, & Wymer, 2010), and economics (e.g., supply chain theory; Al-Oun, 2012). The evidence suggests the interdisciplinary nature of social marketing with respect to theory and model use.

While some studies were underpinned by one single theory or model (e.g., Al-Oun, 2012; McCausland et al., 2009), others referred to multiple theories and/or models (e.g., Kolodinsky & Reynolds, 2009; Long et al., 2008; Park et al., 2011). However, the purpose of using theories and/or models was not always clearly reported. In some cases, theories were used for audience research and segmentation (e.g., Dharod, Drewette-Card, & Crawford, 2011), intervention development (e.g., Draper et al., 2010;

Table 5. Use of Research Methods Over Time.^a

	Qualitative (N = 441)		Quantitative (N = 279)		Mixed (N = 110)		Total ^b (N = 830)
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	
1998–2002	116	63.0	48	26.1	20	10.9	184
2003–2007	128	54.7	78	33.3	28	12.0	234
2008–2012	197	47.8	153	37.1	62	15.0	412

^aCounts by number of articles. ^bExclude 37 review articles.

Richert, Webb, Morse, O'Toole, & Brownson, 2007), message formation (e.g., Gallivan, Lising, Ammary, & Greenberg, 2007; Johnson, Bellows, Beckstrom, & Anderson, 2007; Young, Anderson, Beckstrom, Bellows, & Johnson, 2004), promotion (e.g., Wackett, 1998), and evaluation (e.g., Gruchy & Coppel, 2008). In other cases, how theories were used to inform studies/interventions were not reported. For example, in the *Heart Truth* project, Long, Taubenheim, Wayman, Temple, and Ruoff (2008) listed some theories but did not explain at which stage of the project the theories were used. In short, the findings given in this section suggest four main characteristics of social marketing studies with respect to theory and model use. First, a majority of social marketing studies are not theoretically informed. Second, theories are not clearly reported, although they may be used to inform social marketing studies. Third, social marketing studies tend to borrow theories and models from a wide range of disciplines. Fourth, the purpose of using theories and models is not always stated in detail.

Methods for Social Marketing Research

Of the 867 articles considered, 37 (4.3%) are review articles, 441 (50.8%) are qualitative, 279 (32.2%) are quantitative, and the remaining 110 articles (12.7%) use both qualitative and quantitative methods. These figures help to explain the fact that a considerable number of social marketing studies are qualitative and that the effectiveness of social marketing interventions tends to be qualitatively reported (Geller, 2002). Descriptive statistics is the most popular analytical techniques used in quantitative articles (179 instances), followed by such quantitative analytical softwares as SPSS, SAS, and STATA (134 instances), logistic regression analysis (102 instances), and χ^2 test (84 instances). Other less popular quantitative analytical techniques include analysis of variance, analysis of covariance, multivariate analysis of variance, rank analysis of covariance (49 instances), *t*-test (39 instances), and factor analysis (23 instances). Some articles combined a number of quantitative analytical techniques, while others made use of a single technique. Although social marketing research appears to be dominated by qualitative methods, both quantitative and mixed methods are gaining prominence as shown in Table 5.

In the period 1998–2002, over half of the published articles (63%) were qualitative in nature. This number decreased to 54.7% from 2003 to 2007 and 47.8% between 2008 and 2012. Meanwhile, quantitative articles increased from 26.1% (1998–2002) to 33.3% (2002–2007) and 37.1% (2008–2012). A growing trend was also seen in mixed-methods articles, from 10.9% (1998–2002) to 12% (2003–2007) and 15% (2008–2012). These figures suggest that social marketing research has evolved from conceptual discourse toward a greater emphasis on quantifiable data. They also suggest that the challenge of demonstrating the effectiveness of social marketing interventions has been responded to by researchers and practitioners. However, qualitative articles remain significant, suggesting that the theoretical underpinnings of social marketing continue to capture substantial research attention. This reinforces the above argument that social marketing has not reached a point of academic saturation. Therefore, the social marketing literature may further expand in the years to come, with greater prominence of quantitative and mixed methods.

Areas for Future Research

Several areas have emerged from this article that may hold substantial potential for further research. First, a large number of social marketing studies are qualitative in nature. Quantitative and mixed methods are much less popular. It is, therefore, necessary that more attention be paid to the use of quantitative and mixed methods in social marketing studies. This would help social marketers better demonstrate the effectiveness of social marketing interventions, which is arguably the most crucial aspect of social marketing as it provides important managerial implications (Helmig & Thaler, 2010). Instead of measuring perceptual and attitudinal changes in target audience (Geller, 2002), efforts should be made to measure changes in their behaviors (Helmig & Thaler, 2010). This is important, given that behavior change is considered the bottom line of social marketing programs/projects. Some scholars have even argued that without any impact on behavior change after interventions, programs are not successful (Redmond & Griffith, 2006; Tabanico & Schultz, 2007).

Second, a large number of studies attempted to measure changes in the same target audience by using the pre- and post-intervention model of effect (Doner, 2003; Geller, 2002), where self-completion questionnaires were widely used (e.g., Thrasher et al., 2011; Withall, Jago, & Fox, 2012). Others sought to compare behavior change between the target audience and a nontarget group (e.g., Wright, McGorry, Harris, Jorm, & Pennell, 2006; Wu et al., 2007; Yancey et al., 2003). Outcomes that were based on direct observations were scarce, raising concerns over the validity of the reported behavior changes given that what was reported and what actually happened might be substantially different. Doubts may also be cast regarding the long-term effects of social marketing interventions. This is because a majority of programs/projects tended to be evaluated as soon as they finished, although they might be designed to contribute to long-term socioeconomic changes. In addition, only one study (Futerman et al., 2001) reported the employment of independent evaluators to evaluate the effectiveness of social marketing interventions. Further research exploring a solid framework for assessing social marketing effectiveness and identifying the roles of independent evaluators in that process is thus needed.

Third, a substantial number of studies stated the success of social marketing in differing sectors and contexts. However, far fewer studies reported failed social marketing efforts (Hastings et al., 2002; Rothman, Decker, & Silverman, 2006), the side effects of social marketing interventions on the target audience, as well as the equity of access to social marketing products within the target audience and between the target and the nontarget audience (Knerr, 2011). It is possibly because positive articles tend to be accepted for publication more easily than critical articles that report negative findings. As a result, critical articles may be published in other forms than journal articles. However, both the failures and the side effects of social marketing initiatives are needed to provide valuable lessons for future efforts. Further research into this issue is thus warranted.

Fourth, since social marketing itself is not a theory, it incorporates a number of theories and models to promote behavior change as previously mentioned. Prior research has suggested that effective campaigns tend to use theory in their design, implementation, and evaluation (Thackeray & Neiger, 2000). While some articles identified in this study were based on more than one theory, others did not explicitly report theory and model use. The purpose of using theories and models was not always stated. Although some social marketing projects might have used theories and models to guide their interventions, they did not note those theories and models in detail (Luca & Suggs, 2013; Stead et al., 2007; Truong & Hall, 2013). If social marketing is concerned with changing behaviors, then it is often assumed that this is undertaken upon a clear understanding of what actually causes people to change their behavior. While there is a reasonable partial understanding from a research standpoint, some campaigns and interventions are undertaken by governments, agencies, and organizations on the basis of lay knowledge and assumptions. If interventions are based on assumptions or personal beliefs with respect to behavior change, then it is difficult to identify common factors in effective interventions and

hence difficult to inform future interventions. Future research thus can explore how and to what extent theories and models are used to inform social marketing programs/projects. Reviews can focus on specific sectors (e.g., health; Luca & Suggs, 2013) to examine which theories and models are effective in identifying if personal attitudes or social contexts are the main determinants of behavioral choices, and which theories and models are effective in informing message design or program evaluation.

That a large majority of social marketing studies identified in this article were not theoretically informed may also raise questions as to if the presence of an underlying theory necessarily results in effective interventions, if effective interventions necessarily constitute proof of a theory's value, and if the effectiveness of a theory can be tested easily. While some studies (e.g., Johnson et al., 2007) attributed the outcomes of social marketing interventions to the use of the social learning theory in developing new learning skills in the target audience, others (e.g., Gruchy & Coppel, 2008) did not report any significant behavior change although they used theories in their design and evaluation. Further research is thus needed to investigate why theories and/or models may work in some cases but not in others. Further research also needs to explore why social marketing researchers/practitioners often neglect to report theories and models in their studies/projects and how to encourage them to clearly report those theories and models (Luca & Suggs, 2013).

Fifth, further research is also possible to examine the potential of upstream social marketing in promoting changes in interest groups, the media, stakeholders, organizations, and policy makers. These people and organizations to some extent influence the social context in which individual behavior choices are made (Gordon, 2011; Hastings et al., 2000; Kotler & Lee, 2008). Targeting the upstream level helps social marketers avoid being criticized for blaming their own target audience whose behaviors are not always under their control. It also makes downstream efforts less manipulative and overcome structural barriers to change (Hastings et al., 2000). In fact, the move beyond individual behavior change had already emerged in the 1960s. Kotler and Levy (1969) claimed that an organization's consumers include not only individuals but also the general public, and the latter is the target audience of social marketers. Kotler and Roberto (1989) emphasized the effect of different "influentials" on the success of social marketing programs, arguing that successful social marketing requires an insightful understanding of the behaviors of the upstream audience. These people were classified into four groups: permission granting group, support group, opposition group, and evaluation group (Kotler & Roberto, 1989). Since then, a clear indication of upstream social marketing and its differences from other regular lobbying activities has not been examined (Dann, 2010), which offers gaps for further research.

Sixth, upstream social marketing can be combined with critical social marketing to promote organizational and structural changes (Farrell & Gordon, 2012; Gordon, 2011). This article has indicated that the critical dimension of social marketing has thus far been touched upon by a limited number of scholars, although the first definition of critical social marketing emerged long ago. Critical social marketing "is concerned with the application of marketing knowledge, concepts, and techniques to enhance social as well as economic ends. It is also concerned with analysis of the social consequence of marketing policies, decisions and activities" (Lazer & Kelly, 1973, p. ix). A critical approach to social marketing may hold substantial potential for improving marketing theory and practice, informing downstream and upstream social marketing, and adding to the wider evidence base of social marketing itself (Gordon, 2011). In addition, by contributing to mitigating the negative effects of commercial marketing on society (Farrell & Gordon, 2012; Gordon et al., 2010), critical social marketing can benefit individuals, organizations, and society overall, which is consistent with the core principle of collective welfare of social marketing.

Seventh, it now appears appropriate that social marketing needs to expand beyond the field of public health to embrace a wider range of areas and sectors. Social marketing can be further applied to the field of environmental protection and natural resource conservation. Previous research has suggested that human behaviors are the main cause of environmental problems and that

technological advances, while helping to protect the environment by using resources more efficiently, cannot settle all environmental problems (Oskamp, 2000; Takahashi, 2009). Rather, radical shifts in individual and public attitudes and behaviors are urgently needed (Takahashi, 2009). To this end, social marketing may provide important potential and the areas that it can contribute include, among others, consumption reduction, emission reduction, waste reduction and recycling, and sustainable living.

Social marketing can also expand to the field of poverty alleviation. It appears that poor people are often ignored by social marketers since they have very little to exchange and this situation runs counter to the notion of exchange in social marketing (Alwitt, 1995). However, social marketing may still be able to contribute to improving the well-being of poor people. If poverty is ascribed to ineffective policies and structural arrangements (Freeman, 1998), then upstream social marketing interventions may be important. In cases poverty is due to the attitudes and behaviors of poor people (Amsden, 2012; Moore, 2012), downstream social marketing may be significant in promoting positive behavior change in the poor (Kotler & Lee, 2009). Critical social marketing can also make effective contributions to improving the living conditions of poor people. For example, vulnerable groups such as the poor and young people in the United Kingdom are often the target audience of tobacco marketers who create value brands or use material holding appeal to youths in their marketing communications (Gordon, 2011). A critical social marketing approach can thus be adopted to encourage tobacco producers and marketers to undertake more socially responsible marketing practices that better care about the health of poor people and vulnerable groups as well as the general public overall (Farrell & Gordon, 2012; Gordon, 2011).

In addition, social marketing may hold important potential for the tourism field. Tourism is the temporary movement of people outside of their home environment. It often involves a wide range of short-term travel behaviors, including business, visiting friends and relatives, religion, health, and education. While tourism is often recognized as one of the biggest and fastest growing sectors worldwide, it is also known to have a range of impacts that may potentially be mitigated by social marketing. Tourism is a significant contributor to environmental change, contributes to changes in land cover and land use, energy use, biotic exchange and extinction of species, exchange and dispersion of diseases, and the production of pollution and carbon emission (Hall, 2011). Yet, the roles of social marketing in promoting behavior change in different tourism stakeholders remain underresearched, although its potential has been acknowledged by the United Nations World Tourism Organization (2011). Most social marketing-related studies in the tourism literature are conceptual in nature (Beeton & Pinge, 2003; Bright, 2000; Kaczynski, 2008) and hence empirical studies are lacking. Truong and Hall's (2013) study is arguably the first empirical tourism paper in the social marketing literature, which suggests that social marketing may help the tourism sector to contribute more effectively to poverty alleviation and natural resource conservation. However, as the authors noted, further research is needed to confirm this finding while also contributing to the evidence base of social marketing. Upstream and critical social marketing may also have substantial implications for tourism. Sirakaya and Sonmez (2000) suggested that women in tourism advertisements are often depicted in a stereotypical fashion as being submissive, subordinate, and dependent on men and noted the potential for social marketing approaches to change the practices of tourism marketing organizations toward promoting gender equity (see also Chhabra, Andereck, Yamanoi, & Plunkett, 2011).

For social marketing to expand successfully to other fields, as Andreasen (1997) argued, the use of theories and models in the social marketing planning process is necessary. This argument again reinforces the earlier suggestion with respect to the clear reporting of theory and model use in social marketing studies/interventions and the identification of cases where theories and models work as well as those where they fail. In short, all the noted areas provide meaningful themes for social marketing research in the future.

Conclusion

This article has attempted to evaluate the state of social marketing research from 1998 to 2012. Using journal and database searches, 867 peer-reviewed articles were retrieved and then analyzed in the light of the CA method. The article has shown that social marketing has captured increasing research attention as demonstrated by the growing number of published articles. U.S.- and U.K.-based researchers and institutions appear to have made significant contributions to shaping the body of social marketing knowledge. Social marketing research has been characterized by strong collaboration and coauthorship. Public health has been a predominant research topic and thus more articles have been published in health-related journals than in marketing-related journals. The majority of social marketing discourse has focused on the delivery of individual behavior change while paying little attention to the upstream and critical dimension. Theories and models underlying social marketing studies are not always clearly stated or adequately reported. Although quantitative and mixed methods are increasing, qualitative methods remain significant in social marketing research. The article has also indicated gaps for further research, including the need to move beyond the public health field, provide quantifiable data on the effectiveness of social marketing interventions, and report theory and model use. This article has suggested that efforts have been made in response to the call of (early) social marketing researchers (e.g., Bloom & Novelli, 1981; Lefebvre, 1996) regarding the creation of a more rigorous theoretical foundation for social marketing and the focus on children and adolescents. However, much still needs to be done, especially with respect to the reporting of theories and models that underpin social marketing studies/interventions.

Although this article may make some potential contributions to social marketing research and practice, its limitations should be acknowledged and readers are advised to take these limitations into consideration while evaluating the research design and findings. First, this article was only limited to refereed journal articles. Books, reports, and working papers were not considered. Therefore, similar reviews may be conducted on these documents. Reviews can also be undertaken to examine how the influence of peers (e.g., friends and relatives) on individual behavior change has been addressed in social marketing studies, which Andreasen (2005) referred to as midstream social marketing (in addition to downstream and upstream social marketing as analyzed in this article). Second, this article may have omitted several important articles due to restricted subscriptions. Third, the inclusion or exclusion of articles that have some implications for social marketing in a discussion that is otherwise primarily focused on other fields helps to explain why reviewing the social marketing literature may become a challenge and thus a debate over its actual size. This challenge is even compounded by the lack of a widely accepted definition of social marketing (McDermott et al., 2005; Stead et al., 2007), the limited attention paid to the labeling and evaluation of social marketing interventions (Andreasen, 2002) and hence the absence of an agreed set of key criteria for identifying genuine social marketing interventions (Andreasen, 2002; Truong & Hall, 2013). Nevertheless, the findings of this article contribute to shaping debate about future research in the field and potentially engaging scholars and practitioners in the widening of the research agenda, particularly beyond the area of public health and into other areas that social marketing may hold important practical implications. The findings of this article may also be of interest to graduate students and researchers identifying potential countries and institutions where to study, teach, or research social marketing.

Acknowledgment

The author would like thank the three anonymous reviewers and the *SMQ* editors for valuable comments on an earlier draft of this article. The author also wishes to thank Duong Thi Thanh Thao (Department of Tourism and Hospitality, National Economics University, Hanoi, Vietnam) for generous support in the data collection process.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author(s) received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

References

- Al-Oun, S. (2012). Technology use affect on performance of small- and medium-agro-farm businesses in Badia of Jordan. *Social Marketing Quarterly*, 18, 9–28.
- Alvy, L. M., & Calvert, S. L. (2008). Food marketing on popular children's web sites: A content analysis. *Journal of the American Dietetic Association*, 108, 710–713.
- Alwitt, L. F. (1995). Marketing and the poor. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 38, 564–577.
- Amsden, A. H. (2012). Grass roots war on poverty. *World Economic Review*, 1, 114–131.
- Andreasen, A. R. (1997). Challenges for the science and practice of social marketing. In M. E. Goldberg, M. Fishbein, & S. E. Middlestadt (Eds.), *Social marketing, theoretical and practical perspectives* (pp. 3–19). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Andreasen, A. R. (2002). Marketing social marketing in the social change marketplace. *Journal of Public Policy and Marketing*, 21, 3–13.
- Andreasen, A. R. (2005). *Social marketing in the 21st century*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Aras, R. (2011). Social marketing in healthcare. *Australasian Medical Journal*, 4, 418–424.
- Bak, A., Vitell, S. J., & Rose, G. M. (2000). Publications in major marketing journals: An analysis of scholars and marketing departments. *Journal of Marketing Education*, 22, 99–107.
- Bartels, R. (1988). *The history of marketing thought* (3rd ed.). Columbus, OH: Publishing Horizons.
- Bate, S. L., & Cannon, M. J. (2011). A social marketing approach to building a behavioral intervention for Congenital Cytomegalovirus. *Health Promotion Practice*, 12, 349–360.
- Baumgartner, H., & Pieters, R. (2003). The structural influence of marketing journals: A citation analysis of the discipline and its subareas over time. *Journal of Marketing*, 67, 123–139.
- Beeton, S., & Pinge, I. (2003). Casting the holiday dice: Demarketing gambling to encourage local tourism. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 6, 309–322.
- Bellows, L., Anderson, J., Gould, S. M., & Auld, G. (2008). Formative research and strategic development of a physical activity component to a social marketing campaign for obesity prevention in pre-schoolers. *Journal of Community Health*, 33, 169–178.
- Bloom, P. N. (1980). Evaluating social marketing programs: Problems and prospects. In R. P. Bagozzi, K. L. Bernhardt, P. S. Busch, D. W. Cravens, J. F. Hair, & C. A. Scott (Eds.), *Marketing in the 80's* (pp. 460–463). Chicago, IL: American Marketing Association.
- Bloom, P. N., & Novelli, W. D. (1981). Problems and challenges in social marketing. *Journal of Marketing*, 45, 79–88.
- Bright, A. D. (2000). The role of social marketing in leisure and recreation management. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 32, 12–17.
- Brionnes, K., Lustik, F., & LaLone, J. (2010). Could it be asthma? Using social marketing strategies to increase parent and caregiver knowledge of asthma symptoms in children in a rural community. *Health Promotion Practice*, 11, 859–866.
- Bryant, C. A., Forthofer, M. S., Brown, K. R. M., Landis, D. C., & McDermott, R. J. (2000). Community-based prevention marketing: The next step in disseminating behavior change. *American Journal of Health Behavior*, 24, 61–68.
- Chhabra, D., Andereck, K., Yamanoi, K., & Plunkett, D. (2011). Gender equity and social marketing: An analysis of tourism advertisements. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, 28, 111–128.
- Cooper, C. (2007). Successfully changing individual travel behavior: Applying community-based social marketing to travel choice. *Transportation Research Record: Journal of the Transportation Research Board - The National Academies*, 2021, 89–99.
- Cork, S. (2008). Beating the barriers to social marketing. *Social Marketing Quarterly*, 14, 37–49.

- Creswell, J.W. (2009). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Dahl, S. (2010). Current themes in social marketing research: Text-mining the past five years. *Social Marketing Quarterly*, 16, 128–136.
- Dann, S. (2010). Redefining social marketing with contemporary commercial marketing definitions. *Journal of Business Research*, 63, 147–153.
- Dann, G., Nash, D., & Pearce, P. (1988). Methodology in tourism research. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 15, 1–28.
- Dharod, J. M., Drewette-Card, R., & Crawford, D. (2011). Development of the Oxford Hills Healthy Moms Project using a social marketing process: A community-based physical activity and nutrition intervention for low-socio-economic-status mothers in a rural area in Maine. *Health Promotion Practice*, 12, 312–321.
- Diehr, P., Hannon, P., Pizacani, B., Forehand, M., Meischke, H., Curry, S., . . . Harris, J. (2011). Social marketing, stages of change, and public health smoking interventions. *Health Education & Behavior*, 38, 123–131.
- Doner, L. (2003). Approaches to evaluating social marketing programs. *Social Marketing Quarterly*, 9, 18–26.
- Donovan, R., & Henley, N. (2010). *Principles and practice of social marketing: An international perspective*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press
- Draper, C., Villiers, A., Lambert, E. V., Fourie, J., Hill, J., Dalais, L., . . . Steyn, N. P. (2010). HealthKick: A nutrition and physical activity intervention for primary schools in low-income settings. *BMC Public Health*, 10, 398–410.
- Duhaime, C. P., McTavish, R., & Ross, C. A. (1985). Social marketing: An approach to third world development. *Journal of Macromarketing*, 5, 3–13.
- Easton, G. E., & Easton, D. M. (2003). Marketing journals and the research assessment exercise. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 19, 5–24.
- Eaton, J. P., Ward, J. C., Kumar, A., & Reingen, P. H. (1999). Structural analysis of co-author relationships and author productivity in selected outlets for consumer behavior research. *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, 8, 39–59.
- Farrell, T., & Gordon, R. (2012). Critical social marketing: Investigating alcohol marketing in the development world. *Journal of Social Marketing*, 2, 138–156.
- Fox, K. F. A., & Kotler, P. (1980). The marketing of social causes: The first ten years. *Journal of Marketing*, 44, 24–33.
- Frame, B., & Newton, B. (2007). Promoting sustainability through social marketing: Examples from New Zealand. *International Journal of Consumer Studies*, 31, 571–581.
- Freeman, R. E. (1998). Poverty and the politics of capitalism. *Business Ethics Quarterly*, the Ruffin Series 1, 31–35.
- French, J. (2009). The nature, development and contribution of social marketing to public health practice since 2004 in England. *Perspectives in Public Health*, 129, 262–267.
- Futterman, D. C., Peralta, M. D., Rudy, B. J., Wolfson, S., Guttmacher, S., & Rogers, A. S. (2001). The ACCESS (Adolescents Connected to Care, Evaluation, and Special Services) project: Social marketing to promote HIV testing to adolescents, methods and first year results from a six city campaign. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 29S, 19–29.
- Gallivan, J., Lising, M., Ammary, N. J., & Greenberg, R. (2007). The national diabetes education program’s “control your diabetes. For Life” campaign: Design, implementation, and lessons learned. *Social Marketing Quarterly*, 13, 65–82.
- Geller, E. S. (2002). The challenge of social change: A behavioral scientist’s perspective. *Social Marketing Quarterly*, 8, 15–24.
- Ger, G. (1992). The positive and negative effects of marketing on socioeconomic development: The Turkish case. *Journal of Consumer Policy*, 15, 229–254.
- Glenane-Antoniadis, A., Whitwell, G., Bell, S. J., & Menguc, B. (2003). Extending the vision of social marketing through social capital theory: Marketing in the context of intricate exchange and market failure. *Marketing Theory*, 3, 323–343.
- Gordon, R. (2011). Critical social marketing: Definition, application and domain. *Journal of Social Marketing*, 1, 82–99.

- Gordon, R., McDermott, L., Stead, M., & Angus, K. (2006). The effectiveness of social marketing interventions for health improvement: What's the evidence? *Public Health, 120*, 1133–1139.
- Gordon, R., Moodie, C., Eadie, D., & Hastings, G. (2010). Critical social marketing—The impact of alcohol marketing on youth drinking: Qualitative findings. *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing, 15*, 265–275.
- Gross, B. L., & Sheth, J. N. (1989). Time-oriented advertising: A content analysis of United States magazine advertising, 1890–1988. *Journal of Marketing, 53*, 76–83.
- Gruchy, J., & Coppel, D. (2008). “Listening to reason”: A social marketing stop-smoking campaign in Nottingham. *Social Marketing Quarterly, 14*, 5–17.
- Hall, C. M. (2011). Policy learning and policy failure in sustainable tourism governance: From first and second to third order change? *Journal of Sustainable Tourism, 19*, 649–671.
- Hastings, G., MacFadyen, L., & Anderson, S. (2000). Whose behavior is it anyway? The broader potential of social marketing. *Social Marketing Quarterly, 6*, 46–58.
- Hastings, G., Stead, M., & MacKintosh, A. M. (2002). Rethinking drugs prevention: Radical thoughts from social marketing. *Health Education Journal, 61*, 347–364.
- Healey, J. S., & Kassirjian, H. H. (1983). Advertising substantiation and advertiser response: A content analysis of magazine advertisements. *Journal of Marketing, 47*, 107–117.
- Helmig, B., & Thaler, J. (2010). On the effectiveness of social marketing—What do we really know? *Journal of Nonprofit & Public Sector Marketing, 22*, 264–287.
- Hesse-Biber, S. N. (2010). *Mixed methods research: Merging theory with practice*. New York, NY: The Guilford Press.
- Johnson, S. L., Bellows, L., Beckstrom, L., & Anderson, J. (2007). Evaluation of a social marketing campaign targeting preschool children. *American Journal of Health Behavior, 31*, 44–55.
- Kaczynski, A. T. (2008). A more tenable marketing for leisure services and studies. *Leisure Sciences, 30*, 253–272.
- Kassegne, S., Kays, M. B., & Nzohabonayo, J. (2011). Evaluation of a social marketing intervention promoting oral rehydration salts in Burundi. *BMC Public Health, 11*, 155–168.
- Kennedy, A. L. (2010). Using community-based social marketing techniques to enhance environmental regulation. *Sustainability, 2*, 1138–1160.
- Knerr, W. (2011). Does condom social marketing improve health outcomes and increase usage and equitable access? *Reproductive Health Matters, 19*, 166–173.
- Kolodinsky, J., & Reynolds, T. (2009). Segmentation of overweight Americans and opportunities for social marketing. *International Journal of Behavioral Nutrition and Physical Activity, 6*, 13–24.
- Kotler, P., & Lee, N. R. (2008). *Social marketing: Influencing behaviors for good*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Kotler, P., & Lee, N. R. (2009). *Up and out of poverty: The social marketing solutions*. Upper Saddle, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Kotler, P., & Levy, S. J. (1969). Broadening the marketing concept. *Journal of Marketing, 33*, 10–15.
- Kotler, P., & Roberto, E. L. (1989). *Social marketing—Strategies for changing public behavior*. New York, NY: The Free Press.
- Kotler, P., & Zaltman, G. (1971). Social marketing: An approach to planned social change. *Journal of Marketing, 35*, 3–12.
- Krippendorff, K. (2004). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Lazer, W., & Kelley, E. J. (1973). *Social marketing: Perspectives and viewpoints*. Homewood, IL: Richard D. Irwin.
- Lefebvre, C. R. (1996). 25 years of social marketing: Looking back to the future. *Social Marketing Quarterly, 3*, 51–58.
- Lefebvre, C. R. (2000). Theories and models in social marketing. In P. N. Bloom & G. T. Gundlach (Eds.), *Handbook of marketing and society* (pp. 506–519). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Long, T., Taubenheim, A. M., Wayman, J., Temple, S., & Ruoff, B. A. (2008). The health truth: Using the power of branding and social marketing to increase awareness of heart diseases in women. *Social Marketing Quarterly, 14*, 3–29.
- Luca, N. R., & Suggs, L. S. (2013). Theory and model use in social marketing health interventions. *Journal of Health Communication: International Perspectives, 18*, 20–40.

- MacFadyen, L., Stead, M., & Hastings, G. (1999). A synopsis of social marketing. *Health Promotion International*, 9, 59–63.
- MacKintosh, A. M., MacFadyen, L., & Hastings, G. (1999). Developing a methodology to monitor the impact of the tobacco advertising and sponsorship ban in the UK. *Social Marketing Quarterly*, 5, 40–46.
- McCausland, K. L., Allen, J. A., Duke, J. C., Xiao, H., Asche, E. T., Costantino, J. C., & Vallone, D. M. (2009). Piloting EX, a social marketing campaign to prompt smoking cessation. *Social Marketing Quarterly*, 15, 80–101.
- McDermott, L., Stead, M., & Hastings, G. (2005). What is and what is not social marketing: The challenge of reviewing the evidence. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 21, 545–553.
- McKenzie-Mohr, D. (1994). Social marketing for sustainability: The case of residential energy conservation. *Futures*, 26, 224–233.
- McKenzie-Mohr, D., Schultz, W. P., Lee, N. R., & Kotler, P. (2012). *Social marketing to protect the environment: What works*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Moore, S. (2012). Instead of being disgusted by poverty, we are disgusted by poor people themselves. Retrieved February 2012, from www.guardian.co.uk
- Mort, G. S., McColl-Kennedy, J. R., Kiel, G., & Soutar, G. N. (2004). Perceptions of marketing journals by senior academics in Australia and New Zealand. *Australasian Marketing Journal*, 12, 51–61.
- Moussa, S., & Touzani, M. (2010). Ranking marketing journals using the Google Scholar-based hg-index. *Journal of Informetrics*, 4, 107–117.
- Nasir, S. (2005). The development, change, and transformation of Management Information Systems (MIS): A content analysis of articles published in business and marketing journals. *International Journal of Information Management*, 25, 442–457.
- Oskamp, S. (2000). Psychological contributions to achieving an ecologically sustainable future for humanity. *Journal of Social Issues*, 56, 373–390.
- Park, K., Hong, W. H., Kye, S. Y., Jung, E., Kim, M., & Park, H. G. (2011). Community-based intervention to promote breast cancer awareness and screening: The Korean experience. *BMC Public Health*, 11, 468–478.
- Peterson, R. A. (2005). Ruminations on theory and research scholarship in marketing. *Journal of Public Policy and Marketing*, 24, 127–130.
- Redmond, E. C., & Griffith, C. J. (2006). A pilot study to evaluate the effectiveness of a social marketing-based consumer food safety initiative using observation. *British Food Journal*, 108, 753–770.
- Richert, M. L., Webb, A. J., Morse, N. A., O'Toole, M. L., & Brownson, C. A. (2007). Move more diabetes: Using lay health educators to support physical activity in a community-based chronic disease self-management program. *The Diabetes Educator*, 33, 179S–184S.
- Rothman, E. F., Decker, M. R., & Silverman, J. G. (2006). Evaluation of a teen dating violence social marketing campaign: Lessons learned when the null hypothesis was accepted. *New Directions for Evaluation*, 110, 33–44.
- Shang, J., Basil, D. Z., & Wymer, W. (2010). Using social marketing to enhance hotel reuse programs. *Journal of Business Research*, 63, 166–172.
- Sirakaya, E., & Sonmez, S. (2000). Gender images in state tourism brochures: An overlooked area in socially responsible tourism marketing. *Journal of Travel Research*, 38, 353–362.
- Smith, W. A. (2006). Social marketing: An overview of approach and effects. *Injury Prevention*, 12, i38–i43.
- Sprott, D. E., & Miyazaki, A. D. (2002). Two decades of contributions to marketing and public policy: An analysis of research published in journal of public policy & marketing. *Journal of Public Policy and Marketing*, 21, 105–125.
- Stead, M., Gordon, R., Angus, K., & McDermott, L. (2007). A systematic review of social marketing effectiveness. *Health Education*, 107, 126–191.
- Tabanico, J. J., & Schultz, W. P. (2007). “People” aspect of recycling programs: Community-based social marketing. *BioCycle*, 8, 41–44.
- Takahashi, B. (2009). Social marketing for the environment: An assessment of theory and practice. *Applied Environment Education & Communication*, 8, 135–145.

- Thackeray, R., & Brown, K. M. (2005). Social marketing's unique contributions to health promotion practice. *Health Promotion Practice, 6*, 365–368.
- Thackeray, R., & Neiger, B. L. (2000). Establishing a relationship between behavior change theory and social marketing: Implications for health education. *Journal of Health Education, 31*, 331–335.
- Thrasher, J. F., Huang, L., Perez-Hernandez, R., Niederdeppe, J., Arillo-Santillán, E., & Alday, J. (2011). Evaluation of a social marketing campaign to support Mexico City's Comprehensive Smoke-free Law. *American Journal of Public Health, 101*, 328–335.
- Truong, V. D., & Hall, C. M. (2013). Social marketing and tourism: What is the evidence? *Social Marketing Quarterly, 19*, 110–135.
- United Nations World Tourism Organization. (2011). *Policy and practice for global tourism*. Madrid, Spain: Author.
- Wackett, J. (1998). A theory based initiative to reduce the rates of chlamydia trachomatis infection among young adults in Yukon. *The Canadian Journal of Human Sexuality, 7*, 347–356.
- Walsh, D. C., Rudd, R. E., Moeykens, B. A., & Moloney, T. W. (1993). Social marketing for public health. *Health Affairs, 12*, 104–119.
- Wilkie, W. L., & Moore, E. S. (1999). Marketing's contributions to society. *Journal of Marketing, 63*, 198–218.
- Wilkie, W. L., & Moore, E. S. (2003). Research in marketing: Exploring the “4 Eras” of thought development. *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing, 22*, 116–146.
- Wiley, B. A., Paintain, L. S., Mangham, L., Car, J., & Schellenberg, J. A. (2012). Strategies for delivering insecticide-treated nets at scale for malaria control: A systematic review. *Bulletin of the World Health Organization, 90*, 672–684.
- Williams, B. C., & Plouffe, C. R. (2007). Assessing the evolution of sales knowledge: A 20-year content analysis. *Industrial Marketing Management, 36*, 408–419.
- Withall, J., Jago, R., & Fox, K. R. (2012). The effect of a community-based social marketing campaign on recruitment and retention of low-income groups into physical activity programmes—A controlled before-and-after study. *BMC Public Health, 12*, 836–850.
- Wright, A., McGorry, P. D., Harris, M. G., Jorm, A. F., & Pennell, K. (2006). Development and evaluation of a youth mental health community awareness campaign—The Compass Strategy. *BMC Public Health, 6*, 215–228.
- Wu, Z., Luo, W., Sullivan, S. G., Rou, K., Lin, P., Liu, W., & Ming, Z. (2007). Evaluation of a needle social marketing strategy to control HIV among injecting drug users in China. *AIDS, 21*, S115–S122.
- Yale, L., & Gilly, M. C. (1988). Trends in advertising research: A look at the content of marketing-oriented journals from 1976 to 1985. *Journal of Advertising, 17*, 12–22.
- Yancey, A. K., Jordan, A., Bradford, J., Voas, J., Eller, T. J., Buzzard, M., . . . McCarthy, W. J. (2003). Engaging high-risk populations in community-level fitness promotion: Rock! Richmond. *Health Promotion Practice, 4*, 180–188.
- Young, L., Anderson, J., Beckstrom, L., Bellows, L., & Johnson, S. L. (2004). Using social marketing principles to guide the development of a nutrition education initiative for preschool-aged children. *Journal of Nutrition Education and Behavior, 36*, 250–257.
- Zinkhan, G. M. (2006). Research traditions and patterns in marketing scholarship. *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science, 34*, 281–283.

Author Biography

V. Dao Truong is with the Department of Management, Marketing and Entrepreneurship, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand, and the Department of Tourism and Hospitality, National Economics University, Hanoi, Vietnam.

Vietnam, tourism

(An entry that will be published in J. Jafari & H. Xiao (Eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Tourism*. Springer (**In press**).

V. Dao Truong

Vietnam is located in the easternmost part of Southeast Asia and covers an area of 331,210 km² (127,881 mi²). It is bordered by China, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, and the South China Sea (Figure 1). With a population of 90.3 million (2012), Vietnam is the world's 13th most populous country. In 2012, Vietnam's GDP reached US\$138 billion, with a GDP per capita of US\$1,527 (International Monetary Fund 2013). Vietnam's economy is primarily based on agriculture, although substantial industrialization and modernization has begun. Administratively, Vietnam consists of 58 provinces and five municipalities.



Figure 1. Map of Vietnam

The development of Vietnam's tourism can be divided into three periods. Before 1975, tourism was primarily used for political purposes. Between 1976 and 1990, there was

increasing recognition of the sector's economic contribution. Since 1991, tourism has been used as an economic development mechanism and a means of poverty alleviation. Its traditional cultures, historical relics, scenic landscapes, and political stability have contributed to Vietnam's growing popularity as an international tourist destination. Between 2005 and 2011, foreign tourists increased from 3.4 million to 6 million, while domestic tourists grew from 16 million to 30 million (Vietnam National Administration of Tourism (VNAT) 2011, 2013). Total tourism receipts increased from US\$828 million in 2000 to US\$6 billion in 2011. In 2011, tourism contributed over 6% to GDP (VNAT 2011).

The government is actively involved in tourism, playing the roles of operator, entrepreneur, regulator, planner, promoter, coordinator, and educator (Truong 2013). The VNAT (established 1978) is part of the Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism and the primary agency responsible for state management of tourism. The Institute for Tourism Development Research was established in 1993. In 1999, the Tourism Ordinance was issued, replaced in 2005 by the Law on Tourism. Vietnam's first Master Plan for Tourism Development 1995-2010 was released in 1994. The Master Plan for Tourism Development and the National Strategy for Tourism Development up to 2020 (Vision 2030) have a strong focus on MICE, urban tourism, education tourism, sports tourism, and medical tourism. Among international tourist markets, Asian countries are a top priority (VNAT 2013). Tourism is taught in over 40 universities and colleges and 30 vocational schools.

Future development measures include diversifying tourism products and services, facilitating easier access and movement of tourists, and ensuring skilled tourism workers. Topics of research interests include the impacts of tourism on poor people, sustainability and productivity, as well as the development and marketing of new tourism products and services.

See also: MICE, pro-poor tourism, sports tourism, sustainable tourism.

References

International Monetary Fund

2013 World Economic Outlook: Vietnam <www.imf.org> (11 August 2013).

Truong, V.D.

2013 Tourism policy development in Vietnam: A pro-poor perspective. *Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events* 5: 28-45.

Vietnam National Administration of Tourism (VNAT)

2011 Tourism Statistics 2011 <www.vietnamtourism.gov.vn> (10 September 2012).

2013 Master Plan for Tourism Development up to 2020 (Vision 2030)
<www.vietnamtourism.gov.vn> (20 July 2013).

V. Dao Truong

National Economics University (Vietnam) and University of Canterbury (New Zealand)

Email: Vandao83@yahoo.co.uk